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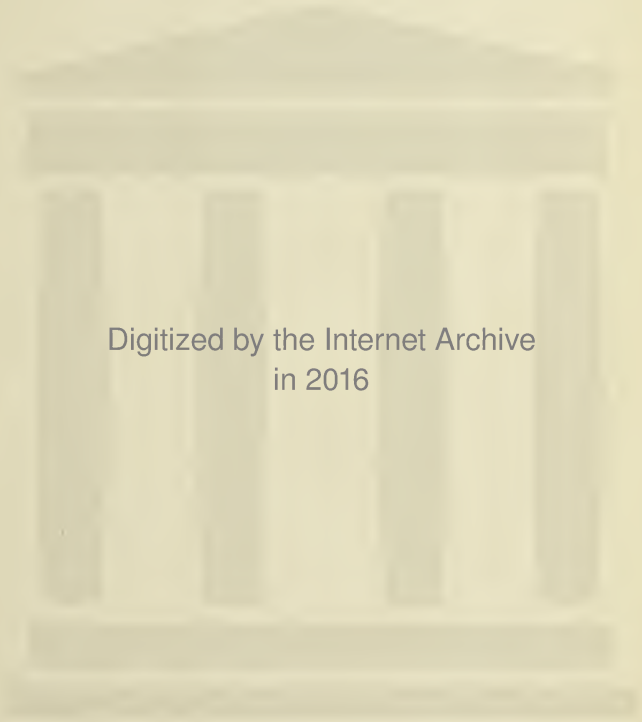
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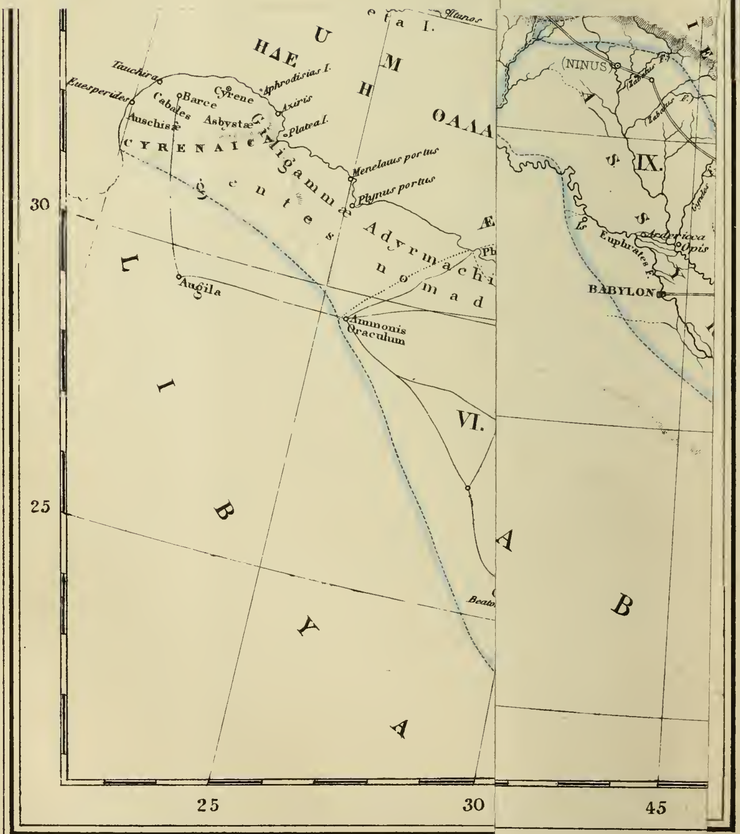
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THE

FIVE GREAT MONARCHIES

OF THE

ANCIENT EASTERN WORLD;

OR,

THE HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND ANTIQUITIES OF CHALDÆA, ASSYRIA, BABYLON, MEDIA, AND PERSIA,

COLLECTED AND ILLUSTRATED FROM ANCIENT AND MODERN SOURCES.

By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A.,

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LATE FELLOW AND TUTOR OF EXETER COLLEGE.

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THE FOURTH MONARCHY.

BABYLONIA.

CHAPTER VI.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

"Girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity."—EZEK. xxiii. 15.

THE manners and customs of the Babylonians, though not admitting of that copious illustration from ancient monuments which was found possible in the case of Assyria, are yet sufficiently known to us, either from the extant remains or from the accounts of ancient writers of authority, to furnish materials for a short chapter. Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, and Nicolas of Damascus, present us with many interesting traits of this somewhat singular people; the sacred writers contemporary with the acmé of the nation add numerous touches; while the remains, though scanty, put distinctly and vividly before our eyes a certain number of curious details.

Herodotus describes with some elaboration the costume of the Babylonians in his day. He tells us that they wore a long linen gown reaching down to their feet, a woollen gown or tunic above this, a short cloak or cape of a white colour, and shoes like those of the Bœotians.[1] Their hair they allowed to grow long, but confined it by a head-band or a turban;[2] and

[1] Herod. i. 195.

[2] Ibid. The μίτρα of Herodotus in this passage is generally regarded as a turban, but the monuments make it almost certain that this view is incorrect. Neither in the Assyrian nor in the Babylonian remains is there any representation of a turban. But the head-band or fillet is common. The ordinary meaning of μίτρα is "a fillet."

they always carried a walking-stick with a carving of some kind on the handle. This portraiture, it is probable, applies to the richer inhabitants of the capital, and represents the Babylonian gentleman of the fifth century before our era, as he made his appearance in the streets of the metropolis.

The cylinders seem to show that the ordinary Babylonian dress was less complicated. The worshipper who brings an offering to a god is frequently represented with a bare head, and wears apparently but one garment, a tunic generally ornamented with a diagonal fringe, and reaching from the shoulder to a little above the knee. The tunic is confined round the waist by a belt. Richer worshippers, who commonly present a goat, have a fillet or head-band, not a turban, round the head. They wear generally the same sort of tunic as the others; but over it they have a long robe, shaped like a modern dressing-gown, except that it has no sleeves, and does not cover the right shoulder. In a few instances only we see underneath this open gown a long inner dress or robe, such as that described by Herodotus. A cape or tippet of the kind which he describes is worn sometimes by a god, but is never seen, it is believed, in any representation of a mortal.[3]

Babylonian of the lower ranks presenting an offering.

Babylonian of the upper class in the ordinary costume.

The short tunic, worn by the poorer worshippers, is seen also in a representation (hereafter to be given)[4] of hunters attacking a lion. A similar garment is worn by the man—probably a slave—who accompanies the dog, supposed to repre-

[3] Unless the figure represented above vol. ii. p. 501. No. 1) is that of a mortal, which is somewhat doubtful.

[4] Infra, p. 9.

sent an Indian hound;[5] and also by a warrior, who appears on one of the cylinders conducting six foreign captives.[6] There is consequently much reason to believe that such a tunic formed the ordinary costume of the common people, as it does at present of the common Arab inhabitants of the country. It left the arms and right shoulder bare, covering only the left. Below the belt it was not made like a frock, but lapped over in front, being in fact not so much a garment as a piece of cloth wrapped round the body. Occasionally it is represented as patterned;[7] but this is somewhat unusual.

Babylonian wearing a long under garment.

Babylonian soldier conducting captives (from a cylinder).

In lieu of the long robe reaching to the feet, which seems to have been the ordinary costume of the higher classes, we observe sometimes a shorter, but still a similar garment—a sort of coat without sleeves fringed down both sides, and reaching only a little below the knee.[8] The worshippers who wear this robe have in most cases the head adorned with a fillet (see overleaf).

Patterned tunic, from a cylinder.

[5] See Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 527; Birch, *Ancient Pottery*, vol. i. p. 147.

[6] This cylinder is represented in full by Mr. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 538). Other examples of the simple tunic will be found, infra, p. 18; Cullimore, Pl. vii. No. 36; Pl. viii. No. 39; Pl. xii. No. 64; Pl. xix. No. 98, &c.

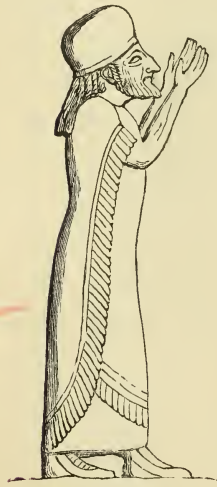
[7] Lajard, Pl. lii. fig. 1. Compare Cullimore, Pl. viii. No. 39.

[8] Lajard, Pl. xxxvi. fig. 13; Pl. xl. fig. 1.

It is unusual to find any trace of boots or shoes in the representations of Babylonians. A shoe patterned with a sort of check work was worn by the king;[9] and soldiers seem to have worn a low boot in their expeditions.[10] But with rare exceptions the Babylonians are represented with bare feet on the monuments; and if they commonly wore shoes in the time of Herodotus, we may conjecture that they had adopted the practice from the example of the Medes and Persians.[11] A low boot, laced in front, was worn by the chiefs of the Susianians. Perhaps the "peculiar shoe" of the Babylonians[12] was not very different.

Babylonian wearing a short open coat.

The girdle was an essential feature of Babylonian costume,[13] common to high and low, to the king and to the peasant. It was a broad belt, probably of leather, and encircled the waist rather high up. The warrior carried his daggers in it; to the common man it served the purpose of keeping in place the cloth which he wore round his body. According to Herodotus,[14] it was also univeral in Babylonia to carry a seal and a walking-stick.



Costume of a Susianian chief (Koyunjik.)

Special costumes. differing considerably from those hitherto described, distinguished the king and the priests. The king wore a long gown, somewhat scantily made, but reaching down to the ankles, elaborately patterned

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[9] See the representation of a king, vol. ii. p. 560.

[10] Such a boot appears to be worn by the soldier represented above, p. 3.

[11] Compare above, vol. ii. p. 316.

[12] Herod. i. 195. Ὑπόδημα ἐπιχώριον.

[13] See Ezek. xxiii. 15. (Quoted at the beginning of the chapter.) Girdles are worn in almost every representation of a Babylonian upon the monuments.

[14] Herod. i. 195. The seals of the Babylonians have been already described

and fringed. Over this, apparently, he had a close-fitting sleeved vest, which came down to the knees, and terminated in a set of heavy tassels. The girdle was worn outside the outer vest, and in war the monarch carried also two cross-belts, which perhaps supported his quiver. The upper vest was, like the under one, richly adorned with embroidery. From it, or from the girdle, depended in front a single heavy tassel attached by a cord, similar to that worn by the early kings of Assyria.[1]

The tiara of the monarch was very remarkable. It was of great height, nearly cylindrical, but with a slight tendency to swell out toward the crown,[2] which was ornamented with a row of feathers round its entire circumference.[3] The space below was patterned with rosettes, sacred trees, and mythological figures. From the centre of the crown there rose above the feathers a projection resembling in some degree the projection which distinguishes the tiara of the Assyrian kings, but rounded, and not squared, at top. This head-dress, which has a heavy appearance, was worn low on the brow, and covered nearly all the back of the head. It can scarcely have been composed of a heavier material than cloth or felt. Probably it was brilliantly coloured.[4]

The monarch wore bracelets, but (apparently) neither necklaces[5] nor earrings. These last are assigned by Nicolas of Damascus to a Babylonian governor;[6] and they were so commonly used by the Assyrians, that we can scarcely suppose them unknown to their kindred and neighbours. The Baby-

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at some length. (Supra, vol. ii. p. 566.) They were probably worn on a string round the wrist. (Compare vol. i. p. 107.) No clear trace has been found of Babylonian walking sticks; but it is observable that the court officers at Persepolis are universally represented with sticks in their hands.

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 491.

[2] The artist has not represented this tendency sufficiently. It is nearly as marked on the Black Stone as on the frieze represented above, vol. ii. p. 552.

[3] The similarity of this head-dress to that worn by the winged bulls and lions at Khorsabad and Koyunjik, adopted afterwards by the Persians at Persepolis (Flandin, tom. ii. Pls. lxxxi. lxxxii. &c.), is remarkable.

[4] As was the tiara of the Assyrians. (Supra, vol. i. p. 486.)

[5] A necklace is worn by the king represented on the Sir i-Zohab tablet (infra, p. 7), but he is thought to be one of the Proto-Chaldæan monarchs.

[6] Fr. 10. See the *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* vol. iii. p. 360.

lonian monuments, however, contain no traces of earrings as worn by men, and only a few doubtful ones of collars or necklaces;[7] whence we may at any rate conclude that neither were worn at all generally. The bracelets which encircle the royal wrist, resemble the most common bracelet of the Assyrians,[8] consisting of a plain band, probably of metal, with a rosette in the centre.

The dress of the priests was a long robe or gown, flounced and striped, over which they seem to have worn an open jacket

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Priest wearing a peculiar mitre.

Costumes of the priests.

of a similar character. A long scarf or ribbon depended from behind down their backs.[9] They carried on their heads an elaborate crown or mitre, which is assigned also to many of the gods.[10] In lieu of this mitre, we find sometimes, though rarely, a horned cap; and, in one or two instances, a mitre of a different kind.[11] In all sacrificial and ceremonial acts the priests seem to have worn their heads covered.

---

[7] A sort of collar or necklace is often worn by a god. (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxxvii. fig. 1; Pl. xxxviii. figs. 2 and 3; &c.) But there are only a very few doubtful cases where the worshipper seems to wear one. (See Lajard, Pl. xxxv. fig. 4; xxxvii. fig. 7; &c.)

[8] See above, vol. i. p. 490.

[9] This scarf is only an occasional appendage. Instances of it will be found in Lajard, Pl. xii. fig. 16; Pl. xviii. fig. 6; Pl. xxxviii. figs. 3 and 4; &c.

[10] Fig. 3, which follows the representation of Lajard, Pl. lvi. fig. 8, gives probably the most correct representation of the head-dress. A similar mitre is represented on the head of the priest in the Sir-i-Zohab tablet. (See next page.)

[11] See Lajard, Pl. xxxvii. fig. 7.

On the subject of the Babylonian military costume our information is scanty and imperfect. In the time of Herodotus the Chaldæans seem to have had the same armature as the Assyrians[12]—namely, bronze helmets, linen breastplates, shields, spears, daggers, and maces or clubs; and, at a considerably

Priest-Vizier presenting captives to a king.

earlier date, we find in Scripture much the same arms, offensive and defensive, assigned them.[13] There is, however, one remarkable difference between the Biblical account and that given by

[12] Herod. vii. 63.

[13] The shields and helmets of the Babylonians are mentioned by Ezekiel (xxiii. 24), their breast-plates by Jeremiah (li. 3), their spears and swords by the same writer (vi. 23; xlvi. 14, 16), while axes are assigned them by Ezekiel (xxxvi. 9).

Herodotus. The Greek historian says nothing of the use of bows by the Chaldæans; while in Scripture the bow appears as their favourite weapon, that which principally renders them formidable.[14] The monuments are on this point thoroughly in accordance with Scripture. The Babylonian king already represented carries a bow and two arrows.[15] The soldier conducting captives has a bow, an arrow, and a quiver.[16] A monument of an earlier date,[17] which is perhaps rather Proto-Chaldæan than pure Babylonian, yet which has certain Babylonian characteristics, makes the arms of a king a bow and arrow, a club (?), and a dagger. In the marsh fights of the Assyrians, where their enemies are probably Chaldæans of the low country, the bow is the sole weapon which we see in use.[18]

The Babylonian bow nearly resembles the ordinary curved

Babylonian bow.

bow of the Assyrians.[19] It has a knob at either extremity, over which the string passes, and is thicker towards the middle than at the two ends, the bend is slight, the length when strung less than four feet. The length of the arrow is about three feet. It is carefully notched and feathered, and has a barbed point. The quiver, as represented in the Assyrian sculptures, has nothing remarkable about it; but the single extant Babylonian representation[20] makes it terminate curiously with a large ornament resembling a spear-head. It is difficult to see the object of this appendage, which must have formed no inconsiderable addition to the weight of the quiver.

Babylonian daggers were short, and shaped like the Assyrian;

---

[14] See Jer. iv. 29; vi. 23; li. 3; &c. And compare Æschyl. *Pers.* 55, where the Babylonians in the army of Xerxes are characterized as "skilled to draw the bow" (*τοξουλκῷ λήματι πιστούς*).

[15] Supra, vol. ii. p. 560.

[16] Supra, p. 3.

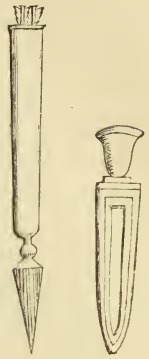
[17] This monument was, I believe, first noticed by Sir H. Rawlinson, who described it in the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. ix. p. 31. The representation given on the preceding page is from a sketch made on the spot by that traveller.

[18] See Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd Series, Pls. 25 and 27.

[19] Supra, vol. i. p. 450.

[20] Compare above, p. 3.

but their handles were less elegant and less elaborately ornamented.[21] They were worn in the girdle (as they are at the present day in all eastern countries) either in pairs or singly.

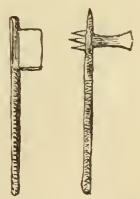


Babylonian quiver and dagger.

Other weapons of the Babylonians, which we may be sure they used in war, though the monuments do not furnish any proof of the fact, were the spear and the bill or axe. These weapons are exhibited in combination upon one of the most curious of the cylinders, where a lion is disturbed in his meal off an ox by two rustics, one of whom attacks him in front with a spear, while the other seizes his tail and assails him in the rear with an axe. With the axe here represented may be compared another, which is found on a clay tablet brought from

Lion attacked with spear and axe.

Sinkara, and supposed to belong to the early Chaldæan period.[22] The Sinkara axe has a simple square blade; the axe upon the cylinder has a blade with long curved sides and a curved edge; while, to balance the weight of the blade, it has on the lower side three sharp spikes. The difference between the two implements marks the advance of mechanical art in the country between the time of the first and that of the fourth monarchy.

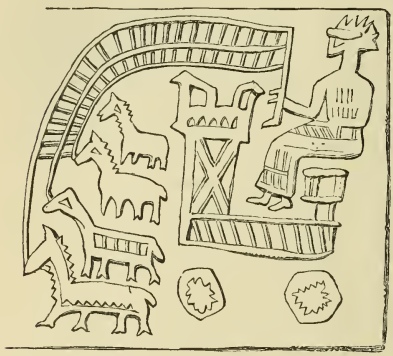


Axes, Chaldæan and Babylonian.

[21] See vol. i. p. 460.

[22] See Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 258. The tablet is in the British Museum.

Babylonian armies seem to have been composed, like Assyrian,[1] of three elements—infantry, cavalry, and chariots. Of the chariots we appear to have one or two representations upon the cylinders,[2] but they are too rudely carved to be of much value. It is not likely that the chariots differed much either in shape or equipment from the Assyrian, unless they were, like those of Susiana,[3] ordinarily drawn by mules. A peculiar car, four-wheeled and drawn by four horses, with an elevated platform in front and a seat behind for the driver, which the cylinders occasionally exhibit,[4] is probably not a war-chariot, but a sacred vehicle, like the *tensa* or *thensa* of the Romans.[5]



Babylonian four-horse chariot.

The Prophet Habakkuk evidently considered the cavalry of the Babylonians to be their most formidable arm. "They are terrible and dreadful," he said; "from them shall proceed judgment and captivity; their horses also are swifter than the leopards and are more fierce than the evening wolves; and their horsemen shall spread themselves, and their horsemen shall come from far; they shall fly, as the eagle that hasteth to eat."[6] Similarly Ezekiel spoke of the "desirable young men, captains and rulers, great lords and renowned; *all of them riding upon horses.*"[7] Jeremiah couples the horses with the chariots, as if he doubted whether the chariot force or the cavalry were the more to be dreaded. "Behold, he shall come up as clouds, and his chariots shall be as a whirlwind; his horses are swifter than eagles. Woe unto us! for we are spoiled."[8] In the army of

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[1] See vol. i. pp. 406-440.

[2] Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxix. fig. 4, and Pl. xxxiv. fig. 9.

[3] See Mr. Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, Second Series, Pl. xlv.

[4] Cullimore, *Cylinders*, Pl. i. fig. 6; Lajard, Pl. xli. fig. 3.

[5] Liv. v. 41; ix. 40; Dio. Cass. xlvii. 40; Cic. *in Ver.* ii. 1, 59.

[6] Habak. i. 7, 8.

[7] Ezek. xxiii. 23.

[8] Jer. iv. 13.

Xerxes the Babylonians seem to have served only on foot,[9] which would imply that they were not considered in that king's time to furnish such good cavalry as the Persians, Medes, Cissians, Indians, and others, who sent contingents of horse. Darius, however, in the Behistun inscription, speaks of Babylonian horsemen;[10] and the armies which overran Syria, Palestine, and Egypt seem to have consisted mainly of horse.[11]

The Babylonian armies, like the Persian, were vast hosts, poorly disciplined, composed not only of native troops, but of contingents from the subject nations, Cissians, Elamites, Shuhites, Assyrians, and others.[12] They marched with vast noise and tumult,[13] spreading themselves far and wide over the country which they were invading,[14] plundering and destroying on all sides. If their enemy would consent to a pitched battle, they were glad to engage with him; but, more usually, their contests resolved themselves into a succession of sieges, the bulk of the population attacked retreating to their strongholds, and offering behind walls a more or less protracted resistance. The weaker towns were assaulted with battering-rams;[15] against the stronger, mounds were raised,[16] reaching nearly to the top of the walls, which were then easily scaled or broken down. A determined persistence in sieges seems to have characterised this people, who did not take Jerusalem till the third,[17] nor Tyre till the fourteenth year.[18]

In expeditions it sometimes happened that a question arose as to the people or country next to be attacked. In such cases it appears that recourse was had to divination, and the omens which were obtained decided whither the next effort of the invader should be directed.[19] Priests doubtless accompanied

[9] Compare Herod. vii. 63 and 84-87.

[10] *Behist. Inscr.* col. ii. par. 1, § 2.

[11] See Jer. iv. 29; vi. 23; xlvi. 4; l. 37; Ezek. xxvi. 7, 11, &c.

[12] Compare Is. xxii. 6, with Ezek. xxiii. 23.

[13] Jer. iv. 29. "The whole city shall flee for the *noise* of the horsemen and the bowmen." Ezek. xxvi. 10. "Thy walls shall shake at the *noise* of horsemen, and of the wheels, and of the chariots."

[14] Habak. i. 8.

[15] Ezek. iv. 2; xxi. 22. For the use of battering-rams by the Assyrians, see vol. i. pp. 470-472.

[16] Habak. i. 10; Jer. vi. 6; xxxii. 24; xxxiii. 4; Ezek. iv. 2; xxi. 22; xxvi. 8.

[17] 2 K. xxv. 1-3; Jer. lii. 4-6.

[18] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 11, § 2.

[19] Ezek. xxi. 21, 22. "For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to

the expeditions to superintend the sacrifices and interpret them on such occasions.

According to Diodorus,[20] the priests in Babylonia were a caste, devoted to the service of the native deities and the pursuits of philosophy, and held in high honour by the people. It was their business to guard the temples and serve at the altars of the gods, to explain dreams and prodigies, to understand omens, to read the warnings of the stars, and to instruct men how to escape the evils threatened in these various ways, by purifications, incantations, and sacrifices. They possessed a traditional knowledge which had come down from father to son, and which none thought of questioning. The laity looked up to them as the sole possessors of a recondite wisdom of the last importance to humanity.

With these statements of the lively but inaccurate Sicilian those of the Book of Daniel are very fairly, if not entirely, in accordance. A class of "wise men" is described as existing at Babylon,[21] foremost among whom are the Chaldæans;"[22] they have a special "learning,"[23] and as (it would seem) a special "tongue;"[24] their business is to expound dreams and prodigies;[25] they are in high favour with the monarch, and are often consulted by him. This body of "wise men" is subdivided into four classes—"Chaldæans, magicians, astrologers, and soothsayers"—a subdivision which seems to be based upon difference of occupation.[26] It is not distinctly stated that they are priests; nor does it seem that they were a caste; for Jews are enrolled among their number,[27] and Daniel himself is made chief of the entire body.[28] But they form a very distinct order, and consti-

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use divination: he made his arrows bright, he consulted with images, he looked in the liver. At his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem," &c.

[20] See Diod. Sic. ii. 29-31.

[21] Dan. ii. 12, 14, 24, 27, 48; iv. 6, 18.

[22] The Chaldæans are the spokesmen for the whole body (Dan. ii. 4-11).

[23] Dan. i. 4. [24] Ibid.

[25] Dan. i. 17; ii. 2-11; iv. 6, 7; v. 7, 8.

[26] Dr. Pusey has successfully shown, against Lengerke, that in Daniel four definite classes of "wise men" are mentioned. (*Lectures on Daniel*, pp. 417-421.) These are the *Casdim* or Chaldæans, the *ashshaphim* or astrologers (compare נְשַׁף "twilight"), the *khartummim*, or sacred scribes (from חֶרֶט "stylus"), and the *m'cashshĕphim* (Chaldee, *gazĕrin*) or "soothsayers."

[27] Dan. i. 4, 20.

[28] Ib. ii. 48; iv. 9; v. 11.

tute a considerable power in the state; they have direct communication with the monarch, and they are believed to possess, not merely human learning, but a supernatural power of predicting future events. High civil office is enjoyed by some of their number.[29]

Notices agreeing with these, but of less importance, are contained in Herodotus and Strabo. Herodotus speaks of the Chaldæans as "priests;[30] Strabo says that they were "philosophers," who occupied themselves principally in astronomy.[31] The latter writer mentions that they were divided into sects, who differed one from another in their doctrines. He gives the names of several Chaldæans whom the Greek mathematicians were in the habit of quoting. Among them is a Seleucus, who by his name should be a Greek.

From these various authorities we may assume that there was in Babylon, as in Egypt, and in later Persia, a distinct priest class, which enjoyed high consideration. It was not, strictly speaking, a caste. Priests may have generally brought up their sons to the occupation; but other persons, even foreigners (and if foreigners, then *à fortiori* natives), could be enrolled in the order, and attain its highest privileges.[1] It was at once a sacerdotal and a learned body. It had a literature, written in a peculiar language, which its members were bound to study. This language and this literature were probably a legacy from the old times of the first (Turano-Cushite) kingdom, since even in Assyria it is found that the literature was in the main Turanian, down to the very close of the empire.[2] Astronomy, astrology, and mythology were no doubt the chief subjects which the priests studied; but history, chronology,

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[29] Dan. ii. 49; iii. 30.

[30] Herod. i. 181. Οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐόντες ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ (sc. τοῦ Βήλου).

[31] Strab. xvi. 1, § 6. Τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις φιλοσόφοις, τοῖς Χαλδαίοις προσαγορευομένοις, οἳ περὶ ἀστρονομίαν εἰσὶ τὸ πλέον.

[1] Dan. i. 4; ii. 48. Compare Strab. xvi. 1, § 6. The Greek writers were apt to see castes where no real caste existed. Sir G. Wilkinson has shown that the priests in Egypt did not really form a caste (see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 212, note [5], 2nd edition), though the Greeks unanimously teach otherwise. (See Plat. *Tim.* p. 11, A, ed. Stallbaum; Diod. Sic. i. 29; Strab. xvii. 1, § 3; &c.)

[2] The library of Asshur-bani-pal already described (supra, vol. ii p. 212) was mainly composed of treatises in the early (Turanian) dialect.

grammar, law, and natural science most likely occupied some part of their attention.[3] Conducting everywhere the worship of the gods, they were of course scattered far and wide through the country; but they had certain special seats of learning, corresponding perhaps in some sort to our universities, the most famous of which were Erech or Orchoë (Warka), and Borsippa,[4] the town represented by the modern Birs-i-Nimrud. They were diligent students, not wanting in ingenuity, and not content merely to hand down the wisdom of their ancestors. Schools arose among them; and a boldness of speculation developed itself akin to that which we find among the Greeks. Astronomy, in particular, was cultivated with a good deal of success; and stores were accumulated of which the Greeks in later times understood and acknowledged the value.

In social position the priest class stood high. They had access to the monarch;[5] they were feared and respected by the people; the offerings of the faithful made them wealthy; their position as interpreters of the divine will secured them influence. Being regarded as capable of civil employment, they naturally enough obtained frequently important offices,[6] which added to their wealth and consideration.

The mass of the people in Babylonia were employed in the two pursuits of commerce and agriculture. The commerce was both foreign and domestic. Great numbers of the Babylonians were engaged in the manufacture of those textile fabrics, particularly carpets and muslins,[7] which Babylonia produced not only for her own use, but also for the consumption of foreign countries. Many more must have been employed as lapidaries in the execution of those delicate engravings on hard stone, wherewith the seal, which every Babylonian carried,[8] was as a

[3] The tablet literature in the early Turanian tongue is believed to embrace all these subjects.

[4] Strab. l. s. c. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων τῶν ἀστρονομικῶν γένη πλείω· καὶ γὰρ Ὀρχηνοί τινες προσαγορεύονται καὶ Βορσιππηνοί.

[5] Dan. i. 20; ii. 2; iv. 7; &c.

[6] Berosus speaks of the "chief of the Chaldæans" (τὸν βέλτιστον) as keeping the kingdom for Nebuchadnezzar during the interval between his father's death and his own arrival at Babylon. He must have been a sort of Regent of the Empire. Daniel held not only high ecclesiastical but also high civil office (Dan. ii. 48).

[7] Supra, vol. ii. p. 570.

[8] Herod. i. 195.

matter of course adorned. The ordinary trades and handicrafts practised in the East no doubt flourished in the country. A brisk import and export trade was constantly kept up, and promoted a healthful activity throughout the entire body politic. Babylonia is called "a land of traffic" by Ezekiel, and Babylon "a city of merchants."[9] Isaiah says that "the cry of the Chaldæans" was "in their ships."[10] The monuments show that from very early times the people of the low country on the borders of the Persian Gulf were addicted to maritime pursuits, and navigated the gulf freely, if they did not even venture on the open ocean.[11] And Æschylus is a witness that the nautical character still attached to the people after their conquest by the Persians; for he calls the Babylonians in the army of Xerxes "navigators of ships."[12]

The Babylonian import trade, so far as it was carried on by themselves, seems to have been chiefly with Arabia, with the islands in the Persian Gulf, and directly or indirectly with India. From Arabia they must have imported the frankincense which they used largely in their religious ceremonies;[13] from the Persian Gulf they appear to have derived pearls, cotton, and wood for walking-sticks;[14] from India they obtained dogs[15] and several kinds of gems.[16] If we may believe Strabo, they had a colony called Gerrha, most favourably situated on the Arabian coast of the gulf, which was a great emporium, and conducted not only the trade between Babylonia and the regions to the south, but also that which passed through Babylonia into the more northern districts.[17] The products of the various

[9] Ezek. xvii. 4.

[10] Is. xliii. 14. This prophet speaks also of the "merchants" of Babylon (xlvii. 15).

[11] See above, vol. i. p. 102.

[12] Æschyl. *Pers.* ll. 52-55. Βαβυλὼν δ' ἡ πολύχρυσος πάμμικτον ὄχλον πέμπει σύρδην, ναῶν τ' ἐπόχους, καὶ τοξουλκῷ λήματι πιστούς.

[13] Herod. i. 183. Compare the report of Nearchus in Arrian's *Indica* (xxxii. 7) with respect to the spice trade between Arabia and *Assyria*.

[14] It is a reasonable conjecture that the cotton and the "wood for walking-sticks," which were grown in the island of Tylos (Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* iv. 9; v. 6), supplied the Babylonian market (Heeren, *As. Nat.* vol. ii. pp. 237, 238). The pearl fishery of the Persian Gulf is first mentioned by Nearchus (Arr. *Indica*, xxxviii. 3). It was probably known to the Babylonians from a very early date. (See above, vol. i. p. 559.)

[15] Herod. i. 192; Ctes. *Indic.* § 5.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Strab. xvi. 3, § 3. Παραπλεύσαντι τῆς Ἀραβίας εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ τετρακοσίους σταδίους ἐν βαθεῖ κόλπῳ κεῖται

countries of Western Asia flowed into Babylonia down the courses of the rivers. From Armenia, or rather Upper Mesopotamia, came wine,[18] gems, emery, and perhaps stone for building;[19] from Phœnicia, by way of Palmyra and Thapsacus, came tin,[20] perhaps copper, probably musical instruments,[21] and other objects of luxury; from Media and the countries towards the east[22] came fine wool, lapis-lazuli, perhaps silk, and probably gold and ivory. But these imports seem to have been brought to Babylonia by foreign merchants rather than imported by the exertions of native traders. The Armenians, the Phœnicians, and perhaps the Greeks,[23] used for the conveyance of their goods the route of the Euphrates. The Assyrians, the Paretaceni, and the Medes probably floated theirs down the Tigris and its tributaries.[24]

A large—probably the largest—portion of the people must have been engaged in the occupations of agriculture. Babylonia was, before all things, a grain-producing country—noted for a fertility unexampled elsewhere, and to moderns almost incredible. The soil was a deep and rich alluvium,[25] and was cultivated with the utmost care. It grew chiefly wheat, barley, millet, and sesame,[26] which all flourished with wonderful luxuriance. By a skilful management of the natural water supply, the indispensable fluid was utilised to the utmost, and conveyed to every part of the country.[27] Date-groves spread

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πόλις Γέρρα, Χαλδαίων φυγάδων ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος . . . . Πεζέμποροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Γερραῖοι τὸ πλέον τῶν Ἀραβίων φορτίων καὶ ἀρωμάτων. Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ τοὐναντίον φησὶ τοὺς Γερραίους τὰ πολλὰ σχεδίαις εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἐμπορεύεσθαι, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τὰ φορτία ἀναπλεῖν εἰς Θάψακον, εἶτα πεζῇ κομίζεσθαι πάντῃ. Compare Strab. xvi. 4, § 18, and Agathemer. *De Mar. Erythr.* § 87.

[18] Herod. i. 194.

[19] Diodorus relates that Semiramis brought a stone obelisk from Armenia down the Euphrates to Babylon (ii. 11, §§ 4, 5.)

[20] See above, vol. i. p. 556.

[21] The Greek names of Babylonian musical instruments (Dan. iii. 5) point to an early commerce between Babylonia and Greece, which would naturally follow this line. (Compare Herod. i. 1.) The instruments imported brought their names with them. (See Pusey's *Daniel*, p. 26.)

[22] For the existence of this trade see Diod. Sic. ii. 11, § 1. For its probable objects see Heeren's *As. Nat.* vol. ii. pp. 204-213, E. T.

[23] Herod. i. 185.

[24] Diod. Sic. l. s. c.

[25] Strab. xvi. 1, § 9. Βαθεῖα γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ μαλακὴ καὶ εὐένδοτος.

[26] Herod. i. 193; Strab. xvi. 1, § 14.

[27] Xen. *Anab.* ii. 4, § 15; Herod. l. s. c.

widely over the land,[28] and produced abundance of an excellent fruit.[29]

For the cultivation of the date nothing was needed but a proper water supply, and a little attention at the time of fructification. The male and female palm are distinct trees, and the female cannot produce fruit unless the pollen from the male comes in contact with its blossoms. If the male and the female trees are grown in proper proximity, natural causes will always produce a certain amount of impregnation. But to obtain a good crop, art may be serviceably applied. According to Herodotus, the Babylonians were accustomed to tie the branches of the male to those of the female palm.[1] This was doubtless done at the blossoming time, when it would have the effect he mentions, preventing the fruit of the female, or date-producing palms, from falling off.

The date palm was multiplied in Babylonia by artificial means. It was commonly grown from seed, several stones being planted together for greater security;[2] but occasionally it was raised from suckers or cuttings.[3] It was important to plant the seeds and cuttings in a sandy soil; and if nature had not sufficiently impregnated the ground with saline particles, salt had to be applied artificially to the soil around as a dressing. The young plants needed a good deal of attention. Plentiful watering was required; and transplantation was desirable at the end of both the first and second year. The Babylonians are said to have transplanted their young trees in the height of summer; other nations preferred the spring time.[4]

For the cultivation of grain the Babylonians broke up their land with the plough; to draw which they seem to have employed two oxen, placed one before the other, in the mode still common in many parts of England. The plough had two

[28] Herod. l. s. c.; Amm. Marc. xxiv. 3; Zosim. iii. pp. 173-179.

[29] On the excellence of one kind of Babylonian date see Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* ii. 8, p. 35, ed. Heinsius.

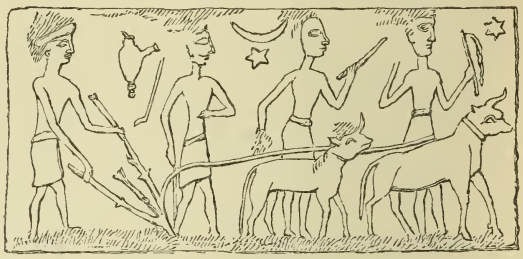
[1] Herod. i. 193. That Herodotus misconceives the means whereby the fructification was effected does not invalidate his testimony as to the fact. Theophrastus corrects his error. (*Hist. Plant.* ii. 9, ad fin.)

[2] Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* ii. 8.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 36, notes [8] and [9].

[4] Theophrast. l. s. c.

handles, which the ploughman guided with his two hands. It was apparently of somewhat slight construction. The tail rose from the lower part of one of the handles, and was of unusual length.[5]



Men ploughing, from a cylinder.

It is certain that dates formed the main food of the inhabitants. The dried fruit, being to them the staff of life, was regarded by the Greeks as their "bread."[6] It was perhaps pressed into cakes, as is the common practice in the country at the present day.[7] On this and goat's milk, which we know to have been in use,[8] the poorer class, it is probable, almost entirely subsisted. Palm-wine,[9] the fermented sap of the tree, was an esteemed, but no doubt only an occasional beverage. It was pleasant to the taste, but apt to leave a headache behind it.[10] Such vegetables as gourds, melons, and cucumbers, must have been cheap, and may have entered into

Milking the goat, from a cylinder.

[5] The plough here represented, which is from a cylinder figured by M. Felix Lajard (*Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxxiv. fig. 15), may be contrasted with the Assyrian implement, of which a representation has been given above (vol. i. p. 567). It is of very much lighter structure, but is inferior to the Assyrian in having no apparatus for drilling the seed.

[6] Herod. i. 193; Strab. xvi. 1, § 14.

[7] Rich, *First Memoir on Babylon*, p. 59, note. (See above, vol. i. p. 35, note [7].)

[8] Milking the goat is represented on a cylinder figured by M. Lajard, from which the above woodcut is taken. (*Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xli. fig. 5.)

[9] By palm-wine, which is mentioned both by Herodotus and Strabo (ll. s. c.) among the products of Babylonia, is (I think) to be understood the fermented sap of the tree, not the spirit which may be distilled from the fruit. (See above, vol. i. p. 35.)

[10] Xen. *Anab.* ii. 3, § 15.

the diet of the common people. They were also probably the consumers of the "pickled bats," which (according to Strabo) were eaten by the Babylonians.[11]

In the marshy regions of the south there were certain tribes whose sole, or any rate whose chief food, was fish.[12] Fish abound in these districts,[13] and are readily taken either with the hook or in nets. The mode of preparing this food was to dry it in the sun, to pound it fine, strain it through a sieve, and then make it up into cakes, or into a kind of bread.

The diet of the richer classes was no doubt varied and luxurious. Wheaten bread, meats of various kinds, luscious fruits, fish, game, loaded the board; and wine, imported from abroad,[14] was the usual beverage. The wealthy Babylonians were fond of drinking to excess; their banquets were magnificent, but generally ended in drunkenness;[15] they were not, however, mere scenes of coarse indulgence, but had a certain refinement, which distinguishes them from the riotous drinking-bouts of the less civilised Medes.[16] Music was in Babylonia a recognised accompaniment of the feast; and bands of performers, entering with the wine, entertained the guests with concerted pieces.[17] A rich odour of perfumes floated around, for the Babylonians were connoisseurs in unguents.[18] The eye was delighted with a display of gold and silver plate.[19] The splendid dresses of the guests, the exquisite carpets and hangings, the numerous attendants, gave an air of grandeur to the scene, and seemed half to excuse the excess of which too many were guilty.

A love of music appears to have characterised both the Babylonians and their near neighbours and kinsmen, the Susianians. In the sculptured representations of Assyria,[20] the Susianians

[11] Strab. xvi. 1, § 7. Τὰ Βόρσιππα ἱερὰ πόλις ἐστὶ . . πληθύουσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ νυκτερίδες μείζους πολὺ τῶν ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις· ἁλίσκονται δ' εἰς βρῶσιν καὶ ταριχεύονται.

[12] Herod. i. 200.

[13] See above, vol. i. p. 41; and compare the woodcut, p. 37.

[14] For the use of wine, see Dan. i. 5; v. 1; Nic. Dam. Fr. 10, p. 360; Q. Curt. v. 1. On its importation from abroad, see Herod. i. 194.

[15] Q. Curt. l. s. c.

[16] See above, vol. ii. p. 318.

[17] Nic. Dam. Fr. 10, p. 362.

[18] Herod. i. 195.

[19] Dan. v. 2; Nic. Dam. Fr. 10, p. 363.

[20] See above, vol. i. p. 542; and for the full representation of the entire scene, see Mr. Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd series, Pls. 48 and 49.

are shown to have possessed numerous instruments, and to have organised large bands of performers. The Prophet Daniel[21] and the historian Ctesias[22] similarly witness to the musical taste of the Babylonians, which had much the same character. Ctesias said that Annarus (or Nannarus), a Babylonian noble, entertained his guests at a banquet with music performed by a company of 150 women. Of these a part sang, while the rest played upon instruments, some using the pipe, others the harp, and a certain number the psaltery.[23] These same instruments[24] are assigned to the Babylonians by the prophet Daniel, who, however, adds to them three more—viz. the horn, the *sambuca*, and an instrument called the *sumphonia*, or "symphony." It is uncertain whether the horn intended was straight, like the Assyrian, or curved, like the Roman *cornu* and *lituus*.[25] The pipe was probably the double instrument, played at the end, which was familiar to the Susianians and Assyrians.[26] The harp would seem to have resembled the later harp of the Assyrians; but it had fewer strings, if we may judge from a representation upon a cylinder.[27] Like the Assyrian, it was carried under one arm,[28] and was played by both hands, one on either side of the strings.

Babylonian harp, from a cylinder.

The character of the remaining instruments is more doubtful. The *sambuca* seems to have been a large harp, which rested on

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[21] Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10, 15. Compare Ps. cxxxvii. 3; and Is. xiv. 11.

[22] Ctes. ap. Athen. *Deipn.* xii. p. 530 B.

[23] Compare Nic. Dam. Fr. 10, p. 362, with the fragment of Ctesias in Athenæus. Nicolas says of the women—*αἱ μὲν ἐκιθάριζον, αἱ δ' ηὔλουν, αἱ δὲ ἔψαλλον.* Ctesias says—*ἔψαλλον δὲ καὶ ᾖδον.*

[24] Compare the Septuagint version, which translates the Hebrew מישרוקיתא by *σύριγξ*, the קיתרס by *κιθάρα*, and the פסנתרין by *ψαλτήριον*. *Σύριγξ* is probably used loosely for *αὐλός*. It was the technical name for the mouthpiece of the *αὐλός*. (See Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*, s. v. *αὐλός*.)

[25] The Hebrew קרן is generally regarded as the curved horn, in contradistinction to the שופר or straight trumpet. But as the Assyrians seem to have employed the straight horn, and not (so far as we know) the curved one (see vol. i. p. 539), perhaps the קרנא of Daniel may represent the straight instrument. The LXX. render it by *σάλπιγξ*, which was straight, not curved.

[26] Supra, vol. i. p. 534.

[27] Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxxix. fig. 8.

[28] See above, vol. i. p. 530.

the ground,[29] like the harps of the Egyptians. The psaltery was also a stringed instrument, and, if its legitimate descendant is the modern *santour*,[30] we may presume that it is represented in the hands of a Susianian musician on the monument which is our chief authority for the Oriental music of the period. The *sumphonia* is thought by some to be the bag-pipe,[31] which is called *sampogna* by the modern Italians: by others it is regarded as a sort of organ.[32]

The Babylonians used music, not merely in their private entertainments, but also in their religious ceremonies. Daniel's account of their instruments occurs casually in his mention of Nebuchadnezzar's dedication of a colossal idol of gold. The worshippers were to prostrate themselves before the idol as soon as they heard the music commence,[33] and were probably to continue in the attitude of worship until the sound ceased.

The seclusion of women seems scarcely to have been practised in Babylonia with as much strictness as in most Oriental countries. The two peculiar customs on which Herodotus descants at length—the public auction of the marriageable virgins in all the towns of the empire,[1] and the religious prostitution authorised in the worship of Beltis[2]—were wholly incompatible with the restraints to which the sex has commonly submitted in the Eastern world. Much modesty can scarcely have belonged to those whose virgin charms were originally offered in the public market to the best bidder, and who were required by their religion, at least once in their lives, openly to submit to the embraces of a man other than their husband. It would certainly seem that the sex had in Babylonia a freedom—

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[29] "Sackbut" is certainly a wrong rendering of *sabka* or *sambuca*, for the sackbut was a wind instrument, whereas the *sambuca* was certainly a kind of harp. (Compare Athen. *Deipn.* iv. p. 175 D; xiv. pp. 633-637; Vitruv. vi. 1; Suidas, ad. voc. &c.)

[30] Gesenius regards *santour* as a corruption of *pesanterin*, the Chaldee representation of the ψαλτήριον of the Greeks. The resemblance of a (Susanian) instrument, represented on the monuments of Assyria, to the modern *santour*, has been already noticed. (See above, vol. i. p. 537; and compare Pusey's *Daniel*, p. 33.)

[31] Gesenius, ad voc. סומפוניה; Joel Brill, *Comment. in Daniel*, &c.

[32] Ibn Yahia, *Comment. in Dan.* iii. 5. Compare Jerome on Luke xv., where the view is mentioned but combated.

[33] Dan. iii. 5, 7, &c.

[1] Herod. i. 196. Compare Nic. Dam. Fr. 131, and Ælian. *Var. Hist.* iv. 1.

[2] Herod. i. 199. Compare Baruch, vi. 43.

and not only a freedom, but also a consideration—unusual in the ancient world, and especially rare in Asia. The stories of Semiramis and Nitocris may have in them no great amount of truth; but they sufficiently indicate the belief of the Greeks as to the comparative publicity allowed to their women by the Babylonians.[3]

The monuments accord with the view of Babylonian manners thus opened to us. The female form is not eschewed by the Chaldæan artists. Besides images of a goddess (Beltis or Ishtar) suckling a child, which are frequent,[4] we find on the cylinders numerous representations of women, engaged in various employments. Sometimes they are represented in a procession, visiting

Babylonian women making an offering to a goddess.

the shrine of a goddess, to whom they offer their petitions, by the mouth of one of their number,[5] or to whom they bring their children for the purpose, probably, of placing them under her protection:[6] sometimes they may be seen amusing themselves among birds and flowers in a garden,[7] plucking the fruit from dwarf palms, and politely handing it one to another. Their attire is in every case nearly the same; they wear a long but scanty robe, reaching to the ankles, ornamented at the bottom with a fringe and apparently opening in front. The upper part of the dress passes over only one shoulder. It is trimmed round

[3] See also Dan. v. 10-12, where the queen enters the banqueting-house and gives her advice openly before the lords.

[4] See above, vol. i. p. 140.

[5] Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxviii. fig. 12.

[6] Ibid. Pl. xl. fig. 6.

[7] Ibid. Pl. xxvii. fig. 7.

the top with a fringe which runs diagonally across the chest, and a similar fringe edges the dress down the front where it opens.

Babylonian women gathering dates in a garden.

A band or fillet is worn round the head, confining the hair, which is turned back behind the head, and tied by a riband, or else held up by the fillet.

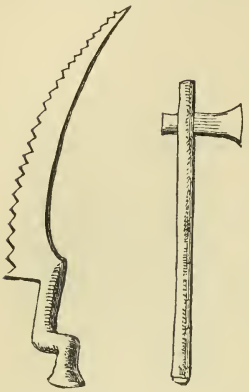
Female ornaments are not perceptible on the small figures of the cylinders; but from the modelled image in clay, of which a representation has been already given, we learn that bracelets and earrings of a simple character were worn by Babylonian women,[8] if they were not by the men.[9] On the whole, however, female dress seems to have been plain and wanting in variety, though we may perhaps suspect that the artists do not trouble themselves to represent very accurately such diversities of apparel as actually existed.

From a single representation of a priestess[10] it would seem that women of that class wore nothing but a petticoat, thus exposing not only the arms, but the whole of the body as far as the waist.

The monuments throw little further light on the daily life of the Babylonians. A few of their implements, as saws and hatchets, are represented; and from the stools, the chairs, the

[8] Supra, vol. ii. p. 559. [9] See above, p. 6. [10] Layard, Pl. xl. fig. 6.

tables, and the stands for holding water-jars[11] which occur occasionally on the cylinders, we may gather that the fashion of their furniture much resembled that of their northern neighbours, the Assyrians. It is needless to dwell on this subject, which presents no novel features, and has been anticipated by the discussion on Assyrian furniture in the first volume.[12] The only touch that can be added to what was there said is, that in Babylonia the chief—almost the sole—material employed for furniture was the wood of the palm-tree,[13] a soft and light fabric which could be easily worked, and which had considerable strength, but did not admit of a high finish.[14]



Babylonian saw and hatchet (from the cylinders).

[11] Supra, vol. ii. p. 569. Stools will be seen in the illustrations, vol. ii. p. 563, and above, p. 18.

[12] Pp. 391-6.

[13] Theophrast. *Hist. Plant.* ii. 8. Τῶν φοινίκων . . . τὸ μὲν κάρπιμον, τὸ δὲ ἄκαρπον· ἐξ ὧν οἱ περὶ Βαβυλῶνα τάς τε κλίνας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σκεύη ποιοῦνται.

[14] Ibid. v. 4 and 7.

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION.

Ἥνεσαν τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς χρυσοῦς καὶ ἀργυροῦς καὶ χαλκους καὶ σιδηροῦς καὶ λιθίνους καὶ ξυλίνους.—DAN. v. 4.

THE Religion of the later Babylonians differed in so few respects from that of the early Chaldæans, their predecessors in the same country, that it will be unnecessary to detain the reader with many observations on the subject. The same gods were worshipped in the same temples and with the same rites [1]—the same cosmogony [2] was taught and held—the same symbols wore objects of religious regard—even the very dress of the priests was maintained unaltered;[3] and, could Urukh or Chedorlaomer have risen from the grave and revisited the shrines wherein they sacrificed fourteen centuries earlier, they would have found but little to distinguish the ceremonies of their own day from those in vogue under the successors of Nabopolassar. Some additional splendour in the buildings, the idols, and perhaps the offerings, some increased use of music as a part of the ceremonial,[4] some advance of corruption with respect to priestly impostures and popular religious customs might probably have been noticed; but otherwise the religion of Nabonidus and Belshazzar was that of Urukh and Ilgi, alike in the objects and the mode of worship, in the theological notions entertained and the ceremonial observances taught and practised.

The identity of the gods worshipped during the entire period is sufficiently proved by the repair and restoration of the ancient

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[1] Compare vol. i. pp. 114-142.
[2] Ibid. pp. 142-145.
[3] Compare the priest on Urukh's cylinder (supra, vol. i. p. 194) with those represented in the preceding chapter (p. 6).
[4] Supra, p. 21.

temples under Nebuchadnezzar, and their re-dedication (as a general rule) to the same deities. It appears also from the names of the later kings and nobles, which embrace among their elements the old divine appellations. Still, together with this general uniformity, we seem to see a certain amount of fluctuation—a sort of fashion in the religion, whereby particular gods were at different times exalted to a higher rank in the Pantheon, and were sometimes even confounded with other deities commonly regarded as wholly distinct from them. Thus Nebuchadnezzar devoted himself in an especial way to Merodach, and not only assigned him titles of honour which implied his supremacy over all the remaining gods,[5] but even identified him with the great Bel, the ancient tutelary god of the capital. Nabonidus, on the other hand, seems to have restored Bel to his old position,[6] re-establishing the distinction between him and Merodach, and preferring to devote himself to the former.

A similar confusion occurs between the goddesses Beltis and Nana or Ishtar,[7] though this is not peculiar to the later kingdom. It may perhaps be suspected from such instances of connection and *quasi*-convertibility, that an esoteric doctrine, known to the priests and communicated by them to the kings, taught the real identity of the several gods and goddesses, who may have been understood by the better instructed to represent, not distinct and separate beings, but the several phases of the Divine Nature. Ancient polytheism had, it may be surmised, to a great extent this origin, the various names and titles of the Supreme, which designated His different attributes or the different spheres of His operation, coming by degrees to be misunderstood, and to pass, first with the vulgar, and at last with all but the most enlightened, for the appellations of a number of gods.

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[5] Among the titles given by Nebuchadnezzar to Merodach are the following:—"The great lord," "the first-born of the gods," "the most ancient," "the supporter of sovereignty," "the king of the heavens and the earth."

[6] This may be concluded from the fact that in the time of Cyrus the great temple at Babylon was known uniformly as the temple of Belus. It receives some confirmation from the further fact that Nabonidus gave his eldest son a name (Belshazzar) which placed him under Bel's protection.

[7] See above, vol. i. p. 139, and compare the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 496, 497, 2nd edition.

The chief objects of Babylonian worship were Bel, Merodach, and Nebo.[8] Nebo, the special deity of Borsippa, seems to have been regarded as a sort of powerful patron-saint, under whose protection it was important to place individuals. During the period of the later kingdom, no divine element is so common in names. Of the seven kings who form the entire list, three certainly,[9] four probably,[10] had appellations composed with it. The usage extended from the royal house to the courtiers; and such names as Nebu-zar-adan, Samgar-Nebo, and Nebu-shazban,[11] show the respect which the upper class of citizens paid to this god. It may even be suspected that when Nebuchadnezzar's Master of the Eunuchs had to give Babylonian names to the young Jewish princes whom he was educating, he designed to secure for one of them this powerful patron, and consequently called him Abed-Nebo[12]—"the servant of Nebo"—a name which the later Jews, either disdaining[13] or not understanding, have corrupted into the Abed-nego of the existing text.

Another god held in peculiar honour by the Babylonians was Nergal. Worshipped at Cutha as the tutelary divinity of the town,[14] he was also held in repute by the people generally. No name is more common on the cylinder seals. It is sometimes, though not often, an element in the names of men, as in "Nergal-shar-ezer, the Rab-mag,"[15] and (if he be a different person) in Neriglissar, the king.

[8] This is sufficiently apparent from the native monuments. It is confirmed by the Jewish writers. (See Isaiah xlvi. 1; Jerem. l. 2; li. 44.)

[9] *Nabo*-polassar, *Nebu*-chadnezzar, and *Nabo* nidus.

[10] *Labo* rosoarchod, which stands perhaps for *Nabo*-rosoarchod, as *Laby*-netus for *Nabo*-nahid or Nabonidus.

[11] See 2 Kings xxv. 8; Jerem. xxxix. 3 and 13.

[12] Abed-nego is a name which admits of no Semitic derivation. It has indeed been explained as equivalent to Ebed-melech (Arab. Abdulmalik), which means "the servant of the king;" but the only ground for this is the Abyssinian *negus*, "king," which became *naga* in Achæmenian Persian, but of which there is no trace in either Babylonian or Assyrian.

[13] The Jews seem often to have played with the names of the heathen gods in a spirit of scorn and contumely. Thus Zir-banit becomes Succoth-benoth, "tents of daughters" (2 K. xvii. 30); Nebo becomes in one place Nibhaz, "the barker" (ibid. verse 31); Anunit becomes Anammelech, to chime with Adrammelech (ibid.), &c. Similarly Tartak may be suspected to be a derisive corruption of Tir, and Nisroch of Nergal, who was sometimes called simply *Nis* or *Nir*.

[14] Supra, vol. i. p. 136.

[15] Jerem. xxxix. 3.

Altogether, there was a strong local element in the religion of the Babylonians. Bel and Merodach were in a peculiar way the gods of Babylon, Nebo of Borsippa, Nergal of Cutna, the Moon of Ur or Hur, Beltis of Niffer, Hea or Hoa of Hit, Ana of Erech, the Sun of Sippara. Without being exclusively honoured at a single site, the deities in question held the foremost place each in his own town. There especially was worship offered to them; there was the most magnificent of their shrines. Out of his own city a god was not greatly respected, unless by those who regarded him as their special personal protector.

The Babylonians worshipped their gods indirectly, through images. Each shrine had at least one idol, which was held in the most pious reverence, and was in the minds of the vulgar identified with the god. It seems to have been believed by some that the actual idol ate and drank the offerings.[1] Others distinguished between the idol and the god, regarding the latter as only occasionally visiting the shrine where he was worshipped.[2] Even these last, however, held gross anthropomorphic views, since they considered the god to descend from heaven in order to hold commerce with the chief priestess. Such notions were encouraged by the priests, who furnished the inner shrine in the temple of Bel with a magnificent couch and a golden table, and made the principal priestess pass the night in the shrine on certain occasions.[3]

The images of the gods were of various materials.[4] Some were of wood, others of stone, others again of metal; and these last were either solid or plated. The metals employed were gold, silver, brass, or rather bronze, and iron. Occasionally the metal was laid over a clay model.[5] Sometimes images of

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[1] The narrative in the Apocryphal Daniel, which forms the first part of our Book of "Bel and the Dragon," though probably not historical, seems to be written by one well acquainted with Babylonian notions. The king in the narrative evidently regards the idol as the eater of the victuals.

[2] Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι [οἱ Χαλδαῖοι] τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾷν ἐς τὸν νηόν, κ.τ.λ. (Herod. i. 182.)

[3] Herod. i. 181.

[4] See the passage of Daniel quoted at the commencement of this chapter.

[5] This appears to have been the case from the description of the image of Bel in the Apocryphal Daniel. (Οὗτος ἔσωθεν μὲν ἐστὶ πηλὸς, ἔξωθεν δὲ χαλκός. Apoc. Dan. xiv. 6.) Bronze hammered work, laid over a model made of clay mixed with bitumen, has been found in Assyr.a. (See above, vol. i. p. 368.)

one metal were overlaid with plates of another, as was the case with one of the great images of Bel, which was originally of silver but was coated with gold by Nebuchadnezzar.[6]

The worship of the Babylonians appears to have been conducted with much pomp and magnificence. A description has been already given of their temples.[7] Attached to these imposing structures was, in every case, a body of priests;[8] to whom the conduct of the ceremonies and the custody of the treasures were entrusted. The priests were married,[9] and lived with their wives and children, either in the sacred structure itself, or in its immediate neighbourhood. They were supported either by lands belonging to the temple,[10] or by the offerings of the faithful. These consisted in general of animals, chiefly oxen and goats;[11] but other valuables were no doubt received when tendered. The priest always intervened between the worshipper and the deities, presenting him to them and interceding with uplifted hands on his behalf.[12]

In the temple of Bel at Babylon, and probably in most of the other temples both there and elsewhere throughout the country, a great festival was celebrated once in the course of each year.[13] We know little of the ceremonies with which these festivals were accompanied; but we may presume from the analogy of other nations that there were magnificent processions on these occasions, accompanied probably with music and dancing. The images of the gods were perhaps exhibited either on frames or on sacred vehicles.[14] Numerous victims were sacrificed; and at Babylon it was customary to burn on the great altar in the

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[6] Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus* (vol. i. p. 517, 2nd edition).

[7] Supra, vol. ii. pp. 542-550.

[8] According to the Apocryphal Daniel *seventy* priests were attached to the great Temple of Bel at Babylon. (Apoc. Dan. xiv. 9.)

[9] Ibid. verses 14, 19, and 20. The fact is implied in Diodorus's statement that the priests were a caste. (Diod. Sic. ii. 29, § 4.)

[10] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vii. 16.

[11] The goat is the ordinary sacrificial animal on the cylinders; but occasionally we see an ox following the worshipper. (See Cullimore, Pl. xi. No. 60.)

[12] See the figures of priests on page 6.

[13] Herod. i. 183.

[14] See above, page 10. Compare Macrob. *Sat.* i. 23. "Vehitur enim simulachrum dei Heliopolitani ferculo, uti vehuntur in pompa ludorum Circensium deorum simulachra." The "deus Heliopolitanus" is the Sun-God of Sippara.

precinct of Bel a thousand talents' weight of frankincense.[15] The priests no doubt wore their most splendid dresses; the multitude was in holiday costume; the city was given up to merry-making. Everywhere banquets were held. In the palace the king entertained his lords;[16] in private houses there was dancing and revelling.[17] Wine was freely drunk; passion was excited; and the day, it must be feared, too often terminated in wild orgies, wherein the sanctions of religion were claimed for the free indulgence of the worst sensual appetites.

In the temples of one deity excesses of this description, instead of being confined to rare occasions, seem to have been of every day occurrence. Each woman was required once in her life to visit a shrine of Beltis, and there remain till some stranger cast money in her lap and took her away with him. Herodotus, who seems to have visited the disgraceful scene, describes it as follows. "Many women of the wealthier sort, who are too proud to mix with the others, drive in covered carriages to the precinct, followed by a goodly train of attendants, and there take their station. But the larger number seat themselves within the holy enclosure with wreaths of string about their heads,—and *here there is always a great crowd*, some coming and others going. Lines of cord mark out paths in all directions among the women; and the strangers pass along them to make their choice. A woman who has once taken her seat is not allowed to return home till one of the strangers throws a silver coin into her lap, and takes her with him beyond the holy ground. When he throws the coin, he says these words—'The goddess Mylitta (Beltis) prosper thee.' The silver coin may be of any size; it cannot be refused; for that is forbidden by the law, since once thrown it is sacred. The woman goes with the first man who throws her money, and rejects no one. When she has gone with him, and so satisfied the goddess, she returns home; and from that time forth no gift, however great, will prevail with her. Such of the women as are tall and beautiful are soon released; but others, who are

[15] Herod. i. 183.
[16] Dan. v. 1-4.
[17] Herod. i. 191. Λέγεται . . . χορεύειν τε τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι.

ugly, have to stay a long time before they can fulfil the law. Some have even waited three or four years in the precinct."[18] The demoralising tendency of this religious prostitution can scarcely be overrated.[19]

Notions of legal cleanness and uncleanness, akin to those prevalent among the Jews, are found to some extent in the religious system of the Babylonians. The consummation of the marriage rite made both the man and the woman impure, as did every subsequent act of the same kind. The impurity was communicated to any vessel that either might touch. To remove it, the pair were required first to sit down before a censer of burning incense, and then to wash themselves thoroughly. Thus only could they re-enter into the state of legal cleanness.[20] A similar impurity attached to those who came into contact with a human corpse.[1]

The Babylonians are remarkable for the extent to which they affected symbolism in religion. In the first place they attached to each god a special mystic number, which is used as his emblem and may even stand for his name in an inscription. To the gods of the First Triad—Anu, Bel, and Hea or Hoa—were assigned respectively the numbers 60, 50, and 40; to those of the Second Triad—the Moon, the Sun, and the Atmosphere—were given the other integers, 30, 20, and 10 (or perhaps six).[2] To Beltis was attached the number 15,[3] to Nergal 12,[4] to Bar or Nin (apparently) 40, as to Hoa; but this is perhaps doubtful.[5] It is probable that every god, or at any rate all the principal deities, had in a similar way some numerical emblem. Many of these are, however, as yet undiscovered.

Further, each god seems to have had one or more emblematic signs by which he could be pictorially symbolised. The cylinders are full of such forms, which are often crowded into

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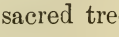
[18] Herod. i. 199. Compare Baruch vi. 43, and Strabo xvi. 1, § 20.

[19] The statement of Herodotus, that "from time forth no gift, however great, will prevail with a Babylonian woman," is not repeated by Strabo, and is flatly contradicted by Q. Curtius. (See above, vol. ii. p. 504, note [18].)

[20] Herod. i 198. [1] Strab. l. s. c.

[2] The Babylonians had a double system of notation, decimal and sexagintal. They wrote in series either 3, 4, 5, 6, or 3, 4, 5, 10. (Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 500, 2nd edition.) [3] Ibid. p. 497.

[4] Ibid. p. 521. [5] Ibid. p. 514.

every vacant space where room could be found for them.[6] A certain number can be assigned definitely to particular divinities. Thus a circle, plain or crossed, designates the Sun-god, San or Shamas;[7] a six-rayed or eight-rayed star the Sun-goddess, Gula or Anunit;[8] a double or triple thunderbolt the Atmospheric god, Vul;[9] a serpent probably Hoa;[10] a naked female form Nana or Ishtar;[11] a fish Bar or Nin-ip.[12] But besides these assignable symbols, there are a vast number with regard to which we are still wholly in the dark. Among these may be mentioned a sort of double cross , often repeated three times, a jar or bottle,[13] an altar , a double lozenge , one or more birds, an animal between a monkey and a jerboa, a dog, a sort of double horn  , a sacred tree, an ox, a bee, a spearhead.[14] A study of the inscribed cylinders shows these emblems to have no reference to the god or goddess named in the inscription upon them. Each, apparently, represents a distinct deity; and the object of placing them upon a cylinder is to imply the devotion of the man whose seal it is, to other deities besides those whose special servant he considers himself. A single cylinder sometimes contains as many as eight or ten such emblems.

The principal temples of the gods had special sacred appellations. The great temple of Bel at Babylon was known as Bit-Saggath, that of the same god at Niffer as Kharris-Nipra, that of Beltis at Warka (Erech) as Bit-Ana, that of the Sun at Sippara as Bit-Parra, that of Anunit at the same place as Bit-Ulmis, that of Nebo at Borsippa as Bit-Tsida, &c. It is seldom

[6] See Cullimore's *Cylinders*, Pl. xviii. Nos. 92 to 95; Pl. xxii. Nos. 113 and 115. Compare Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pls. xxxv. fig. 3; liv. A, fig. 12; liv. B, fig. 15.

[7] See vol. i. p. 128, where the same usage is assigned to the early Chaldæans.

[8] Ibid. p. 129.

[9] Ibid. p. 130.

[10] Ibid. p. 122.

[11] Ibid. p. 139.

[12] Ibid. p. 133.

[13] See the engraving of a cylinder on p. 18.

[14] The two last-named emblems are uncommon. For the bee see Cullimore, Pl. xxii. No. 117, and Pl. xxiv. No 129. For the spear-head, Cullimore, Pl. xxvii. No. 147.

that these names admit of explanation.[15] They had come down apparently from the old Chaldæan times and belonged to the ancient (Turanian) form of speech; which is still almost unintelligible. The Babylonians themselves probably in few cases understood their meaning. They used the words simply as proper names, without regarding them as significative.

[15] Bit-Ana is certainly "the house of the god Anu or Ana," who was worshipped at Erech in conjunction with Beltis. (See above, vol. i. p. 116.) Bit-Parra may be "the house of Ph' Ra," or "the Sun." (Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 501, note [3], 2nd edition.) The meaning of the other terms has not even (so far as I am aware) been conjectured.

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY.

Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος . . πολλοὶ μέν κου . . ἐγένοντο βασιλέες . . οἳ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐκεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά.—HEROD. i. 184.

THE history of the Babylonian Empire commences with Nabopolassar, who appears to have mounted the throne in the year B.C. 625; but to understand the true character of the kingdom which he set up, its traditions and its national spirit, we must begin at a far earlier date. We must examine, in however incomplete and cursory a manner, the middle period of Babylonian history, the time of obscurity and comparative insignificance, when the country was, as a general rule, subject to Assyria, or at any rate played but a secondary part in the affairs of the East. We shall thus prepare the way for our proper subject, while at the same time we shall link on the history of the Fourth to that of the First Monarchy, and obtain a second line of continuous narrative, connecting the brilliant era of Cyaxares and Nebuchadnezzar with the obscure period of the first Cushite kings.

It has been observed that the original Chaldæan monarchy lasted under various dynasties from about B.C. 2400 to B.C. 1300,[1] when it was destroyed by the Assyrians, who became masters of Babylonia under the first Tiglathi-Nin[2] and governed it for a short time from their own capital. Unable, however, to maintain this unity very long, they appear to have set up in the country an Assyrian dynasty, over which they claimed and sometimes exercised a kind of suzerainty, but which was practically independent and managed both the external and internal affairs of the kingdom at its pleasure. The first king

[1] Supra, vol. i. p. 152, 153.

[2] Compare above, vol. ii. p. 58.

of this dynasty concerning whom we have any information is a Nebuchadnezzar, who was contemporary with the Assyrian monarch Asshur-ris-ilim, and made two attacks upon his territories.[3] The first of these was by the way of the Diyaleh and the outlying Zagros hills, the line taken by the great Persian military road in later times.[4] The second was directly across the plain. If we are to believe the Assyrian historian who gives an account of the campaigns, both attacks were repulsed, and after his second failure the Babylonian monarch fled away into his own country hastily. We may perhaps suspect that a Babylonian writer would have told a different story. At any rate Asshur-ris-ilim was content to defend his own territories and did not attempt to retaliate upon his assailant. It was not till late in the reign of his son and successor, Tiglath-Pileser I., that any attempt was made to punish the Babylonians for their audacity. Then, however, that monarch invaded the southern kingdom,[5] which had passed into the hands of a king named Merodach-iddin-akhi, probably a son of Nebuchadnezzar. After two years of fighting, in which he took Kurri-Galzu (Akkerkuf), the two Sipparas, Opis, and even Babylon itself, Tiglath-Pileser retired, satisfied apparently with his victories; but the Babylonian monarch was neither subdued nor daunted. Hanging on the rear of the retreating force, he harassed it by cutting off its baggage, and in this way he became possessed of certain Assyrian idols, which he carried away as trophies to Babylon. War continued between the two countries during the ensuing reigns of Merodach-shapik-ziri in Babylon and Asshur-bil-kala in Assyria, but with no important successes, so far as appears, on either side.[6]

The century during which these wars took place between Assyria and Babylonia, which corresponds with the period of the later Judges in Israel, is followed by an obscure interval, during which but little is known of either country. Assyria seems to have been at this time in a state of great depression.

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[3] An account of these wars has been already given in the History of Assyria. (See vol. ii. pp. 61, 62.)

[4] Herod. v. 52.

[5] Compare vol. ii. pp. 77, 78.

[6] Compare vol. ii. p. 79.

Babylonia, it may be suspected, was flourishing; but as our knowledge of its condition comes to us almost entirely through the records of the sister country, which here fail us, we can only obtain a dim and indistinct vision of the greatness now achieved by the southern kingdom. A notice of Asshur-izir-pal's seems to imply that Babylon, during the period in question, enlarged her territories at the expense of Assyria,[7] and another in Macrobius[8] makes it probable that she held communications with Egypt. Perhaps these two powers, fearing the growing strength of Assyria, united against her, and so checked for a while that development of her resources which they justly dreaded.

However, after two centuries of comparative depression, Assyria once more started forward, and Babylonia was among the first of her neighbours whom she proceeded to chastise and despoil. About the year B.C. 880, Asshur-izir-pal led an expedition to the south-east and recovered the territory which had been occupied by the Babylonians during the period of weakness.[9] Thirty years later, his son, the Black-Obelisk king, made the power of Assyria still more sensibly felt. Taking advantage of the circumstance that a civil war was raging in Babylonia between the legitimate monarch, Merodach-sum-adin, and his younger brother, he marched into the country, took a number of the towns, and having defeated and slain the pretender, was admitted into Babylon itself.[1] From thence he proceeded to overrun Chaldæa, or the district upon the coast, which appears at this time to have been independent of Babylon,

[7] Asshur-izir-pal tells us that, about the year B.C. 880, he recovered and rebuilt a city on the Diyaleh, which a Babylonian king named Tsibir had destroyed at a remote period. (See above, vol. ii. p. 86.)

[8] The passage in Macrobius is curious, and seems worth giving at length. "Assyrii quoque," says this writer, "Solem sub nomine Jovis, quem Dia Heliopoliten cognominant, maximis cæremoniis celebrant in civitate quæ Heliopolis nuncupatur. Ejus dei simulacrum sumptum est de oppido Ægypti, quod et ipsum Heliopolis appellatur, regnante apud Ægyptios Senemure, seu idem Senepos nomine fuit, perlatumque est primum in eam per Opiam legatum Deleboris regis Assyriorum sacerdotesque Ægyptios, quorum princeps fuit Partimetis, diuque habitum apud Assyrios postea Heliopolin commigravit." (*Sat.* i. 23.) It is suspected that the Deleboras (or Deboras) here mentioned is identical with the Tsibir who took territory from the Assyrians. (See above, vol. ii. p. 81, note [14].)

[9] Supra, vol. ii. p. 86.

[1] Ibid. p. 102.

and governed by a number of petty kings. The Babylonian monarch probably admitted the suzerainty of the invader, but was not put to any tribute. The Chaldæan chiefs, however, had to submit to this indignity. The Assyrian monarch returned to his capital, having "struck terror as far as the sea." Thus Assyrian influence was once more extended over the whole of the southern country, and Babylonia resumed her position of a secondary power, dependent on the great monarchy of the north.

But she was not long allowed to retain even the shadow of an autonomous rule. In or about the year B.C. 821, the son and successor of the Black-Obelisk king, apparently without any pretext, made a fresh invasion of the country.[2] Merodach-belatzu-ikbi, the Babylonian monarch, boldly met him in the field, but was defeated in two pitched battles (in the latter of which he had the assistance of powerful allies[3]), and was forced to submit to his antagonist. Babylon, it is probable, became at once an Assyrian tributary, and in this condition she remained till the troubles which came upon Assyria towards the middle of the eighth century B.C. gave an opportunity for shaking off the hated yoke. Perhaps the first successes were obtained by Pul,[4] who, taking advantage of Assyria's weakness under Asshur-dayan III. (ab. B.C. 770) seems to have established a dominion over the Euphrates valley and Western Mesopotamia, from which he proceeded to carry his arms into Syria and Palestine. Or perhaps Pul's efforts merely, by still further weakening Assyria, paved the way for Babylon to revolt, and Nabonassar, who became king of Babylon in B.C. 747, is to be regarded as the re-establisher of her independence. In either case it is apparent that the recovery of independence was accompanied, or rapidly followed, by a disintegration of the country, which

[2] Supra, vol. ii. pp. 114, 115.

[3] The Zimri of Mount Zagros, the Aramæans of the middle Euphrates, and the Chaldæans of the south.

[4] It must be allowed to be still doubtful whether Pul was a king of Babylon or no. The Jewish writers call him "king of Assyria." In Berosus he was represented as "Chaldæorum rex." It is possible that he was one of the rebel chiefs against whom Asshur-dayan III. had to contend, that his authority was established in Western Mesopotamia, and that he took the title of "king of Assyria."

was of evil omen for its future greatness. While Nabonassar established himself at the head of affairs in Babylon, a certain Yakin, the father of Merodach-Baladan, became master of the tract upon the coast; and various princes, Nadina, Zakiru, and others, at the same time obtained governments, which they administered in their own name, towards the north. The old Babylonian kingdom was broken up; and the way was prepared for that final subjugation, which was ultimately effected by the Sargonids.

Still, the Babylonians seem to have looked with complacency on this period, and they certainly made it an era from which to date their later history. Perhaps, however, they had not much choice in this matter. Nabonassar was a man of energy and determination. Bent probably on obliterating the memory of the preceding period of subjugation, he "destroyed the acts of the kings who had preceded him;"[5] and the result was that the year of his accession became almost necessarily the era from which subsequent events had to be dated.

Nabonassar appears to have lived on friendly terms with Tiglath-Pileser, the contemporary monarch of Assyria, who early in his reign invaded the southern country, reduced several princes of the districts about Babylon to subjection, and forced Merodach-Baladan, who had succeeded his father, Yakin, in the low region, to become his tributary. No war seems to have been waged between Tiglath-Pileser and Nabonassar. The king of Babylon may have seen with satisfaction the humiliation of his immediate neighbours and rivals, and may have felt that their subjugation rather improved than weakened his own position. At any rate it tended to place him before the nation as their only hope and champion—the sole barrier which protected their country from a return of the old servitude.

Nabonassar held the throne of Babylon for fourteen years, from B.C. 747 to B.C. 733.[6] It has generally been supposed that this period is the same with that regarded by Herodotus

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[5] Berosus, Fr. 11 *a*. Ναβονάσαρος συναγαγὼν τὰς πράξεις τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἠφάνισεν.

[6] See the "Canon of Ptolemy."

as constituting the reign of Semiramis.[7] As the wife or as the mother of Nabonassar, that lady (according to many) directed the affairs of the Babylonian state on behalf of her husband or her son. The theory is not devoid of a certain plausibility, and it is no doubt possible that it may be true; but at present it is a mere conjecture, wholly unconfirmed by the native records; and we may question whether on the whole it is not more probable that the Semiramis of Herodotus is misplaced. In a former volume it was shown that a Semiramis flourished in Assyria towards the end of the ninth and the beginning of the eighth centuries B.C.[8]—during the period, that is, of Babylonian subjection to Assyria. She may have been a Babylonian princess, and have exercised an authority in the southern capital.[9] It would seem therefore to be more probable that she is the individual whom Herodotus intends, though he has placed her about half a century too late, than that there were two persons of the same name within so short a time, both queens, and both ruling in Mesopotamia.

Nabonassar was succeeded in the year B.C. 733 by a certain Nadius, who is suspected to have been among the independent princes reduced to subjection by Tiglath-Pileser in his Babylonian expedition.[10] Nadius reigned only two years—from B.C. 733 to B.C. 731—when he was succeeded by Chinzinus and Porus, two princes whose joint rule lasted from B.C. 731 to B.C. 726. They were followed by an Elulæus, who has been identified[11] with the king of that name called by Menander[12] king of Tyre—the Luliya of the cuneiform inscriptions;[13] but it is in the highest degree improbable that one and the same monarch should have borne sway both in Phœnicia and Chaldæa

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[7] Herod. i. 184. Among those who identify the reigns of Semiramis and Nabonassar, and suppose a close tie of relationship to have existed between them, are Larcher (*Hérodote*, tom. i. p. 468), Clinton (*F. H.* vol. i. p. 279, note [r]), Volney (*Recherches sur l'Histoire ancienne*, part iii. p. 79), Bosanquet (*Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 280), and Vance Smith (*Prophecies relating to Assyria*, pp. 66, 67).

[8] See above, vol. ii. p. 120.

[9] Ibid. p. 121.

[10] One of these princes bears the name of *Nadina*, which may have been corrupted into Nadius. (See above, p. 38.)

[11] Bosanquet, *Fall of Nineveh*, p. 40.

[12] Ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* ix. 14, § 2.

[13] See above, vol. ii. p. 158.

at a time when Assyria was paramount over the whole of the intervening country. Elulæus therefore must be assigned to the same class of utterly obscure monarchs with his predecessors, Porus, Chinzinus, and Nadius; and it is only with Merodach-Baladan, his successor, that the darkness becomes a little dispelled, and we once more see the Babylonian throne occupied by a prince of some reputation and indeed celebrity.

Merodach-Baladan was the son of a monarch, who in the troublous times that preceded, or closely followed, the era of Nabonassar appears to have made himself master of the lower Babylonian territory[14]—the true Chaldæa—and to have there founded a capital city, which he called after his own name, Bit-Yakin. On the death of his father Merodach-Baladan inherited this dominion; and it is here that we first find him, when, during the reign of Nabonassar, the Assyrians under Tiglath-Pileser II. invade the country. Forced to accept the position of Assyrian tributary under this monarch, to whom he probably looked for protection against the Babylonian king, Nabonassar, Merodach-Baladan patiently bided his time, remaining in comparative obscurity during the two reigns of Tiglath-Pileser and Shalmaneser his successor, and only emerging contemporaneously with the troubles which ushered in the dynasty of the Sargonids. In B.C. 721—the year in which Sargon made himself master of Nineveh[1]—Merodach-Baladan extended his authority over the upper country, and was recognised as king of Babylon. Here he maintained himself for twelve years; and it was probably at some point of time within this space that he sent ambassadors to Hezekiah at Jerusalem,[2] with orders to enquire into the particulars of the curious astronomical marvel,[3] or miracle, which had accompanied the sickness and recovery of that monarch. It is not unlikely that the embassy, whereof this was the pretext, had a further political

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[14] Supra, page 38.

[1] Supra, vol. ii. p. 141; compare p. 156, note [6].

[2] 2 K. xx. 12; Is. xxxix. 1.

[3] The ingenious explanation which Mr. Bosanquet has given of the going back of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz (*Jour. of Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. pp. 286-295) is probably known to most readers. A way is clearly shown in which the shadow *may* have gone back without any interference with the course of nature.

object. Merodach-Baladan, aware of his inability to withstand singly the forces of Assyria, was probably anxious to form a powerful league against the conquering state, which threatened to absorb the whole of Western Asia into its dominion. Hezekiah received his advances favourably, as appears by the fact that he exhibited to him all his treasures.[4] Egypt, we may presume, was cognizant of the proceedings, and gave them her support.[5] An alliance, defensive if not also offensive, was probably concluded between Egypt and Judæa on the one hand, Babylon, Susiana, and the Aramæan tribes of the middle Euphrates on the other. The league would have been formidable but for one circumstance—Assyria lay midway between the allied states, and could attack either moiety of the confederates separately at her pleasure. And the Assyrian king was not slow to take advantage of his situation. In two successive years Sargon marched his troops against Egypt and against Babylonia, and in both directions carried all before him. In Egypt he forced Sabaco to sue for peace.[6] In Babylonia (B.C. 710) he gained a great victory over Merodach-Baladan and his allies, the Aramæans and Susianians,[7] took Bit-Yakin, into which the defeated monarch had thrown himself, and gained possession of his treasures and his person. Upon this the whole country submitted; Merodach-Baladan was carried away captive into Assyria; and Sargon himself, mounting the throne, assumed the title—rarely taken by an Assyrian monarch—of "King of Babylon."

But this state of things did not continue long. Sargon died in the year B.C. 704, and coincident with his death we find a renewal of troubles in Babylonia.[8] Assyria's yoke was shaken off; various pretenders started up; a son of Sargon and brother of Sennacherib re-established Assyrian influence for a brief space;[9] but fresh revolts followed. A certain Hagisa became

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[4] Isaiah xxxix. 2, 4.

[5] The dependance of Judæa on Egypt during Hezekiah's reign is indicated by the expressions in 2 K. xviii. 21, 24; Is. xxxvi. 6, 9.

[6] Supra, vol. ii. p. 147.

[7] Ibid. p. 148.

[8] An *interregnum* in the canon (ἔτη ἀβασίλευτα) necessarily implies a season of trouble and disorder. It does not show that there was no king, but only that no king reigned a full year.

[9] Polyhist. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 5, § 1. (See the passage quoted at length in the second volume of this work, p. 156, note [8].)

king of Babylon for a month. Finally, Merodach-Baladan again appeared upon the scene, having escaped from his Assyrian prison, murdered Hagisa, and remounted the throne from which he had been deposed seven years previously.[10] But the brave effort to recover independence failed. Sennacherib in his second year, B.C. 703, descended upon Babylonia, defeated the army which Merodach-Baladan brought against him, drove that monarch himself into exile, after a reign of six months, and re-attached his country to the Assyrian crown.[11] From this time to the revolt of Nabopolassar—a period of above three quarters of a century—Babylonia, with few and brief intervals of revolt, continued an Assyrian fief. The Assyrian kings governed her either by means of viceroys, such as Belibus, Regibelus, Mesesimordachus, and Saos-duchinus, or directly in their own persons, as was the case during the reign of Esarhaddon,[12] and during the later years of Asshur-bani-pal.[13]

The revolts of Babylon during this period have been described at length in the history of Assyria.[14] Two fall into the reign of Sennacherib, one into that of Asshur-bani-pal, his grandson. In the former, Merodach-Baladan, who had not yet given up his pretensions to the lower country, and a certain Susub, who was acknowledged as king at Babylon, were the leaders. In the latter, Saos-duchinus, the Assyrian viceroy, and brother of Asshur-bani-pal, the Assyrian king, seduced from his allegiance by the hope of making himself independent, headed the insurrection. In each case the struggle was brief, being begun and ended within the year.[15] The power of Assyria at this time so vastly preponderated over that of her ancient rival that a single campaign sufficed on each occasion of revolt to crush the nascent insurrection.[16]

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[10] See vol. ii. p. 156, note [8].

[11] Supra, vol. ii. p. 157.

[12] Ibid. pp. 195 and 201.

[13] Ibid. p. 219, note [6].

[14] See above, vol. ii. pp. 157, 173-175, and p. 206.

[15] As Susub does not appear in Ptolemy's Canon, it is tolerably certain that neither his first nor his second reign lasted a year. The revolt of Saülmugina (Saos-duchinus) seems to have been put down within a few months. (See vol. ii. pp. 207.)

[16] This remark is true of all the known cases of revolt It might, however, require some qualification, if the history of the eight years from B.C. 688 to B.C. 680 were recovered. The interregnum of Ptolemy in this place implies either revolt or a rapid succession of viceroys—probably the former.

A tabular view of the chronology of this period is appended.

CHRONOLOGY OF BABYLON FROM THE ARAB CONQUEST TO NABOPOLASSAR.

N.B.—*Babylonian dates fall one year below Assyrian, from the practice established at Babylon of recording a king's accession on the Thoth of the ensuing year.*

B.C.	Kings.	Contemporary kings of Assyria.	Remarkable events.
Ab. 1300	Dynasty of Assyrians . .	Tiglathi-Nin I. . .	Babylon conquered by the Assyrians.
		* * *	
		Bel-kudur-uzur.	
	* * *	Nin-pala-zira.	
		Asshur-dayan I.	
		Mutaggil-Nebo.	
Ab. 1150	Nebuchadnezzar I. . . .	Asshur-ris-ilim . .	Wars between Assyria and Babylon.
„ 1130	Merodach-iddin-akhi . .	Tiglath-pileser I. . .	
„ 1110	Merodach-shapik-zir1 . .	Asshur-bil-kala . .	
		Shamas-Vul I.	
	* * *	* * *	
	Tsibir (Deboras) . . .	Asshur-Mazur . .	Babylon in alliance with Egypt.
	* * *	* * *	Takes territory from Assyria.
		Asshur-dayan II.	
	* * *	Vul-tush II.	
		Tiglathi-Nin II.	
Ab. 880	. . .	Asshur-izir-pal . .	Assyria recovers her lost territory.
„ 850	Merodach-sum-adin . .	Shalmaneser II. . .	Civil war in Babylon. Assyria helps the legitimate king.
„ 820	Merodach-belatzu-ikbi .	Shamas-Vul II. . .	Babylon conquered. Passes under Assyria.
	* * *	Vul-lush III	
		Shalmaneser III.	
		Asshur-dayan III.	
„ 775	Pul (?).		
752	. . .	Asshur-lush.	
747	Nabonassar	. . .	Babylon re-establishes her independence.
744	. . .	Tiglath-pileser II.	
733	Nadius.		
731	Chinzinus and Porus		
726	Elukeus	Shalmaneser IV.	
721	Merodach-Baladan . . .	Sargon.	
713 (?)	. . .	. . .	Embassy of Merodach-Baladan to Hezekiah.
709	Arceanus (Sargon) . .	. . .	Babylon conquered by Sargon.
704	Interregnum	Sennacherib . . .	Babylon revolts.
703	Hagisa . . . . . / Merodach-Baladan . .	. . .	Sennacherib conquers Babylon.
702	Belibus (viceroy).		
699	Assaranadius (viceroy).		
696 (?)	Susub	. . .	Babylon revolts. Revolt put down.
694 (?)	. . .	. . .	Ditto.
693	Regibelus (viceroy).		
692	Mesesimordachus (viceroy).		
688	Interregnum	. . .	Troubles in Babylon. Interregnum of eight years, coinciding with last eight years of Sennacherib.
680	Esarhaddon	Esarhaddon . . .	Babylon recovered by Esarhaddon.
667	Saos-duchinus (viceroy) .	Asshur-bani-pal . .	Babylon revolts and again returns to allegiance.
647	Cinneladanus (or Asshur bani-pal).		
626	Nebo-sum-iskun (?)	Asshur-emid-ilin	
625	Nabopolassar	. . .	Assyrian empire destroyed.

Having thus briefly sketched the history of the kingdom of Babylon from its conquest by Tiglathi-Nin to the close of the long period of Assyrian predominance in Western Asia, we may proceed to the consideration of the "Empire." And first, as to the circumstances of its foundation.

When the Medes first assumed an aggressive attitude towards Assyria, and threatened the capital with a siege, Babylonia apparently remained unshaken in her allegiance. When the Scythian hordes spread themselves over Upper Mesopotamia and wasted with fire and sword the fairest regions under Assyrian rule, there was still no defection in this quarter.[1] It was not till the Scythic ravages were over, and the Medes for the second time poured across Zagros into Adiabêné, resuming the enterprise from which they had desisted at the time of the Scythic invasion, that the fidelity of the Southern people wavered. Simultaneously with the advance of the Medes against the Assyrian capital from the east, we hear of a force threatening it from the south,[2] a force which can only have consisted of Susianians, of Babylonians, or of both combined.[3] It is probable that the emissaries of Cyaxares had been busy in this region for some time before his second attack took place, and that by a concerted plan while the Medes debouched from the Zagros passes, the south rose in revolt and sent its hasty levies along the valley of the Tigris.

In this strait the Assyrian king deemed it necessary to divide his forces and to send a portion against the enemy which was advancing from the south, while with the remainder he himself awaited the coming of the Medes. The troops detached for

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[1] Supra, vol. ii. p. 228.

[2] Abden. ad Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 9. "Saracus . . . . certior factus turmarum vulgi collecticiarum quæ *à mari* adversus se adventarent, continuò Busalussorum militiæ ducem Babylonem mittebat.' The *sea* here mentioned can only be the Persian Gulf.

There is some reason to think that Bel-sum-iskun, the father of Neriglissar (infra, p. 63), assumed the title of king of Babylon at this time. A fragment belonging to the reign of Asshur-emid-ilin, the last Assyrian king, seems to speak of his taking possession of the Babylonian throne.

[3] It has been conjectured that the "turmæ vulgi collecticiæ" were a remnant of the Scythic hordes which had recently overrun Western Asia. But we cannot well imagine them advancing *from the sea*, or acting in concert with their special enemies, the Medes.

the former service he placed under the command of a certain Nabopolassar[4] (Nabu-pal-uzur), who was probably an Assyrian nobleman of high rank and known capacity.[5] Nabopolassar had orders to proceed to Babylon, of which he was probably made viceroy, and to defend the southern capital against the rebels. We may conclude that he obeyed these orders so far as to enter Babylon and install himself in office; but shortly afterwards he seems to have made up his mind to break faith with his sovereign, and aim at obtaining for himself an independent kingdom out of the ruins of the Assyrian power. Having formed this resolve, his first step was to send an embassy to Cyaxares, and to propose terms of alliance, while at the same time he arranged a marriage between his own son, Nebuchadnezzar, and Amuhia, or Amyitis (for the name is written both ways), the daughter of the Median monarch.[6] Cyaxares gladly accepted the terms offered; the young persons were betrothed; and Nabopolassar immediately led, or sent, a contingent of troops to join the Medes, who took an active part in the great siege which resulted in the capture and destruction of the Assyrian capital.[7]

A division of the Assyrian Empire between the allied monarchs followed. While Cyaxares claimed for his own share

[4] Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 210, B. Οὗτος [ὁ Ναβοπολάσαρος] στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Σαράκου τοῦ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως σταλεὶς, κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σαράκου εἰς Νῖνον ἐπιστρατεύει. Compare Abyden. ap. Euseb. l. s. c., where Nabopolassar is called Busalussor (leg. Bupalussor) by the same sort of abbreviation by which Nebuchadnezzar has become Bokht-i-nazar among the modern Arabs.

[5] It is unlikely that any one who was not an Assyrian would have received so high an appointment.

[6] "Sed enim hic, capto rebellandi consilio, Amuhiam Asdahagis Medorum principis filiam nato suo Nabucodrossoro despondebat." Abyden. l. s. c. "Is (Sardanapallus) ad Asdahagem, qui erat Medicæ gentis præses et satrapa, copias auxiliares misit, videlicet ut filio suo Nabucodrossoro desponderet Amuhiam e filiabus Asdahagis unam." Alex. Polyhist. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 5, § 3. Χαλδαίων ἐβασίλευσεν Ναβοπολάσαρος ἔτη κά, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ. Τοῦτον ὁ πολυίστωρ Ἀλέξανδρος Σαρδανάπαλον καλεῖ, πέμψαντα πρὸς Ἀστυάγην σατράπην Μηδίας, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἀρωΐτην λαβόντα νύμφην εἰς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 210, A. The marriage of Nebuchadnezzar with a Median princess was attested by Berosus. (Fr. 14.)

[7] That the Medes and Babylonians both took part in the siege is witnessed by Polyhistor (l. s. c.), Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* x. 5, § 1), and the author of the Book of Tobit (xiv. 15). It was also the view of Ctesias (Diod. Sic. ii. 24-28). Herodotus in his extant work speaks only of the Medes (i. 106), while in our fragments of Abydenus the Babylonians alone are distinctly mentioned.

There is further considerable dis-

Assyria Proper and the various countries dependant on Assyria towards the north and the north-west, Nabopolassar was rewarded for his timely defection, not merely by independence but by the transfer to his government of Susiana on the one hand and of the valley of the Euphrates, Syria, and Palestine on the other. The transfer appears to have been effected quietly, the Babylonian yoke being peacefully accepted in lieu of the Assyrian without the necessity arising for any application of force. Probably it appeared to the subjects of Assyria, who had been accustomed to a monarch holding his court alternately at Nineveh and at Babylon,[8] that the new power was merely a continuation of the old, the new monarch a legitimate successor of the old line of Ninevite kings.

Of the reign of Nabopolassar the information which has come down to us is scanty. It appears by the canon of Ptolemy that he dated his accession to the throne from the year B.C. 625, and that his reign lasted twenty-one years,[9] from B.C. 625 to B.C. 604. During the greater portion of this period the history of Babylon is a blank. Apparently the "golden city"[10] enjoyed her new position at the head of an empire too much to endanger it by aggression; and, her peaceful attitude provoking no hostility, she was for a while left unmolested by her neighbours. Media, bound to her by formal treaty as well as by dynastic interests, could be relied upon as a firm friend; Persia was too weak, Lydia too remote to be formidable; in Egypt alone was there a combination of hostile feeling with military strength such as might have been expected to lead speedily to a trial of strength; but Egypt was under the rule of an aged and wary prince, one trained in the school of adversity,[11] whose years forbade his engaging in any distant enterprise, and whose prudence led him to think more of defending his own country than

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crepancy as to the leaders engaged in the siege. Abydenus and Polyhistor make the Median commander Astyages; the author of Tobit calls him Assuerus (Xerxes). This same writer makes the Babylonian commander Nebuchadnezzar. I have followed in the text what seems to me the balance of authority.

[8] Supra, vol. ii. p. 194.

[9] So also Berosus (Fr. 14), and Polyhistor (ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 5, § 3).

[10] Isaiah xiv. 4.

[11] Herod. ii. 151, 152.

of attacking others.[12] Thus, while Psammetichus lived, Babylon had little to fear from any quarter, and could afford to "give herself to pleasures and dwell carelessly."[13]

The only exertion which she seems to have been called upon to make during her first eighteen years of empire, resulted from the close connection which had been established between herself and Media. Cyaxares, as already remarked, proceeded from the capture of Nineveh to a long series of wars and conquests. In some, if not in all, of these he appears to have been assisted by the Babylonians, who were perhaps bound by treaty to furnish a contingent as often as he required it. Either Nabopolassar himself, or his son Nebuchadnezzar, would lead out the troops on such occasions; and thus the military spirit of both prince and people would be pretty constantly exercised.

It was as the leader of such a contingent that Nabopolassar was able on one occasion to play the important part of peace-maker in one of the bloodiest of all Cyaxares' wars.[1] After five years' desperate fighting the Medes and Lydians were once more engaged in conflict when an eclipse of the sun took place. Filled with superstitious dread the two armies ceased to contend, and showed a disposition for reconciliation, of which the Babylonian monarch was not slow to take advantage. Having consulted with Syennesis of Cilicia, the foremost man of the allies on the other side, and found him well disposed to second his efforts, he proposed that the sword should be returned to the scabbard, and that a conference should be held to arrange terms of peace. This timely interference proved effectual. A peace was concluded between the Lydians and the Medes, which was cemented by a royal intermarriage; and the result was to give to Western Asia, where war and ravage had long been almost perpetual, nearly half a century of tranquillity.[2]

Successful in his mediation, almost beyond his hopes, Nabo-

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[12] The only even apparent exception is the siege and capture of Ashdod (Herod. ii. 157), which may have had a defensive object. Egypt needed for her protection a strong fortress in this quarter.

[13] Isaiah xlvii. 8.

[1] See Herod. i. 74, and compare above, vol. ii. pp. 410-412.

[2] Supra, vol. ii. pp. 412, 413.

polassar returned from Asia Minor to Babylon. He was now advanced in years, and would no doubt gladly have spent the remainder of his days in the enjoyment of that repose, which is so dear to those who feel the infirmities of age creeping upon them. But Providence had ordained otherwise. In B.C. 610—probably the very year of the eclipse—Psammetichus died, and was succeeded by his son Neco, who was in the prime of life and who in disposition was bold and enterprising. This monarch very shortly after his accession cast a covetous eye upon Syria, and in the year B.C. 608,[3] having made vast preparations, he crossed his frontier and invaded the territories of Nabopolassar. Marching along the usual route, by the *Shephêlah* and the plain of Esdraelon,[4] he learned, when he neared Megiddo, that a body of troops was drawn up at that place to oppose him. Josiah, the Jewish king, regarding himself as bound to resist the passage through his territories of an army hostile to the monarch of whom he held his crown, had collected his forces, and, having placed them across the line of the invader's march, was calmly awaiting in this position the approach of his master's enemy. Neco, hereupon, sent ambassadors to persuade Josiah to let him pass, representing that he had no quarrel with the Jews, and claiming a divine sanction to his undertaking.[5] But nothing could shake the Jewish monarch's sense of duty; and Neco was consequently forced to engage with him, and to drive his troops from their position. Josiah, defeated and mortally wounded, returned to Jerusalem, where he died.[6] Neco pressed forward through Syria to the Euphrates;[7] and, carrying all before him, established his dominion over the whole tract lying between Egypt on the one hand, and the "Great River" upon the other.[8] On his return three months later he visited Jeru-

[3] The last year of Josiah was (I think) B.C. 608—not B.C. 609, as Clinton makes it (*F. H.* vol. i. p. 328), nor B.C. 610, as given in the margin of our Bibles.

[4] See above, vol. ii. p. 450, note [9].

[5] 2 Chron. xxxv. 21.

[6] 2 K. xxiii. 29, 30; 2 Chr. xxxv. 23, 24. Compare Herod. ii. 159, where the battle is erroneously placed at Magdolum (Magdala) instead of Megiddo.

[7] 2 Chr. xxxv. 20; Jer. xlvi. 2.

[8] This is evident from what is said of the recovery of this tract by the Babylonians (2 K. xxiv. 17), and from the position of Neco's army in B.C. 605. (Jer. l. s. c.) It agrees also with the statements of Berosus (Fr. 14), except that Neco is there represented as a Babylonian satrap.

salem,[9] deposed Jehoahaz, a younger son of Josiah, whom the people had made king, and gave the crown to Jehoiakim, his elder brother. It was probably about this time that he besieged and took Gaza,[10] the most important of the Philistine towns next to Ashdod.

The loss of this large and valuable territory did not at once arouse the Babylonian monarch from his inaction or induce him to make any effort for its recovery. Neco enjoyed his conquests in quiet for the space of at least three full years.[11] At length, in the year B.C. 605, Nabopolassar, who felt himself unequal to the fatigues of a campaign,[12] resolved to entrust his forces to Nebuchadnezzar, his son, and to send him to contend with the Egyptians. The key of Syria at this time was Carchemish, a city situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, probably near the site which was afterwards occupied by Hierapolis. Here the forces of Neco were drawn up to protect his conquests, and here Nebuchadnezzar proceeded boldly to attack them. A great battle was fought in the vicinity of the river, which was utterly disastrous to the Egyptians, who "fled away" in confusion,[13] and seem not to have ventured on making a second stand. Nebuchadnezzar rapidly recovered the lost territory, received the submission of Jehoiakim, King of Judah,[14] restored the old frontier line, and probably pressed on into Egypt itself,[15] hoping to cripple or even to crush his presumptuous adversary. But at this point he was compelled to pause. News arrived from Babylon that Nabopolassar was dead; and the Babylonian prince, who feared a disputed succession, having first concluded a hasty arrangement with Neco, returned at his best speed to his capital.[16]

[9] 2 K. xxiii. 33, 34.

[10] Herod. ii. 159; Jer. xlvii. 1.

[11] The great battle of Carchemish, in which Nebuchadnezzar defeated Neco, was in the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim (Jer. xlvi. 2), whom Neco made king after his first successes.

[12] Οὐ δυνάμενος ἔτι κακοπαθεῖν. Beros. Fr. 14.

[13] Jer. xlvi. 5. Compare the narrative of Berosus. Συμμίξας δὲ Ναβουχοδονόσορος τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ παραταξάμενος αὐτοῦ τε ἐκράτησε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλείαν ἐποιήσατο. (Fr. 14.)

[14] 2 K. xxiv. 1.

[15] Berosus speaks of Nebuchadnezzar's arranging the affairs of Egypt at this time (l. s. c.).

[16] On this occasion Nebuchadnezzar, to save time, traversed the desert with a small body of followers. The troops,

Arriving probably before he was expected, he discovered that his fears were groundless. The priests had taken the direction of affairs during his absence, and the throne had been kept vacant for him by the Chief Priest, or Head of the Order.[17] No pretender had started up to dispute his claims. Doubtless his military prestige, and the probability that the soldiers would adopt his cause, had helped to keep back aspirants; but perhaps it was the promptness of his return, as much as anything, that caused the crisis to pass off without difficulty.

Nebuchadnezzar is the great monarch of the Babylonian Empire, which, lasting only 88 years—from B.C. 625 to B.C. 538—was for nearly half the time under his sway. Its military glory is due chiefly to him, while the constructive energy, which constitutes its especial characteristic, belongs to it still more markedly through his character and genius. It is scarcely too much to say that, but for Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonians would have had no place in history. At any rate, their actual place is owing almost entirely to this prince, who to the military talents of an able general added a grandeur of artistic conception and a skill in construction which place him on a par with the greatest builders of antiquity.

We have no complete, or even general, account of Nebuchadnezzar's wars. Our chief, our almost sole, information concerning them is derived from the Jewish writers.[1] Consequently, those wars only which interested these writers, in other words those whose scene is Palestine or its immediate vicinity, admit of being placed before the reader. If Nebuchadnezzar had quarrels with the Persians, or the Arabians,[2] or the Medes,

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the baggage, and the provisions returned by the usual route through Upper Syria. (Beros. l. s. c.)

[17] Berosus, l. s. c. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν Χαλδαίων, καὶ διατηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.

[1] As Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the authors of Kings and Chronicles, and Josephus. In the valuable fragment which Josephus has preserved from Berosus (*Contr. Ap.* i. 19), we have an account of only one war—that waged by Nebuchadnezzar in his father's lifetime. (See above, p. 49).

[2] A phrase in Berosus seems to imply that Nebuchadnezzar not only had a war with the Arabs, but that he conquered a portion of their country. (Κρατῆσαι δὲ φησὶν [ὁ Βηρωσσὸς] τὸν Βαβυλώνιον Αἰγύπτου, Συρίας, Φοινίκης, Ἀραβίας. Fr. 14.) Is this the conquest of the Moabites and Ammonites of which Josephus speaks? (*Ant. Jud.* x. 9, § 7.)

or the tribes in Mount Zagros, as is not improbable, nothing is now known of their course or issue. Until some historical document belonging to his time shall be discovered, we must be content with a very partial knowledge of the external history of Babylon during his reign. We have a tolerably full account of his campaigns against the Jews, and some information as to the general course of the wars which he carried on with Egypt and Phœnicia; but beyond these narrow limits we know nothing.

It appears to have been only a few years after Nebuchadnezzar's triumphant campaign against Neco, that renewed troubles broke out in Syria. Phœnicia revolted under the leadership of Tyre;[3] and about the same time Jehoiakim, the Jewish king, having obtained a promise of aid from the Egyptians, renounced his allegiance.[4] Upon this, in his seventh year (B.C. 598), Nebuchadnezzar proceeded once more into Palestine at the head of a vast army, composed partly of his allies, the Medes, partly of his own subjects.[5] He first invested Tyre;[6] but, finding that city too strong to be taken by assault, he left a portion of his army to continue the siege, while he himself pressed forward against Jerusalem.[7] On his near approach, Jehoiakim, seeing that the Egyptians did not care to come to his aid, made his submission; but Nebuchadnezzar punished his rebellion with death,[8] and, departing from the common Oriental practice, had his dead body treated with indignity.[9] At first

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[3] Joseph. *Contr. Ap.* i. 21; *Ant. Jud.* x. 11, § 1. Compare Jer. xxvii. 3.

[4] 2 K. xxiv. 1. The expectation of help from Egypt, which Josephus expressly asserts (*Ant. Jud.* x. 6, § 2), is implied in 2 K. xxiv. 7. We may suspect that the embassy sent ostensibly to claim Urijah (Jer. xxvi. 22) had really for its object to conclude an arrangement with Neco.

[5] Alex. Polyhist. Fr. 24. (See above, vol. ii. p. 414.) According to this writer, Nebuchadnezzar's army on this occasion numbered 10 000 chariots (!,) 120,000 horse, and 180,000 foot.

[6] The grounds for believing that Tyre was invested *before* Jerusalem are given in the author's *Herodotus* (vol. i. p. 422, note [6], 2nd edition.)

[7] 2 Chr. xxxvi. 6; Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 6, § 3.

[8] Josephus (l. s. c.) accuses Nebuchadnezzar of a breach of faith on this occasion: but it is most likely that Jehoiakim surrendered without conditions.

[9] Joseph. l. s. c. Compare Jerem. xxii. 19, "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem," and xxxvi. 30, "His dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat and in the night to the frost."

he placed upon the throne Jehoiachin, the son of the late monarch,[10] a youth of eighteen;[11] but three months later, becoming suspicious (probably not without reason) of this prince's fidelity, he deposed him and had him brought a captive to Babylon,[12] substituting in his place his uncle, Zedekiah, a brother of Jehoiakim and Jehoahaz. Meanwhile the siege of Tyre was pressed, but with little effect. A blockade is always tedious; and the blockade of an island city, strong in its navy, by an enemy unaccustomed to the sea, and therefore forced to depend mainly upon the assistance of reluctant allies, must have been a task of such extreme difficulty that one is surprised it was not given up in despair. According to the Tyrian historians their city resisted all the power of Nebuchadnezzar for thirteen years.[13] If this statement is to be relied on, Tyre must have been still uncaptured, when the time came for its sister capital to make that last effort for freedom in which it perished.

After receiving his crown from Nebuchadnezzar, Zedekiah continued for eight years to play the part of a faithful vassal. At length, however, in the ninth year,[14] he fancied he saw a way to independence. A young and enterprising monarch, Uaphris—the Apries of Herodotus—had recently mounted the Egyptian throne.[15] If the alliance of this prince could be secured, there was, Zedekiah thought, a reasonable hope that the yoke of Babylon might be thrown off and Hebrew autonomy re-established. The infatuated monarch did not see, that, do what he would, his country had no more than a choice of masters, that by the laws of political attraction Judæa must gravitate to one or other of the two great states between which it had the misfortune of lying. Hoping to free his country, he sent ambassadors to Uaphris, who were to conclude a treaty and

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[10] Jer. xxvii. 1; Joseph. x. 71, § 1.

[11] 2 K. xxiv. 8. The number *eight* in the parallel passage of Chronicles (2 Chron. xxxvi. 9) is evidently corrupt. Nebuchadnezzar would not have placed a boy of eight on the throne. Jehoiachin, moreover, had several wives (2 K. xxiv. 15.)

[12] 2 K. xxiv. 10-15; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 10.

[13] Joseph. *contr. Ap.* i. 21. Compare Philostr. ap. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 11, § 1.

[14] 2 K. xxv. 1; Jer. xxxix. 1; lii. 4.

[15] The ninth year of Zedekiah was B.C. 588. Uaphris began to reign the same year.

demand the assistance of a powerful contingent, composed of both foot and horse.[16] Uaphris received the overture favourably; and Zedekiah at once revolted from Babylon, and made preparations to defend himself with vigour. It was not long before the Babylonians arrived. Determined to crush the daring state, which, weak as it was, had yet ventured to revolt against him now for the fourth time,[17] Nebuchadnezzar came in person, "he and all his host,"[18] against Jerusalem, and after overcoming and pillaging the open country,[19] "built forts" and besieged the city.[20] Uaphris, upon this, learning the danger of his ally, marched out of Egypt to his relief;[21] and the Babylonian army, receiving intelligence of his approach, raised the siege and proceeded in quest of their new enemy. According to Josephus[22] a battle was fought, in which the Egyptians were defeated; but it is perhaps more probable that they avoided an engagement by a precipitate retreat into their own country.[23] At any rate the attempt effectually to relieve Jerusalem failed. After a brief interval the siege was renewed; a complete blockade was established; and in a year and a half from the time of the second investment,[24] the city fell.

Nebuchadnezzar had not waited to witness this success of his arms. The siege of Tyre was still being pressed at the date of the second investment of Jerusalem, and the Chaldæan monarch had perhaps thought that his presence on the borders of Phœnicia was necessary to animate his troops in that quarter. If this was his motive in withdrawing from the Jewish capital, the event would seem to have shown that he judged wisely. Tyre, if it fell at the end of its thirteen years' siege,[1] must have

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[16] Ezek. xvii. 15. "He rebelled against him in sending his ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people." Compare Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 7, § 3.

[17] Jehoiakim seems to have revolted twice—in his 8th and in his 11th year; Jehoiachin either had revolted or was on the point of revolting when he was deposed. Thus Zedekiah's revolt was the fourth within the space of thirteen years (B.C. 601-588).

[18] 2 K. xxv. 1.

[19] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 7, § 3. Τὴν χώραν κακώσας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ φρούρια λαβών. Compare Jer. xxxiv. 7.

[20] 2 K. l. s. c.; Jer. lii. 4.

[21] Jer. xxxvii. 5.

[22] *Ant. Jud.* l. s. c. Ἀπαντήσας δὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς τῇ μάχῃ νικᾷ.

[23] See Jer. xxxvii. 7.

[24] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 7, § 4. Προσκαθίσας αὐτῇ μῆνας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐπολιόρκει.

[1] It has been questioned whether the

been taken in the very year which followed the capture of Jerusalem, B.C. 585.[2] We may suppose that Nebuchadnezzar, when he quitted Jerusalem and took up his abode at Riblah in the Cœle-Syrian valley,[3] turned his main attention to the great Phœnician city, and made arrangements which caused its capture in the ensuing year.

The recovery of these two important cities secured to the Babylonian monarch the quiet possession thenceforth of Syria and Palestine. But still he had not as yet inflicted any chastisement upon Egypt; though policy, no less than honour, required that the aggressions of this audacious power should be punished. If we may believe Josephus, however, the day of vengeance was not very long delayed. Within four years of the fall of Tyre, B.C. 581, Nebuchadnezzar, he tells us, invaded Egypt, put Uaphris, the monarch who had succoured Zedekiah, to death, and placed a creature of his own upon the throne.[4] Egyptian history, it is true, forbids our accepting this statement as correct in all its particulars. Uaphris appears certainly to have reigned at least as late as B.C. 569,[5] and according to Herodotus, he was put to death, not by a foreign invader, but by a rebellious subject.[6] Perhaps we may best harmonize the conflicting statements on the subject by supposing that Josephus has confounded two distinct invasions of Egypt, one made by Nebuchadnezzar in his twenty-third year, B.C. 581, which had no very important consequences, and the other

real Tyre, the island city, actually fell on this occasion (Heeren, *As. Nat.* vol. ii. p. 11, E. T.; Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, p. 390), chiefly because Ezekiel says, about B.C. 570, that Nebuchadnezzar had "received no wages for the service that he served against it." (Ezek. xxix. 18.) But this passage may be understood to mean that he had had no sufficient wages. Berosus expressly stated that Nebuchadnezzar reduced all Phœnicia—ὅτι καὶ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἁπᾶσαν ἐκεῖνος κατεστρέψατο. (Ap. Joseph. *Contr. Ap.* i. 20.)

[2] The siege commenced in the 7th year of Nebuchadnezzar and lasted 13 years, terminating consequently in his 20th year, which was B.C. 585. (Joseph. *Contr. Ap.* i. 21.)

[3] 2 K. xxv. 6, 20, 21; Jer. xxxix. 5; lii. 9. Riblah seems to have been an important fortress at this time (2 K. xxiii. 33). Apparently it had taken the place of Hamath.

[4] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 9, § 7.

[5] Cambyses conquered Egypt B.C. 525. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 1, note [1].) Psammenitus (Psammatik III.) had then been on the throne a few months. Amasis, his father, who succeeded Apries, had reigned 44 years. (Herod. iii. 10. Manetho, as represented by Africanus, and the monuments agree.) This would bring the close of the reign of Apries (Uaphris) to B.C. 569.

[6] Herod. ii. 169.

eleven years later, B.C. 570, which terminated in the deposition of Uaphris, and the establishment on the throne of a new king, Amasis, who received a nominal royalty from the Chaldæan monarch.[7]

Such—so far as they are known—were the military exploits of this great king. He defeated Neco, recovered Syria, crushed rebellion in Judæa, took Tyre, and humiliated Egypt. According to some writers his successes did not stop here. Megasthenes made him subdue most of Africa, and thence pass over into Spain and conquer the Iberians.[8] He even went further and declared that, on his return from these regions, he settled his Iberian captives on the shores of the Euxine in the country between Armenia and the Caucasus! Thus Nebuchadnezzar was made to reign over an empire extending from the Atlantic to the Caspian, and from the Caucasus to the Great Sahara.

The victories of Nebuchadnezzar were not without an effect on his home administration and on the construction of the vast works with which his name is inseparably associated. It was through them that he obtained that enormous command of "naked human strength" which enabled him, without undue oppression of his own people, to carry out on the grandest scale his schemes for at once beautifying and benefiting his kingdom. From the time when he first took the field at the head of an army he adopted the Assyrian system[9] of forcibly removing almost the whole population of a conquered country, and planting it in a distant part of his dominions. Crowds of captives—the produce of his various wars—Jews, Egyptians, Phœnicians,

[7] The prophecies of Jeremiah (xlvi. 13-26) and Ezekiel (xxix. 8-20; xxx. 4-26), especially the latter, are very difficult to reconcile with the historical accounts that have come down to us of the condition of Egypt in the reigns of Apries and Amasis. (Herod. ii. 161-182; Diod. Sic. i. 68.) Ezekiel's 40 years' *desolation* of Egypt must (I think) be taken as figurative, marking a time of *degradation*, when independence was lost. Of course such political degradation would be quite consistent with great material prosperity. (See the remarks of Sir G. Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 325, 2nd edition.)

It is never to be forgotten that Berosus distinctly witnessed to the *conquest* of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar. (Ap. Joseph. *Contr. Ap.* i. 19. Κρατῆσαι δὲ φησὶ τὸν Βαβυλώνιον Αἰγύπτου κ.τ.λ.)

[8] Ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41. Compare Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 10, § 3, and Mos. Chor. *Hist. Armen.* ii. 7.

[9] See above, vol. ii. pp. 238, 239.

Syrians, Ammonites, Moabites, were settled in various parts of Mesopotamia,[10] more especially about Babylon. From these unfortunates forced labour was as a matter of course required;[11] and it seems to have been chiefly, if not solely, by their exertions that the magnificent series of great works was accomplished, which formed the special glory of the Fourth Monarchy.

The chief works expressly ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar by the ancient writers are the following:—He built the great wall of Babylon,[12] which, according to the lowest estimate,[13] must have contained more than 500,000,000 square feet of solid masonry, and must have required three or four times that number of bricks.[14] He constructed a new and magnificent palace in the neighbourhood of the ancient residence of the kings.[15] He made the celebrated "Hanging Garden" for the gratification of his wife, Amyitis.[16] He repaired and beautified the great temple of Belus at Babylon.[17] He dug the huge reservoir near Sippara, said to have been 140 miles in circumference, and 180 feet deep, furnishing it with flood-gates, through which its water could be drawn off for purposes of irrigation.[18] He constructed a number of canals, among them the *Nahr Malcha* or "Royal River," a broad and deep channel which connected the Euphrates with the Tigris.[19] He built quays and breakwaters along the shores of the Persian Gulf, and he at the same time founded the city of Diridotis or Teredon in the vicinity of that sea.[20]

To these constructions may be added, on the authority either of Nebuchadnezzar's own inscriptions or of the existing remains,

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[10] Beros. Fr. 14; 2 K. xxiv. 14-16; xxv. 11; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 20; Ezek. i. 1; Dan. i. 3; &c.

[11] Polyhist. Fr. 24.

[12] Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 10, § 2; ap. eund. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41. Nebuchadnezzar, however, in the Standard Inscription, only claims to have repaired the wall.

[13] Taking the height of the wall, that is, at 75 feet, its width at 32 feet, and its circumference at 365 stades. The measurements of Herodotus would raise the cubical contents to more than 5,400,000,000 feet.

[14] Babylonian bricks are about a foot square and from 3 to 4 inches thick.

[15] Berosus, Fr. 14.

[16] Ibid. Compare Diod. Sic. ii. 10, § 1; Q. Curt. i. 5.

[17] Beros. l. s. c. Compare the Standard Inscription. *All* the inscribed bricks hitherto discovered in the Babil mound bear Nebuchadnezzar's legend.

[18] Abyden. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41.

[19] Ibid. This is perhaps the *Chebar* of Ezekiel. In Pliny's time it was called the work of a certain *Gobar*, a provincial governor. (*H. N.* vi. 26.)

[20] Abyden. l. s. c.

the Birs-i-Nimrud, or great Temple of Nebo at Borsippa;[21] a vast reservoir in Babylon itself, called the *Yapur-Shapu;*[22] an extensive embankment along the course of the Tigris, near Baghdad;[23] and almost innumerable temples, walls, and other public buildings at Cutha, Sippara, Borsippa, Babylon, Chilmad, Bit-Digla, &c. The indefatigable monarch seems to have either rebuilt, or at least repaired, almost every city and temple throughout the entire country. There are said to be at least a hundred sites in the tract immediately about Babylon, which give evidence, by inscribed bricks bearing his legend, of the marvellous activity and energy of this king.[24]

We may suspect that among the constructions of Nebuchadnezzar was another great work, a work second in utility to none of those above mentioned, and requiring for its completion an enormous amount of labour. This is the canal called by the Arabs the *Kerek Saïdeh*, or canal of Saïdeh, which they ascribe to a wife of Nebuchadnezzar, a cutting 400 miles in length, which commenced at Hit on the Euphrates, and was carried along the extreme western edge of the alluvium close to the Arabian frontier, finally falling into the sea at the head of the Bubian creek, about twenty miles to the west of the Shat-el-Arab. The traces of this canal which still remain[1] indicate a work of such magnitude and difficulty that we can scarcely ascribe it with probability to any monarch who has held the country since Nebuchadnezzar.

The Pallacopas,[2] or canal of Opa (Palga Opa[3]), which left the Euphrates at Sippara (Mosaib) and ran into a great lake in the neighbourhood of Borsippa, whence the lands in the neighbourhood were irrigated, may also have been one of Nebuchadnezzar's constructions. It was an old canal, much out of repair,

[21] See the inscription on the Birs-i-Nimrud cylinders. (*Journal of As. Society*, vol. xviii. pp. 27-32.)

[22] See above, vol. ii. p. 538; and compare the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 486, 2nd edition.

[23] This embankment is entirely composed of bricks which have never been disturbed, and which bear Nebuchadnezzar's name. (Sir H. Rawlinson's *Commentary*, p. 77, note.)

[24] Ibid. p. 76.

[1] Sir H. Rawlinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 469, note 7, 2nd edition.

[2] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vii. 21. Compare Strab. xvi. 1, § 11.

[3] Compare the Hebrew פְּלָג, "rivus." Opa would seem to be a proper name.

in the time of Alexander, and was certainly the work, not of the Persian conquerors, but of some native monarch anterior to Cyrus. The Arabs, who call it the Nahr Abba, regard it as the oldest canal in the country.[4]

Some glimpses into the private life and personal character of Nebuchadnezzar are afforded us by certain of the Old Testament writers. We see him in the Book of Daniel at the head of a magnificent Court, surrounded by "princes, governors, and captains, judges, treasurers, councillors, and sheriffs;"[5] waited on by eunuchs selected with the greatest care, "well-favoured" and carefully educated;[6] attended, whenever he requires it, by a multitude of astrologers and other "wise men," who seek to interpret to him the will of Heaven.[7] He is an absolute monarch, disposing with a word of the lives and properties of his subjects, even the highest.[8] All offices are in his gift. He can raise a foreigner to the second place in the kingdom, and even set him over the entire priestly order.[9] His wealth is enormous, for he makes of pure gold an image, or obelisk, ninety feet high and nine feet broad.[10] He is religious after a sort, but wavers in his faith, sometimes acknowledging the God of the Jews as the only real deity,[11] sometimes relapsing into an idolatrous worship,[12] and forcing all his subjects to follow his example.[13] Even then, however, his polytheism is of a kind which admits of a special devotion to a particular deity, who is called emphatically "his god."[14] In temper he is hasty and violent, but not obstinate; his fierce resolves are taken suddenly and as suddenly repented of;[15] he is moreover capable of bursts of gratitude and devotion,[16] no less than of accesses of fury; like most Orientals, he is vainglorious;[17] but he can humble himself before the chastening hand of the Almighty; in his better moods he shows a spirit astonishing in one of his country and time—a spirit of real piety,

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[4] Sir H. Rawlinson, l. s. c.
[5] Dan. iii. 2. [6] Ibid. i. 3, 4.
[7] Ibid. ii. 2; iv. 6, 7.
[8] Ibid. i. 10; ii. 12.
[9] Ibid. ii. 48, 49. [10] Ibid. iii. 1.
[11] Ibid. ii. 47; iii. 26-29; iv. 2, 34, 37.
[12] Ibid. iii. 14; iv. 8.
[13] Ibid. iii. 4-20.
[14] Ibid. i. 2; iv. 8. Nebuchadnezzar's inscriptions sufficiently show that this favourite god was Bel-Merodach.
[15] Ibid. ii. 12, 48; iii. 20, 26.
[16] Ibid. ii. 46-49; iii. 28-30; iv. 3, 34-37.
[17] Ibid. iv. 30.

self-condemnation, and self-abasement, which renders him one of the most remarkable characters in Scripture.[18]

A few touches of a darker hue must be added to this portrait of the great Babylonian king from the statements of another contemporary, the prophet Jeremiah. The execution of Jehoiakim, and the putting out of Zedekiah's eyes, though acts of considerable severity, may perhaps be regarded as justified by the general practice of the age, and therefore as not indicating in Nebuchadnezzar any special ferocity of disposition. But the ill-treatment of Jehoiakim's dead body,[19] the barbarity of murdering Zedekiah's sons *before his eyes*,[20] and the prolonged imprisonment both of Zedekiah [21] and of Jehoiachin,[22] though the latter had only contemplated rebellion, cannot be thus excused. They were unusual and unnecessary acts, which tell against the monarch who authorised them, and must be considered to imply a real cruelty of disposition, such as is observable in Sargon and Asshur-bani-pal.[23] Nebuchadnezzar, it is plain, was not content with such a measure of severity as was needed to secure his own interests, but took a pleasure in the wanton infliction of suffering on those who had provoked his resentment.

On the other hand we obtain from the native writer, Berosus, one amiable trait which deserves a cursory mention. Nebuchadnezzar was fondly attached to the Median princess who had been chosen for him as a wife by his father from political motives.[24] Not content with ordinary tokens of affection, he erected, solely for her gratification, the remarkable structure which the Greeks called the "Hanging Garden." [25] A native

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[18] See particularly ch. iv. 34, 35, 37. "I blessed the Most High, and I praised and honoured him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation: and all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing, and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou? Now I, Nebuchadnezzar, praise and extol and honour the king of heaven, whose works are truth, and his ways judgment: and those that walk in pride he is able to abase."

[19] Supra, page 51, note [9].

[20] Jer. lii. 10. Compare 2 K. xxv. 7.

[21] Jer. lii. 11.

[22] Ibid. lii. 31.

[23] Supra, vol. i. p. 292, note [2]; vol. ii. p. 219.

[24] See above. p. 45.

[25] Beros. Fr. 14. Κατασκευάσας τὸν καλούμενον κρεμαστὸν παράδεισον, διὰ τὸ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὀρείας διαθέσεως, τεθραμμένης ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν τόποις.

of a mountainous country, Amyitis disliked the tiresome uniformity of the level alluvium, and pined for the woods and hills of Media. It was to satisfy this longing by the best substitute which circumstances allowed that the celebrated Garden was made. Art strove to emulate nature with a certain measure of success, and the lofty rocks[26] and various trees[27] of this wonderful Paradise, if they were not a very close imitation of Median mountain scenery, were at any rate a pleasant change from the natural monotony of the Babylonian plain, and must have formed a grateful retreat for the Babylonian queen, whom they reminded at once of her husband's love and of the beauty of her native country.

The most remarkable circumstance in Nebuchadnezzar's life remains to be noticed. Towards the close of his reign, when his conquests and probably most of his great works were completed,[28] in the midst of complete tranquillity and prosperity, a sudden warning was sent him. He dreamt a strange dream;[29] and when he sought to know its meaning, the Prophet Daniel was inspired to tell him that it portended his removal from the kingly office for the space of seven years, in consequence of a curious and very unusual kind of madness.[30] This malady, which is not unknown to physicians, has been termed "Lycanthropy."[1] It consists in the belief that one is not a man but a beast, in the disuse of language, the rejection of all ordinary human food, and sometimes in the loss of the erect posture and a preference for walking on all fours. Within a year of the time that he received the warning,[2] Nebuchadnezzar was smitten. The great king became a wretched maniac. Allowed to indulge in his distempered fancy, he eschewed human habitations, lived in the open air night and day, fed on herbs, disused clothing, and became covered with a rough coat of hair.[3] His

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[26] Ἀναλήμματα λίθινα ὑψηλά. Beros. l. s. c.

[27] Δένδρεα παντοδαπά. Ibid.

[28] Compare Dan. iv. 22 and 30.

[29] Ibid. verses 10-17.

[30] Ibid. verses 20-26.

[1] See Dr. Pusey's *Lectures on Daniel*, pp. 425-430, and compare the treatise of Welcker entitled *Die Lycanthropie ein Aberglaube und eine Krankheit*, in the 3rd volume of his *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 157 et seq.

[2] Dan. iv. 29.

[3] Ibid. verse 33.

subjects generally, it is probable, were not allowed to know of his condition,[4] although they could not but be aware that he was suffering from some terrible malady. The queen most likely held the reins of power and carried on the government in his name. The dream had been interpreted to mean that the lycanthropy would not be permanent; and even the date of recovery had been announced, only with a certain ambiguity.[5] The Babylonians were thereby encouraged to await events, without taking any steps that would have involved them in difficulties if the malady ceased. And their faith and patience met with a reward. After suffering obscuration for the space of seven years, suddenly the king's intellect returned to him.[6] His recovery was received with joy by his Court. Lords and councillors gathered about him.[7] He once more took the government into his own hands, issued his proclamations,[8] and performed the other functions of royalty. He was now an old man, and his reign does not seem to have been much prolonged; but "the glory of his kingdom," his "honour and brightness" returned; his last days were as brilliant as his first: his sun set in an unclouded sky, shorn of none of the rays that had given splendour to its noonday. Nebuchadnezzar expired at Babylon[9] in the forty-fourth year of his reign, B.C. 561, after an illness of no long duration.[10] He was probably little short of eighty years old at his death.[11]

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[4] We must not suppose that the afflicted monarch was allowed to range freely through the country. He was no doubt strictly confined to the private gardens attached to the palace.

[5] Dan. iv. 25. The "seven *times*" of this passage would probably, but not necessarily, mean seven years.

[6] Ibid. verse 34. It has been thought that there is a reference to Nebuchadnezzar's malady in the Standard Inscription. But this is now doubted. Perhaps we ought scarcely to expect that a king would formally record such an affliction.

[7] Ibid. verse 36. "My counsellors and my lords sought unto me."

[8] Ch. iv. of Daniel is Nebuchadnezzar's proclamation on his recovery.

[9] Abyden. Fr. 8.

[10] Berosus, Fr. 14. Ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀῤῥωστίαν μετηλλάξατο τὸν βίον. This sober account of the Chaldæan historian contrasts favourably with the marvellous narrative of Abydenus, who makes Nebuchadnezzar first prophesy the destruction of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, and then vanish away out of the sight of men. (Ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41; p. 456, D.)

[11] If we suppose him 15 when he was contracted to the daughter of Cyaxares (B.C. 625), he would have been 36 at his accession and 79 at his death, in B.C. 561.

The successor of Nebuchadnezzar was his son Evil-Merodach,[12] who reigned only two years,[13] and of whom very little is known. We may suspect that the marvellous events of his father's life, which are recorded in the Book of Daniel, had made a deep impression upon him, and that he was thence inclined to favour the persons, and perhaps the religion, of the Jews. One of his first acts[14] was to release the unfortunate Jehoiachin from the imprisonment in which he had languished for thirty-five years, and to treat him with kindness and respect. He not only recognised his royal rank, but gave him precedence over all the captive kings resident at Babylon.[15] Josephus says that he even admitted Jehoiachin into the number of his most intimate friends.[16] Perhaps he may have designed him some further advancement, and may in other respects have entertained projects which seemed strange and alarming to his subjects. At any rate he had been but two years upon the throne when a conspiracy was formed against him; he was accused of lawlessness and intemperance;[17] his own brother-in-law, Neriglissar, the husband of a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, headed the malcontents; and Evil-Merodach lost his life with his crown.

Neriglissar, the successful conspirator, was at once acknowledged king. He is probably identical with the "Nergal-sharezer, Rab-Mag," of Jeremiah,[18] who occupied a prominent position among the Babylonian nobles left to press the siege of Jerusalem when Nebuchadnezzar retired to Riblah. The title of "Rab-Mag" is one that he bears upon his bricks. It is doubtful what exactly this office was; for we have no reason to believe that

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[12] Beros. Fr. 14; Polyhist. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 5; Abyden. ap. eund. i. 10.

[13] So the Astronomical Canon and Berosus (l. s. c.). Polyhistor (l. s. c.) gave him 12 years, and Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* x. 11, § 2) 18 years.

[14] "In the year that he began to reign." (2 K. xxv. 27. Compare Jer. lii. 31.)

[15] 2 K. xxv. 28; Jer. lii. 32.

[16] Ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις φίλοις εἶχε. (*Ant. Jud.* l. s. c.)

[17] Προστὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνόμως καὶ ἀσελγῶς. (Beros. Fr. 14.)

[18] Jer. xxxix. 3 and 13. The real name of this king, as it appears upon his bricks, was Nergal-sar-uzur, with which the Hebrew Nergal-shar-ezer is clearly identical. This fact, added to the circumstance that the king bore the office of Rab-Mag, makes it almost certain that he is the person mentioned by Jeremiah.

there were at this time any Magi at Babylon;[19] but it was certainly an ancient and very high dignity of which even kings might be proud. It is remarkable that Neriglissar calls himself the son of Bel-sum-iskun "king of Babylon"—a monarch whose name does not appear in Ptolemy's list, but who is probably to be identified with a chieftain so called, who assumed the royal title in the troubles which preceded the fall of the Assyrian Empire.[20]

During his short reign of four years, or rather three years and a few months,[21] Neriglissar had not time to distinguish himself by many exploits. So far as appears, he was at peace with all his neighbours, and employed his time principally in the construction of the Western Palace at Babylon, which was a large building placed at one corner of a fortified enclosure, directly opposite the ancient royal residence, and abutting on the Euphrates.[22] If the account which Diodorus gives of this palace[23] be not a gross exaggeration of the truth, it must have been a magnificent erection, elaborately ornamented with painting and sculpture in the best style of Babylonian art, though in size it may have been inferior to the old residence of the kings on the other side of the river.

Neriglissar reigned from B.C. 559 to B.C. 556, and dying a natural death in the last-named year, left his throne to his son, Laborosoarchod, or Labossoracus.[24] This prince, who was a mere boy,[25] and therefore quite unequal to the task of governing a great empire in critical times, was not allowed to retain the crown many months. Accused by those about him—whether

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[19] There is no ground for regarding the Babylonian priests as *magi*. By none of the old classical writers are they given the name. None of the terms applied to the "wise men" in Daniel resemble it. There is certainly a remarkable resemblance between the *mag* of Rab-Mag and *magus*. But the resemblance is less in the native language, where Rab-Mag is *Rabu-emga*; and the term *emga* is not used in Babylonian when a Magus is certainly intended. (See *Behist. Ins.* col. i. par. 13, &c.)

[20] See above, p. 44, note [2].

[21] As the nine months of Laborosoarchod are not counted in the Canon, we have to deduct them from the adjoining reigns—those of Neriglissar and Nabonadius.

[22] See above, vol. ii. p. 532.

[23] Diod. Sic. ii. 8, § 7. Compare above, vol. ii. p. 552.

[24] Laborosoarchod is the form which has most authority, since it occurs both in the Canon of Ptolemy and in Berosus (Fr. 14). Labossoracus or Labesoracus is the form given in the Armenian Eusebius. Josephus has Labosordacus in one place (*Ant. Jud.* x. 11, § 2); Abydenus (ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 41) Labassoarascus.

[25] Παῖς ὤν. Berosus, l. s. c.

justly or unjustly we cannot say—of giving many indications of a bad disposition,[26] he was deposed and put to death by torture.[27] With him power passed from the House of Nabopolassar, which had held the throne for just seventy years.[28]

On the death of Laborosoarchod the conspirators selected one of their number, a certain Nabonadius or Nabannidochus,[29] and invested him with the sovereignty. He was in no way related to the late monarch,[1] and his claim to succeed must have been derived mainly from the part which he had played in the conspiracy. But still he was a personage of some rank, for his father had, like Neriglissar, held the important office of Rab-Mag.[2] It is probable that one of his first steps on ascending the throne was to connect himself by marriage with the royal house which had preceded him in the kingdom.[3] Either the mother of the late king Laborosoarchod, and widow of Neriglissar, or possibly some other daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, was found willing to unite her fortunes with those of the new sovereign, and share the dangers and the dignity of his position. Such a union strengthened the hold of the reigning monarch on the allegiance of his subjects, and tended still more to add stability to his dynasty. For as the issue of such a marriage would join in one the claims of both royal houses, he would be sure to receive the support of all parties in the state.

Very shortly after the accession of Nabonadius (B.C. 555) he

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[26] Διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἐμφαίνειν κακοήθη. Beros. Fr. 14.

[27] Ἀπετυμπανίσθη. Ibid. The word means literally "was beaten to death."

[28] From the commencement of B.C. 625 to the close of B.C. 556.

[29] The name is read as Nabu-nahid in Assyrian and Nabu-induk in Hamitic Babylonian. The former is the groundwork of Nabonnedus (Berosus), Nabonadius (Astr. Can.), and Labynetus (Herod.); the latter of Nabannidochus (Abyden.) and Naboandelus, which should probably be Naboandechus (Josephus).

[1] Τούτου (sc. Λαβασσοαράσκου) ἀποθανόντος βιαίῳ μόρῳ, Ναβαννίδοχον ἀποδεικνῦσι βασιλέα, προσήκοντα οἱ οὐδέν. (Abyden. Fr. 9.) Compare Berosus, Fr. 14, who calls Nabonadius Ναβόννηδόν τινα τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος.

[2] On his bricks and cylinders Nabonidus calls himself the son of Nabu-**-dirba, the Rab-Mag. (See *British Museum Series*, vol. i. Pl. 68.)

[3] This has been at all times the usual practice of usurpers in the East. (See Herod. iii. 68, 88; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xiv. 12, § 1; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 325; &c.) That it was adopted by Nabonadius seems to follow, 1. from Belshazzar, his son, being regarded in Daniel as a son (descendant) of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. v. 2, 11, 13, 18, 22), and 2. from his having a son to whom he gave the name of Nebuchadnezzar. (See *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 16, § 10; col. iii. par. 13, § 6.)

received an embassy from the far north-west.[4] An important revolution had occurred on the eastern frontier of Babylonia three years before, in the reign of Neriglissar;[5] but its effects only now began to make themselves felt among the neighbouring nations. Had Cyrus, on taking the crown, adopted the policy of Astyages, the substitution of Persia for Media as the ruling Arian nation would have been a matter of small account. But there can be little doubt that he really entered at once on a career of conquest.[6] Lydia, at any rate, felt herself menaced by the new power, and seeing the danger which threatened the other monarchies of the time, if they allowed the great Arian kingdom to attack them severally with her full force, proposed a league whereby the common enemy might, she thought, be resisted with success. Ambassadors seem to have been sent from Sardis to Babylon in the very year in which Nabonadius became king.[7] He therefore had at once to decide whether he would embrace the offer made him, and uniting with Lydia and Egypt in a league against Persia, make that power his enemy, or refuse the profferred alliance and trust to the gratitude of Cyrus for the future security of his kingdom. It would be easy to imagine the arguments *pro* and *contra* which presented themselves to his mind at this conjuncture; but as they would be destitute of a historical foundation, it is perhaps best to state simply the decision at which he is known to have arrived. This was an acceptance of the Lydian offer. Nabonadius consented to join the proposed league; and a treaty was probably soon afterwards concluded between the three powers whereby they united in an alliance offensive and defensive against the Persians.[8]

Knowing that he had provoked a powerful enemy by this bold act, and ignorant how soon he might be called upon to defend

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Herod. i. 77. The author's reasons for placing the fall of Sardis in B.C. 554, and consequently the embassy sent by Crœsus to Nabonadius in B.C. 555, have been fully given in his *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 286, 287, 2nd edition.

[5] See above, vol. ii. p. 427.

[6] Herodotus represents Crœsus as the aggressor in his war with Cyrus; but it is probable that he was so formally rather than really. Cyrus's attempt to detach the Greeks from Lydia (Herod. i. 76), and his presence in full force *in Cappadocia* as soon as Crœsus invades his territory, are sufficient proof that he was about to attack Crœsus. (See the chapter on the "History of Persia.")

[7] See above, note [4]. [8] Herod. i. 77.

his kingdom from the entire force of his foe, which might be suddenly hurled against him almost at any moment, Nabonadius seems to have turned his attention at once to providing means of defence. The works ascribed by Herodotus to a queen, Nitocris, whom he makes the mother of Nabonadius (Labynetus)[9] must be regarded as in reality constructions of that monarch himself,[10] undertaken with the object of protecting Babylon from Cyrus. They consisted in part of defences within the city, designed apparently to secure it against an enemy who should enter by the river, in part of hydraulic works intended to obstruct the advances of an army by the usual route. The river had hitherto flowed in its natural bed through the middle of the town. Nabonadius confined the stream by a brick embankment carried the whole way along both banks, after which he built on the top of the embankment a wall of a considerable height, pierced at intervals by gateways, in which were set gates of bronze.[11] He likewise made certain cuttings, reservoirs, and sluices at some distance from Babylon towards the north, which were to be hindrances to an enemy's march,[12] though in what way is not very apparent. Some have supposed that besides

[9] The Nitrocis of Herodotus still remains one of the dark personages of history. She is unknown to the monuments. No other independent author mentions her. Her very name is suspicious, being Egyptian, not Babylonian. Yet still it is hard to imagine her a mere myth. Herodotus heard of her at Babylon, within little more than a century of the time when she was said to have lived. He heard of her in conjunction with another older queen, Semiramis, who is found to be a historical personage, only a little misplaced. (Supra, p. 39.) Again, Nitocris, though not known otherwise as a Babylonian name, was an Egyptian royal name *in use at this period*. (Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 325, 2nd edition.) Under these circumstances it is perhaps allowable to conjecture, 1. that there was such a person; 2. that she was an Egyptian princess, or at any rate of Egyptian extraction; 3. that she was the wife, or mother, of one of the later Babylonian kings, and was regarded as in some sense reigning conjointly with him. My own *impression* is that she was a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, born of an Egyptian mother, and married successively to Neriglissar and Nabonadius, who each ruled partly in her right. I regard her as the mother of Belshazzar, whom Herodotus confounds with his father, Nabonadius; and I suspect that she is the queen who "came into the banquetting-house" at Belshazzar's impious feast, and recommended him to send for Daniel. (Dan. v. 10-12.)

[10] The river walls, which Herodotus ascribes to Nitocris (i. 186), were declared expressly by Berosus to have been the work of this king (ἐπὶ τούτου τὰ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τείχη τῆς Βαβυλωνίας πόλεως ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου κατεκοσμήθη. Fr. 14). The bricks of the embankment are found to bear his name.

[11] Herod. i. 180. The river walls can scarcely have been built until the embankment was made.

[12] Ibid. 185

these works there was further built at the same time a great wall which extended entirely across the tract between the two rivers[13]—a huge barrier a hundred feet high and twenty thick[14]—meant, like the Roman walls in Britain and the great wall of China, to be insurmountable by an unskilful foe; but there is ground for suspecting that this belief is ill-founded, having for its sole basis a misconception of Xenophon's.[15]

Nabonadius appears to have been allowed ample time to carry out to the full his system of defences, and to complete all his preparations. The precipitancy of Crœsus, who plunged into a war with Persia single-handed, asking no aid from his allies,[16] and the promptitude of Cyrus, who allowed him no opportunity of recovering from his first false step,[17] had prevented Nabonadius from coming into actual collision with Persia in the early part of his reign. The defeat of Crœsus in the battle of Pteria, the siege of Sardis, and its capture, followed so rapidly on the first commencement of hostilities, that, whatever his wishes may have been, Nabonadius had it not in his power to give any help to his rash ally. Actual war was thus avoided at this time; and, no collision having occurred, Cyrus could defer an attack on the great kingdom of the south until he had consolidated his power in the north and the north-east,[18] which he rightly regarded as of the last importance. Thus fourteen years intervened between the capture of Sardis by the Persian arms and the commencement of the expedition against Babylon.

When at last it was rumoured that the Persian king had quitted Ecbatana (B.C. 539) and commenced his march to the south-west, Nabonadius received the tidings with indifference. His defences were completed; his city was amply provisioned;[1]

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[13] Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 180, 2nd edition.

[14] Xen. *Anab.* ii. 4, § 12.

[15] The "Median Wall" rests wholly on Xenophon's authority. It is quite unknown to Herodotus, Strabo, Arrian, and the other historians of Alexander. Excellent reasons have been given for believing that the barrier within which the Ten Thousand penetrated was the old wall of Babylon itself. (See a paper read by Sir H. Rawlinson before the Geographical Society in 1851.)

[16] Herod. i. 71.

[17] Ibid. 79-86.

[18] Ibid. 153 and 177. See the Historical Chapter in the account of the "Fifth Monarchy."

[1] Προσεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. Herod. i. 190. Ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πλέον ἢ εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν. Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5, § 13.

if the enemy should defeat him in the open field, he might retire behind his walls, and laugh to scorn all attempts to reduce his capital either by blockade or storm. It does not appear to have occurred to him that it was possible to protect his territory. With a broad, deep, and rapid river directly interposed between him and his foe, with a network of canals spread far and wide over his country, with an almost inexhaustible supply of human labour at his command for the construction of such dykes, walls, or cuttings as he should deem advisable, Nabonadius might, one would have thought, have aspired to save his land from invasion, or have disputed inch by inch his enemy's advance towards the capital. But such considerations have seldom had much force with Orientals, whose notions of war and strategy are even now of the rudest and most primitive description. To measure one's strength as quickly as possible with that of one's foe, to fight one great pitched battle in order to decide the question of superiority in the field, and then, if defeated, either to surrender or to retire behind walls, has been the ordinary conception of a commander's duties in the East from the time of the Ramesside kings to our own day. No special blame therefore attaches to Nabonadius for his neglect. He followed the traditional policy of Oriental monarchs in the course which he took. And his subjects had less reason to complain of his resolution than most others, since the many strongholds in Babylonia must have afforded them a ready refuge, and the great fortified district within which Babylon itself stood[2] must have been capable of accommodating with ease the whole native population of the country.

If we may trust Herodotus, the invader, having made all his preparations and commenced his march, came to a sudden pause midway between Ecbatana and Babylon.[3] One of the sacred white horses, which drew the chariot of Ormazd,[4] had been drowned in crossing a river; and Cyrus had thereupon desisted from his march, and, declaring that he would revenge himself on the insolent stream, had set his soldiers to disperse its waters into 360 channels. This work employed him during the whole

[2] Supra, vol. ii. p. 512. [3] Herod. i. 189. [4] Ibid. vii. 40.

summer and autumn; nor was it till another spring had come that he resumed his expedition. To the Babylonians such a pause must have appeared like irresolution. They must have suspected that the invader had changed his mind and would not venture across the Tigris. If the particulars of the story reached them, they probably laughed at the monarch who vented his rage on inanimate nature, while he let his enemies escape scot free.

Cyrus, however, had a motive for his proceedings which will appear in the sequel. Having wintered on the banks of the Gyndes in a mild climate, where tents would have been quite a sufficient protection to his army, he put his troops in motion at the commencement of spring,[5] crossed the Tigris apparently unopposed, and soon came in sight of the capital. Here he found the Babylonian army drawn out to meet him under the command of Nabonadius himself,[6] who had resolved to try the chance of a battle. An engagement ensued, of which we possess no details; our informants simply tell us that the Babylonian monarch was completely defeated, and that while most of his army sought safety within the walls of the capital, he himself with a small body of troops threw himself into Borsippa,[7] an important town lying at a short distance from Babylon towards the south-west. It is not easy to see the exact object of this movement. Perhaps Nabonadius thought that the enemy would thereby be obliged to divide his army, which might then more easily be defeated: perhaps he imagined that by remaining without the walls he might be able to collect such a force among his subjects and allies as would compel the beleaguering army to withdraw. Or, possibly, he merely followed an instinct of self-preservation, and, fearing that the soldiers of Cyrus might enter Babylon with his own, if he fled thither, sought refuge in another city.

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[5] Ὡς . . . . τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε. Herod. i. 190. The *two years* seem alluded to in Jerem. li. 46.

[6] Berosus, Fr. 14. Αἰσθόμενος Νάβόννηδος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ (sc. Κύρου), ἀπαντήσας μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραταξάμενος, ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ, κ.τ.λ. Compare Polyhistor ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 5, § 3. Herodotus does not say who commanded the army.

[7] Beros. l. s. c. Φυγὼν ὀλιγοστὸς, συνεκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηνῶν πόλιν.

It might have been supposed that his absence would have produced anarchy and confusion in the capital; but a step which he had recently taken with the object of giving stability to his throne rendered the preservation of order tolerably easy. At the earliest possible moment—probably when he was about fourteen—he had associated with him in the government his son, Belshazzar,[8] or Bel-shar-uzur, the grandson of the great Nebuchadnezzar. This step, taken most likely with a view to none but internal dangers, was now found exceedingly convenient for the purposes of the war. In his father's absence Belshazzar took the direction of affairs within the city, and met and foiled for a considerable time all the assaults of the Persians. He was young and inexperienced, but he had the counsels of the queen-mother to guide and support him,[9] as well as those of the various lords and officers of the court. So well did he manage the defence that after a while Cyrus despaired,[10] and as a last resource ventured on a stratagem in which it was clear that he must either succeed or perish.

Withdrawing the greater part of his army from the vicinity of the city, and leaving behind him only certain *corps* of observation,[11] Cyrus marched away up the course of the Euphrates for a certain distance and there proceeded to make a vigorous use of the spade. His soldiers could now appreciate the value of the experience which they had gained by dispersing the Gyndes, and perceive that the summer and autumn of the preceding year had not been wasted. They dug a channel or channels from the Euphrates,[12] by means of which a great portion

[8] The proof of this association is contained in the cylinders of Nabonadius found at Mugheir, where the protection of the gods is asked for Nabu-nadid and his son Bel-shar-uzur, who are coupled together in a way that implies the co-sovereignty of the latter. (*British Museum Series*, vol. i. Pl. 68, No. 1.) The date of the association was at the latest B.C. 540, Nabonadius's fifteenth year, since the third year of Belshazzar is mentioned in Daniel (viii. 1). If Belshazzar was (as I have supposed) a son of a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar married to Nabonadius *after he became king*, he could not be more than fourteen in his father's fifteenth year.

[9] "The Queen," who "*came into* the banqueting-house," where Belshazzar and *his wives* were already seated (Dan. v. 2, 10), can only be the wife of Nabonadius and mother of Belshazzar. The tone of her address suits well with this view. (Compare Dr. Pusey's *Lectures on Daniel*, p. 449, which I first read after this note was written.)

[10] Herod. i. 190. [11] Ibid. 191.

[12] According to Herodotus (l. s. c.), Cyrus cut a canal from the Euphrates to

of its water would be drawn off, and hoped in this way to render the natural course of the river fordable. When all was prepared, Cyrus determined to wait for the arrival of a certain festival,[13] during which the whole population were wont to engage in drinking and revelling, and then silently in the dead of night to turn the water of the river and make his attack. All fell out as he hoped and wished. The festival was held with even greater pomp and splendour than usual; for Belshazzar, with the natural insolence of youth, to mark his contempt of the besieging army, abandoned himself wholly to the delights of the season, and himself entertained a thousand lords in his palace.[14] Elsewhere the rest of the population was occupied in feasting and dancing.[15] Drunken riot and mad excitement held possession of the town; the siege was forgotten; ordinary precautions were neglected.[16] Following the example of their king, the Babylonians gave themselves up for the night to orgies in which religious frenzy and drunken excess formed a strange and revolting medley.[17]

Meanwhile, outside the city, in silence and darkness,[18] the Persians watched at the two points where the Euphrates entered and left the walls. Anxiously they noted the gradual sinking of the water in the river-bed; still more anxiously they watched to see if those within the walls would observe the suspicious circumstance and sound an alarm through the town. Should such an alarm be given, all their labours would be lost. If, when they entered the river-bed, they found the river-walls manned and the river-gates fast locked, they would be indeed "caught

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the reservoir of Nitocris, which he found nearly empty. According to Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vii. 5, § 10), he cut two canals from a point on the Euphrates above Babylon to another below the town.

[13] Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5, § 15. This is far more probable than the statement of Herodotus that "it *happened* to be a festival" (τυχεῖν γάρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὁρτήν, i. 191, sub fin.).

[14] Dan. v. 1.

[15] Χορεύειν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι. Herod. l. s. c. Compare Jer. li. 39.

[16] The non-closing of the river-gates must have been a neglect of this kind. Had the sentries even kept proper watch, the enemy's approach must have been perceived.

[17] Dan. v. 4; Xen. *Cyrop.* l. s. c. Xenophon appropriately calls these religious revellers κωμαστάς.

[18] It is curious that Herodotus does not notice the fact of the attack being *by night*, which is strongly put by Xenophon (*Cyrop.* vii. 5, §§ 15-33). Compare Dan. v. 30: "In that *night* was Belshazzar slain."

in a trap."[19] Enfiladed on both sides by an enemy whom they could neither see nor reach, they would be overwhelmed and destroyed by his missiles before they could succeed in making their escape. But, as they watched, no sounds of alarm reached them—only a confused noise of revel and riot, which showed that the unhappy townsmen were quite unconscious of the approach of danger.

At last shadowy forms began to emerge from the obscurity of the deep river-bed, and on the landing-places opposite the river-gates scattered clusters of men grew into solid columns—the undefended gateways were seized—a war-shout was raised—the alarm was taken and spread—and swift runners started off to "show the King of Babylon that his city was taken at one end."[1] In the darkness and confusion of the night a terrible massacre ensued.[2] The drunken revellers could make no resistance. The king, paralyzed with fear[3] at the awful handwriting upon the wall, which too late had warned him of his peril,[4] could do nothing even to check the progress of the assailants, who carried all before them everywhere. Bursting into the palace, a band of Persians made their way to the presence of the monarch, and slew him on the scene of his impious revelry.[5] Other bands carried fire[6] and sword through the town. When morning came, Cyrus found himself undisputed master of the city, which, if it had not despised his efforts, might with the greatest ease have baffled them.

The war, however, was not even yet at an end. Nabonadius still held Borsippa, and, if allowed to remain unmolested, might have gradually gathered strength and become once more a formidable foe. Cyrus, therefore, having first issued his orders that the outer fortifications of Babylon should be dismantled,[7]

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[19] Ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ. Herod. i. 191.

[1] Jer. li. 31.

[2] Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5, §§ 26-31; Jerem. l. 30; ii. 4.

[3] Jer. l. 43.

[4] Dan. v. 5-28.

[5] Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5, §§ 27-30. The picture is graphic, and may well be true.

[6] Jer. l. 32; li. 30, 32, 58.

[7] Berosus, Fr. 14. Κῦρος δὲ Βαβυλῶνα καταλαβόμενος, καὶ συντάξας τὰ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τείχη κατασκάψαι, κ.τ.λ. Compare Jer. l. 15; li. 44, 58. I have replaced κατασκάψαι by "dismantled," because, whatever the orders of Cyrus may have been, the enormous labour of *demolishing* the wall was certainly not undertaken. The battlements

proceeded to complete his conquest by laying siege to the town where he knew that Nabonadius had taken refuge.[8] That monarch, however, perceiving that resistance would be vain, did not wait till Borsippa was invested, but on the approach of his enemy surrendered himself.[9] Cyrus rewarded his submission by kind and liberal treatment. Not only did he spare his life, but (if we may trust Abydenus) he conferred on him the government of the important province of Carmania.[10]

Thus perished the Babylonian empire. If we seek the causes of its fall, we shall find them partly in its essential military inferiority to the kingdom that had recently grown up upon its borders, partly in the accidental circumstance that its ruler at the time of the Persian attack was a man of no great capacity. Had Nebuchadnezzar himself, or a prince of his mental calibre, been the contemporary of Cyrus, the issue of the contest might have been doubtful. Babylonia possessed naturally vast powers of resistance—powers which, had they been made use of to the utmost, might have tired out the patience of the Persians. That lively, active, but not over persevering people would scarcely have maintained a siege with the pertinacity of the Babylonians themselves [11] or of the Egyptians.[12] If the stratagem of Cyrus had failed—and its success depended wholly on the Babylonians exercising no vigilance—the capture of the town would have been almost impossible. Babylon was too large to be blockaded; its walls were too lofty to be scaled, and too massive to be battered down by the means possessed by the ancients. Mining in the soft alluvial soil would have been dangerous work, especially as the town ditch was deep and supplied with abundant water from the Euphrates.[13] Cyrus, had he failed in his night attack,

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may have been thrown down, and breaches broken in it; but the wall itself existed till the time of Alexander. (Abyden. Fr. 9.)

[8] Ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Βόρσιππον, ἐκπολιορκήσων τὸν Ναβόννηδον. Beros. l. s. c.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Καρμανίης ἡγεμονίην δωρέεται. Fr. 9. Berosus, as reported by Josephus (*Contr. Ap.* i. 21), only says that Cyrus assigned Carmania to Nabonadius as his place of abode (δοῦς οἰκητήριον αὐτῷ Καρμανίαν).

[11] See above, p. 53.

[12] Herod. ii. 157.

[13] Ibid. i. 178.

would probably have at once raised the siege; and Babylonian independence might perhaps in that case have been maintained down to the time of Alexander.

Even thus, however, the "Empire" would not have continued. So soon as it became evident that the Babylonians were no match for the Persians in the field, their authority over the subject nations was at an end. The Susianians, the tribes of the middle Euphrates, the Syrians, the Phœnicians, the Jews, the Idumæans, the Ammonites and Moabites, would have gravitated to the stronger power, even if the attack of Cyrus on Babylon itself had been repulsed. For the conquests of Cyrus in Asia Minor, the Oxus region, and Affghanistan, had completely destroyed the balance of power in Western Asia, and given to Persia a preponderance both in men and in resources[1] against which the cleverest and most energetic of Babylonian princes would have struggled in vain. Persia must in any case have absorbed all the tract between Mount Zagros and the Mediterranean, except Babylonia Proper; and thus the successful defence of Babylon would merely have deprived the Persian Empire of a province.

In its general character the Babylonian Empire was little more than a reproduction of the Assyrian.[2] The same loose organization of the provinces under native kings rather than satraps almost universally prevailed,[3] with the same duties on the part of suzerain and subjects, and the same results of ever recurring revolt and re-conquest.[4] Similar means were employed under both empires to check and discourage rebellion—mutilations and executions of chiefs, pillage of the

[1] Judging by the taxation of Darius, the resources of the Persians at this time were nearly five times as great as those of the Babylonians. The Persian Empire included the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 7th, half the 9th, the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th satrapies; while the Babylonian Empire consisted of the 5th, the 8th, and half the 9th. The joint revenue furnished to Darius by the satrapies of the first list was 5660 talents; that furnished by the second list was 1150.

[2] See the description of the Assyrian Empire in vol. ii. pp. 235-239.

[3] This may be concluded from such expressions as "Thou, O king, art a *king of kings*" (Dan. ii. 37). "Thou" (*i.e.* Babylon) "shalt no more be called *The lady of kingdoms*" (Is. xlvii. 5). It is confirmed by the history of the Jews (2 K. xxiv. 1-17), and by the list of Tyrian kings contemporary with the Babylonian Empire preserved in Josephus. (*Contr. Ap.* i. 21.)

[4] See above, pp. 50-55.

rebellious region, and wholesale deportation of its population. Babylon, equally with Assyria, failed to win the affections of the subject nations, and, as a natural result, received no help from them in her hour of need. Her system was to exhaust and oppress the conquered races for the supposed benefit of the conquerors, and to impoverish the provinces for the adornment and enrichment of the capital. The wisest of her monarchs thought it enough to construct works of public utility in Babylonia Proper,[5] leaving the dependant countries to themselves and doing nothing to develop their resources. This selfish system was, like most selfishness, short-sighted; it alienated those whom it would have been true policy to conciliate and win. When the time of peril came, the subject nations were no source of strength to the menaced empire. On the contrary, it would seem that some even turned against her and made common cause with the assailants.[6]

Babylonian civilisation differed in many respects from Assyrian, to which however it approached more nearly than to any other known type. Its advantages over Assyrian were in its greater originality, its superior literary character, and its comparative width and flexibility. Babylonia seems to have been the source from which Assyria drew her learning, such as it was, her architecture, the main ideas of her mimetic art, her religious notions, her legal forms, and a vast number of her customs and usages. But Babylonia herself, so far as we know, drew her stores from no foreign country. Hers was apparently the genius which excogitated an alphabet—worked out the simpler problems of arithmetic — invented implements for measuring the lapse of time—conceived the idea of raising enormous structures with the poorest of all materials, clay—discovered the art of polishing, boring, and engraving gems—reproduced with truthfulness the outlines of human and animal forms—attained to high perfection in textile fabrics—studied with success the motions of the heavenly bodies—conceived of

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[5] Abyden. Fr. 8.

[6] It may be suspected that the Susianians revolted from Babylon before the conclusion of the siege and joined Cyrus. (See Isaiah xxi. 2; xxii. 6.)

grammar as a science—elaborated a system of law—saw the value of an exact chronology—in almost every branch of science made a beginning, thus rendering it comparatively easy for other nations to proceed with the superstructure. To Babylonia, far more than to Egypt, we owe the art and learning of the Greeks. It was from the east, not from Egypt, that Greece derived her architecture, her sculpture, her science, her philosophy, her mathematical knowledge, in a word, her intellectual life. And Babylon was the source to which the entire stream of Eastern civilisation may be traced. It is scarcely too much to say that, but for Babylon, real civilisation might not even yet have dawned upon the earth. Mankind might never have advanced beyond that spurious and false form of it, which in Egypt, India, China, Japan, Mexico, and Peru, contented the aspirations of the species.

APPENDIX.

A.

STANDARD INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

The Inscription begins with the various titles of Nebuchadnezzar. It then contains prayers and invocations to the Gods, Merodach and Nebo. The extent of N.'s power is spoken of—it reaches from one sea to the other.

An account is then given of the wonders of Babylon, viz. :—

1. The great temple of Merodach. (The mound of *Babil* is the tower or *ziggurat* of this.)
2. The Borsippa temple (or *Birs*).
3. Various other temples in Babylon and Borsippa.

The subjoined description of the city follows :—

" The double enclosure which Nabopolassar my father had made but not completed, I finished. Nabopolassar made its ditch. With two long embankments of brick and mortar he bound its bed. He made the embankment of the *Arakha*. He lined the other side of the Euphrates with brick. He made a bridge (?) over the Euphrates, but did not finish its buttresses (?). From * * * (the name of a place) he made with bricks burnt as hard as stones, by the help of the great Lord Merodach, a way (for) a branch of the *Shimat* to the waters of the *Yapur-Shapu*, the great reservoir of Babylon, opposite to the gate of *Nin*.

" The *Ingur-Bel* and the *Nimiti-Bel*—the great double wall of Babylon—I finished. With two long embankments of brick and mortar I built the sides of its ditch. I joined it on with that which my father had made. I strengthened the city. Across the river to the west I built the wall of Babylon with brick. The *Yapur-Shapu* —the reservoir of Babylon—by the grace of Merodach I filled completely full of water. With bricks burnt as hard as stones, and with bricks in huge masses like mountains (?), the *Yapur-Shapu*, from the gate of *Mula* as far as *Nana*, who is the protectress of her votaries, by the grace of his godship (*i. e.* Merodach), I strengthened.

With that which my father had made I joined it. I made the way of *Nana*, the protectress of her votaries. The great gates of the *Ingur-Bel* and the *Nimiti-Bel*—the reservoir of Babylon, at the time of the flood (lit. of fulness), inundated them. These gates I raised. Against the waters their foundations with brick and mortar I built. [Here follows a description of the gates, with various architectural details, and an account of the decorations, hangings, &c.] For the delight of mankind I filled the reservoir. Behold! besides the *Ingur-Bel*, the impregnable fortification of Babylon, I constructed inside Babylon on the eastern side of the river a fortification such as no king had ever made before me, viz. a long rampart, 4000 *ammas* square, as an extra defence. I excavated the ditch: with brick and mortar I bound its bed; a long rampart at its head (?) I strongly built. I adorned its gates. The folding doors and the pillars I plated with copper. Against presumptuous enemies, who were hostile to the men of Babylon, great waters, like the waters of the ocean, I made use of abundantly. Their depths were like the depths of the vast ocean. I did not allow the waters to overflow, but the fulness of their floods I caused to flow on, restraining them with a brick embankment. . . . . Thus I completely made strong the defences of Babylon. May it last for ever!

[Here follows a similar account of works at Borsippa.]

"In Babylon—the city which is the delight of my eyes, and which I have glorified—when the waters were in flood, they inundated the foundations of the great palace called *Taprati-nisi*, or "the Wonder of Mankind;" (a palace) with many chambers and lofty towers; the high-place of Royalty; (situated) in the land of Babylon, and in the middle of Babylon; stretching from the *Ingur-Bel* to the bed of the *Shebil*, the eastern canal, (and) from the bank of the Sippara river to the water of the *Yapur-Shapu;* which Nabopolassar my father built with brick and raised up; when the reservoir of Babylon was full, the gates of this palace were flooded. I raised the mound of brick on which it was built, and made smooth its platform. I cut off the floods of the water, and the foundations (of the palace) I protected against the water with bricks and mortar; and I finished it completely. Long beams I set up to support it: with pillars and beams plated with copper and strengthened with iron I built up its gates, Silver and gold, and precious stones whose names were almost unknown [here follow several unknown names of objects, treasures of the palace], I stored up inside, and placed there the treasure-house of my kingdom. Four years (?),

the seat of my kingdom in the city. . . . ., which . . . . . did not rejoice (my) heart. In all my dominions I did not build a high place of power; the precious treasures of my kingdom I did not lay up. In Babylon, buildings for myself and the honour of my kingdom I did not lay out. In the worship of Merodach my lord, the joy of my heart (?), in Babylon, the city of his sovereignty and the seat of my empire, I did not sing his praises (?), and I did not furnish his altars (*i. e.* with victims), nor did I clear out the canals. [Here follow further negative clauses.]

"As a further defence in war, at the *Ingur-Bel*, the impregnable outer wall, the rampart of the Babylonians—with two strong lines of brick and mortar I made a strong fort, 400 ammas square inside the *Nimiti-Bel*, the inner defence of the Babylonians. Masonry of brick within them (the lines) I constructed, With the palace of my father I connected it. In a happy month and on an auspicious day its foundations I laid in the earth like * * * . I completely finished its top. In fifteen days I completed it, and made it the high place of my kingdom. [Here follows a description of the ornamentation of the palace.] A strong fort of brick and mortar in strength I constructed. Inside the brick fortification another great fortification of long stones, of the size of great mountains, I made. Like *Shedim* I raised up its head. And this building I raised for a wonder; for the defence of the people I constructed it."

B.

ON THE MEANINGS OF BABYLONIAN NAMES.

The names of the Babylonians, like those of the Assyrians,[1] were significant. Generally, if not always,[2] they were composed of at least two elements. These might be a noun in the nominative case with a verb following it, a noun in the nominative with a participle in apposition, or a word meaning "servant" followed by the name of a god.[3] Under the first class came such names as Bel-ipni[4]—

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[1] See Appendix A to Second Monarchy, (vol. ii. pp. 245-249).

[2] Such names as Pul, Porus, Nadius, can scarcely contain more than one element.

[3] Of course there may have been other combinations in use besides these; but no others have been as yet distinctly recognised.

[4] Supra, vol. ii. p. 157. Another name of exactly the same type is Shamas-ipni. (See vol. ii. p. 189, note [5].)

"Bel has made (me)"—from *Bel*, the name of the God and *bana* (Heb. בָּנָה), "to make;" Nabo-nassar—"Nebo protects (me)"—from Nebo and *nazar* (Heb. נָצַר), "to guard, protect;" and Nebo-sallim[5]—"Nebo makes perfect"—from Nebo and a verb cognate with the Hebrew שָׁלֵם, which in the *Piel* has the meaning of "complete, make perfect." Names compounded with a noun and participle are such as Nebo-nahid and Nahid-Merodach. Here *nahid* is the participle active of a verb, *nahad*,[6] cognate with the Arabic نهد and the Hebrew הוד, meaning "to make prosperous" or "bless." A specimen of a name compounded with a word meaning "servant" and the appellation of a god seems to exist in Abed-nego—more properly Abed-Nebo[7]—from *abed* (Heb. עֶבֶד), "a slave," and Nebo, the well-known and favourite god.

More usually a Babylonian name consists of three elements, a noun in the nominative, a verb or participle, and a noun in the accusative following the verb. To this class belong the following:—Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, Neriglissar, Belshazzar, Merodach-baladan, Merodach-iddin-akhi, Merodach-sum-adin, Merodach-shapik-ziri, Nebo-bil-sumi, and Nebuzaradan.

Nabopolassar, or more properly Nabu-pal-uzur, means "Nebo protects (my) son,"[8] being formed from the roots *Nabu*, "Nebo," *pal*, "son," and *nazar*, "to protect." Nebuchadnezzar, or Nebuchad-rezzar[9] (in the original, Nabu-kudurri-uzur), means either "Nebo is the protector of landmarks," or "Nebo protects the youth." The first and last elements are the same as in Nabopolassar: the middle element *kudur* is a word of very doubtful meaning. It has been connected by some with the Persian κίδαρις, "crown." M. Oppert explains it from the Arabic كدر, which means "a young man."[10] Sir H. Rawlinson regards it as meaning "a landmark."

Neriglissar and Belshazzar are names of exactly the same kind. The former, correctly written, is Nergal-sar-uzur; the latter, Bel-sar-uzur. The one means "Nergal protects the king;" the other, "Bel protects the king." The only new element here is the middle one, *sar*, "king" (Heb. שַׂר), which is found in Sargon, and perhaps in Shar-ezer.

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[5] See vol. ii. p. 189, note [5].

[6] Oppert, *Expédition Scientifique*, tom. ii. p. 259.

[7] Supra, p. 27.

[8] Or, according to M. Oppert, "Nebo, protect my son." (*Expédition*, tom. ii. p. 258.)

[9] This is decidedly the more correct form, and indeed is probably not far from the Babylonian articulation.

[10] *Expédition*, tom. ii. p. 259.

In Merodach-bal-adan (or Marduk-bal-iddin) we have *bal*, a variant of *pal*, "a son," and *iddin*, the 3rd person singular of *nadan*, "to give" (comp. Heb. נָתַן). The name consequently means "Merodach has given a son." Similarly, in Marduk-iddin-akhi we have *iddin* from *nadan*, together with *akhi*, the plural of *akhu*, "a brother;" and the meaning of the name is thus "Merodach has given brothers." The two roots Merodach and *iddin* appear also in Merodach-sum-adan (or Marduk-sum-iddin) in conjunction with a new root, *sum*, "a name" (comp. Heb. שֵׁם); and there results the meaning "Merodach has given a name"—or perhaps "Merodach is the giver of fame;" since the Hebrew שֵׁם has likewise that signification.

Merodach-shapik-ziri[11] may be translated "Merodach produces offspring," the root *shapik* being connected with שָׁפַךְ, "to pour out," derivatives from which have a genitive sense, as שֶׁפֶךְ and *ziri* being the plural of *zir*, a root meaning "seed, race, offspring" (comp. Heb. זֶרַע).

In Nabu-bil-sumi,[12] *bil* is used in its original sense of "lord" (comp. Heb. בַּעַל), while *sumi* is the plural of *sum*, "a name." The meaning is thus "Nebo presides over names," or "Nebo is the lord of names."

Nebu-zar-adan[13] is probably a Hebrew corruption of Nebu-zir-iddin, which means "Nebo has given offspring," from roots already explained.

The bulk of the Babylonian names preserved to us in Ptolemy's Canon do not admit of any certain explanation, from the corrupt shape in which they have come down to us. Occasionally we may recognise with some confidence the name of a god in them, as Merodach in Meses*imordachus* and Bel in Regi*bel*us; but attempts to give the full actual etymology can only be the merest conjectures,[14] with which it would not be worth while to trouble the reader. A few probable explanations of some Babylonian names preserved by the Hebrews, and probably very little changed, will alone be attempted before bringing these remarks on Babylonian nomenclature to a conclusion.

The Samgar-Nebo[1] of Jeremiah probably signifies "one who is

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[11] Supra, p. 35.
[12] See vol. ii. p. 207.
[13] 2 K. xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 9.
[14] Several such conjectures have been published by M. Oppert. (*Expédition scientifique*, tom. ii. pp. 355-357.)
[1] Jerem. xxxix. 3.

devoted to Nebo," *Samgar* being a *shaphel* form from the root *migir*, which means "honouring" or "obeying."[2] Sarsechim, in the same writer,[3] is perhaps "the king consents," from *sar* and the Chaldee סכם, which becomes in the *aphel* אַסְכִּים, and has that meaning. Belteshazzar, the name given by the prince of the eunuchs to Daniel, would have appeared, from the obvious analogy of Belshazzar, to be a contracted form of Bilta-sar-uzur, and therefore to signify "Beltis protects the king." But it is an objection to this that Nebuchadnezzar connects the name with that of "his god,"[4] who must (it would seem) be Bel, and not Beltis. If then we are obliged to seek another derivation, we may perhaps find it in Bel, the god, *tisha* (Heb. טְשֵׁצְא), "a secret,"[5] and *uzur*, from *nazar*, "to guard, protect." Belteshazzar would then mean "Bel is the keeper of secrets," an appropriate sense, since "secrets" were what Daniel was considered especially to know.[6]

It will be observed that almost every Babylonian name, the etymology of which is known to us, has a religious character. Among the elements is almost universally to be recognised the name of a god. The gods especially favoured are Nebo and Merodach, after whom comes Bel, and then Nergal and Shamas. In the kind of religious sentiment which they express the names closely resemble those of the Assyrians.[7] First, there are names announcing facts of the mythology; as Nebuchadrezzar, "Nebo protects landmarks," Belteshazzar, "Bel guards secrets." Next, there are those in which a glorification of the deity is made, as Nabu-bil-sumi, "Nebo is the lord of names;" Nabu-sallim, "Nebo makes perfect," and the like. Thirdly, a number of names contain the idea of thankfulness to the god who has granted the child in answer to prayer, as Merodach-bal-adan, "Merodach has given a son;" Bel-ipni, "Bel has made (him);" Nebu-zar-adan, "Nebo has given the offspring," &c. And, finally, there are those which imply special devotion of the individual to a particular deity, either directly, as Samgar-Nebo, "the devotee of Nebo;" Abed-Nebo, "the slave of Nebo;" or indirectly, as Nabo-nassar, "Nebo protects (me);" Nabopolassar, "Nebo protects (my) son;" Belshazzar, "Bel protects the king;" Nabo-nahid, "Nebo (is) protecting (me)," and the like.

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[2] Sir H. Rawlinson in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xviii. p. 28, note [2].

[3] Jerem. l. s. c.

[4] Dan. iv. 8. "At the last Daniel came in before me, whose name was Belteshazzar, *after the name of my god*."

[5] See the *Targum* on Prov. xxi. 14.

[6] Dan. iv. 9.

[7] See above, vol. ii. pp. 248, 249.

In the comparatively rare case of names which contain no divine element, the honour of the king seems to have been sometimes,[8] but not very often, considered. In Yakin, Nadina, Zakiru, Balazu, Hagisa, Susub, names which seem to be of a purely secular character, there is contained no flattery of the monarch. Thus far then the Babylonians would appear to have been of a more independent spirit than the Assyrians, with whom this species of adulation was not infrequent.

[8] See the explanation above given of Sarsechim.

THE FIFTH MONARCHY.

PERSIA.

CHAPTER I.

EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE.

Τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα οἰκεῖεῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι.—HEROD. i. 4.

THE geographical extent of the Fifth Monarchy was far greater than that of any one of the four which had preceded it. While Persia Proper is a comparatively narrow and poor tract, extending in its greatest length only some seven or eight degrees (less than 500 miles), the dominions of the Persian kings covered a space fifty-six degrees long, and in places more than twenty degrees wide. The boundaries of their empire were the desert of Thibet, the Sutlej, and the Indus, on the east; the Indian Sea, the Persian Gulf, the Arabian and Nubian deserts, on the south; on the west, the Greater Syrtis, the Mediterranean, the Egean, and the Strymon river; on the north, the Danube, the Black Sea, the Caucasus, the Caspian, and the Jaxartes.[1] Within these limits lay a territory, the extent of which from east to west was little less than 3000 miles, while its width varied between 500 and 1500 miles. Its entire area was probably not less than two millions of square miles—or more than half that of modern Europe. It was thus at least eight times as large as the Babylonian Empire at its greatest

[1] The boundaries here given belong to the Empire only at the height of its greatness, viz., from about B.C. 506 to B.C. 479. The Strymon and the Danube ceased to be boundaries at least as early as the last-named year.

extent,[2] and was probably more than four times as large as the Assyrian.[3]

The provinces included within the Empire may be conveniently divided into the Central, the Western, and the Eastern. The Central are Persia Proper, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Media, the coast tract of the Caspian, and Sagartia, or the Great Desert. The Western are Pæonia, Thrace, Asia Minor, Armenia, Iberia, Syria and Phœnicia, Palestine, Egypt, and the Cyrenaica. The Eastern are Hyrcania, Parthia, Aria, Chorasmia, Sogdiana, Bactria, Scythia, Gandaria, Sattagydia, India, Paricania, the Eastern Æthiopia, and Mycia.

Of these countries a considerable number have been already described in these volumes. Susiana,[4] Babylonia,[5] Assyria,[6] Media,[7] the Caspian coast,[8] Armenia,[9] Syria,[10] Phœnicia,[11] and Palestine,[12] belong to this class; and it may be assumed that the reader is sufficiently acquainted with their general features. It would therefore seem to be enough in the present place to give an account of the regions which have not yet occupied our attention, more especially of Persia Proper—the home of the dominant race.

Persia Proper seems to have corresponded nearly to that province of the modern Iran, which still bears the ancient name slightly modified,[13] being called Farsistan or Fars. The chief important difference between the two is, that whereas in modern times the tract called Kerman is regarded as a distinct and separate region,[14] Carmania anciently was included within

[2] See above, vol. ii. p. 453.

[3] It is difficult to measure exactly the dimensions of the Assyrian Empire from the uncertainty of its boundaries eastward and northward. If we regard it as comprising the whole of the Babylonian Empire, Assyria Proper, one-half of Media, and some districts of Armenia, Cappadocia, and Cilicia, we may perhaps allow it an area of from 400,000 to 500,000 square miles.

[4] See vol. ii. pp. 438, 439.

[5] See vol. i. pp. 3-5; vol. ii. p. 436.

[6] See vol. i. pp. 181-193.

[7] See vol. ii. pp. 251-256.

[8] Ibid. pp. 278-280.

[9] See vol. i. pp. 207, 208; vol. ii. pp. 280-281.

[10] See vol. ii. pp. 440-443.

[11] Ibid. pp. 443-445.

[12] Ibid. pp. 446-450.

[13] The name of the country is given as *Parsa* in the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius Hystaspis, which is no doubt the true native orthography. The Hebrews called it *Paras* (פָּרַס), the Greeks Πέρσις, the Romans *Persis* or *Persia*. The modern *Fars* is the ancient *Parsa* softened and abbreviated. *Farsistan* is "the land of the Farsis" or Persians.

[14] Kinneir, *Persian Empire*, pp. 194-201; Pottinger, *Travels*, p. 219; &c.

the limits of Persia.[15] Persia Proper lay upon the gulf to which it has given name, extending from the mouth of the Tab (Oroatis) to the point where the gulf joins the Indian Ocean. It was bounded on the west by Susiana, on the north by Media Magna, on the east by Mycia, and on the south by the sea. Its length seems to have been about 450, and its average width about 250 miles. It thus contained an area of rather more than 100,000 square miles.

In modern times it is customary to divide the province of Fars into the *ghermsir*, or "warm district," and the *serdsir*, or "cold region"[16]—and the physical character of the country must have made such a division thoroughly appropriate at every period. The "warm district" is a tract of sandy plain, often impregnated with salt, which extends between the mountains and the sea the whole length of the province, being a continuation of the flat region of Susiana,[17] but falling very much short of that region in all the qualities which constitute physical excellence. The soil is poor, consisting of alternate sand and clay[18]—it is ill-watered, the entire tract possessing scarcely a single stream worthy of the name of river[19]—and, lying only just without the northern Tropic, the district is by its very situation among the hottest of western Asia.[20] It forms, however, no very large portion of the ancient Persia, being in general a mere strip of land, from ten to fifty miles wide, and thus not constituting more than an eighth part of the territory in question.

The remaining seven-eighths belong to the *serdsir*, or "cold region." The mountain-range which under various names skirts on the east the Mesopotamian lowland, separating off that

[15] Herod. i. 125. The later geographers, however, distinguish between the two. (Strab. xv. 3, § 1; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vi. 28; &c.)

[16] Kinneir, pp. 54 and 200. Pottinger, p. 221; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 184.

[17] See vol. ii. p. 438.

[18] Pottinger, p. 54; Fraser, *Khorasan*, p. 71; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, p. 3; Kinneir, pp. 54, 70, 81, 201.

[19] Kinneir speaks of crossing "four rivers" between *Bushire* and the *Tab* (p. 57), but of these four two were arms of the *Khisht*, which is the only stream in the district that has the least real pretension to the name of river.

[20] Malcolm says of this tract, that it "bears a greater resemblance in soil and climate to Arabia than to Persia" (p. 2).

depressed and generally fertile region from the bare high plateau of Iran, and running continuously in a direction parallel to the course of the Mesopotamian streams—*i. e.* from the north-west to the south-east [21]—changes its course as it approaches the sea, sweeping gradually round between long. 50° and 55°, and becoming parallel to the coast-line, while at the same time it broadens out, till it covers a space of nearly three degrees, or above two hundred miles. Along the high tract thus created lay the bulk of the ancient Persia, consisting of alternate mountain, plain, and narrow valley, curiously intermixed, and as yet very incompletely mapped.[1] This region is of varied character. In places richly fertile,[2] picturesque, and romantic almost beyond imagination,[3] with lovely wooded dells, green mountain-sides, and broad plains suited for the production of almost any crops, it has yet on the whole a predominant character of sterility and barrenness, especially towards its more northern and eastern portions.[4] The supply of water is everywhere scanty. Scarcely any of the streams are strong enough to reach the sea. After short courses they are either absorbed by the sand or end in small salt lakes, from which the superfluous water is evaporated. Much of the country is absolutely without streams, and would be uninhabitable were it not for the *kanats*, or *karizes*,[5] subterranean channels of spring-water, described at length in a former volume.[6]

The only rivers of the district which deserve any attention are the Tab (or Oroatis), whereof a description has been already

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[21] Compare vol. ii. p. 252.

[1] Valuable contributions towards a map have been made by Mr. Consul Abbott, Lieut.-Gen. Monteith, and the Baron de Bode, which will be found in the thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-seventh volumes of the *Journal of the Geographical Society*. But much still remains to be done, more especially towards the east and the south-east.

[2] Ker Porter, vol. i. pp. 469, 501, 709; Pottinger, pp. 234, 237; Kinneir, pp. 55, 59; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiii. pp. 79, 80, 85; vol. xxv. pp. 33, 47, 76; vol. xxvii. pp. 116, 158, 159, &c.

[3] See especially the descriptions in Fraser, *Khorasan*, pp. 75-79; Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 208; *Geograph. Journ.* vol. xxvii. p. 174; vol. xxxi. pp. 63, 64.

[4] Compare Kinneir, pp. 55, 195-200; Ker Porter, vol. i. pp. 459, 472, &c.; Morier, *First Journey*, pp. 92, 147, 148; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. pp. 29-78; vol. xxvii. pp. 149-184.

[5] *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 84; vol. xxv. pp. 59, 60; Ker Porter, vol. i. p. 685; Pottinger, pp. 206, 220; Fraser, *Khorasan*, p. 79; Morier, *First Journey*, p. 150.

[6] Vol. ii. pp. 291, 292.

given,[7] the Kur or Bendamir (called anciently Araxes[8]) with its tributary, the Pulwar (or Cyrus), and the Khoonazaberni or river of Khisht.[9]

The Bendamir rises in the mountains of the Bakhtiyari chain, in lat. 30° 35′, long. 51° 50′ nearly, and runs with a course which is generally south-east, past the ruins of Persepolis, to the salt lake of Neyriz or Kheir,[10] which it enters in long. 53° 30′. It receives, where it approaches nearest to Persepolis, the Pulwar or Kur-ab, a small stream coming from the north-east and flowing by the ruins of both Pasargadæ[11] and Persepolis. A little below its junction with this stream the Bendamir is crossed by a bridge of five arches,[12] and further down, on the route between Shiraz and Kerman, by another of twelve.[13] Here its waters are to a great extent drawn off by means of canals and are made to fertilise a large tract of rich flat country on either bank,[14] after which the stream pursues its course with greatly diminished volume to the salt lake in which it ends. The entire course, including only main windings, may be estimated at 140 or 150 miles.

The Khoonazaberni or river of Khisht rises near the ruins of Shapur, at a short distance from Kazerun, on the route between Bushire and Shiraz, and flows in a broad valley[15] between lofty mountains towards the south-west, entering the

[7] Vol. ii. p. 454.

[8] Strab. xv. 3, § 6; Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* v. 5.

[9] The names, *Pulwar* and *Khoonazaberni*, are given as the present names on the authority of a recent traveller, Captain Claude Clerk (see *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxxi. pp. 60 and 64). Our earlier travellers generally represent the former river as known by the name of the Kur or Kur-ab (Ker Porter, vol. i. p. 512; Chesney, vol. i. p. 208). Kinneir, however, calls it the *Shamier* (Persian Empire, p. 59), Morier the Sewund (*First Journey*, p. 142). Rivers have often half-a-dozen names in the East, each name really attaching to a certain portion only of the course.

[10] Till recently our travellers and map-makers have called this lake Lake Bakhtigan; but Mr. Consul Abbott assures us that that name is not now known on the spot. (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. p. 71.)

[11] Strictly speaking the Murg-ab, which flows by Pasargadæ, is a tributary of the Pulwar, and not the main river.

[12] So Morier (*First Journey*, p. 124). Ker Porter speaks of the arches as three only (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 685), while Lieut. Pottinger multiplies them into *nine!* (*Travels*, p. 242).

[13] Pottinger, p. 239. M. Flandin has an engraving of this bridge, which represents it with 13 arches (*Voyage en Perse*, "Planches modernes," pl. xciv.). So also Morier, *Second Journey*, opp. p. 74.

[14] Pottinger, l. s. c.; Kinneir, p. 59.

[15] Fraser, p. 82.

Persian Gulf by three mouths,[16] the chief of which is at Rohilla, twenty miles north of Bushire, where the stream has a breadth of sixty yards, and a depth of about four feet.[17] Above Khisht the river is already thirty yards wide.[18] Its chief tributary is the Dalaki stream, which enters it from the east, nearly in long. 51°. The entire course of the Khisht river may be about 95 or 100 miles. Its water is brackish except near the source.[19]

The principal lakes are the Lake of Neyriz and the Deriah-i-Nemek. The Deriah-i-Nemek is a small basin distant about ten miles from Shiraz, which receives the waters of the streams that supply that town. It has a length of about fifteen and a breadth of about three or three and a half miles.[20] The lake of Neyriz or Kheir is of far larger size, being from fifty to sixty miles long and from three to six broad,[21] though in the summer season it is almost entirely dried up.[22] Salt is then obtained from the lake in large quantities, and forms an important feature in the commerce of the district. Smaller lakes, also salt or brackish, exist in other parts of the country, as Lake Famur, near Kazerun, which is about six miles in length, and from half a mile to a mile across.[23]

The most remarkable feature of the country consists in the extraordinary gorges which pierce the great mountain-chain,[24] and render possible the establishment of routes across that tremendous barrier. Scarped rocks rise almost perpendicularly on either side of the mountain-streams, which descend rapidly with frequent cascades and falls. Along the slight irregu-

[16] *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. Map opposite p. 109.

[17] Kinneir, p. 57.

[18] Clerk, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxxi. p. 64.

[19] Morier, *First Journey*, p. 92; *Second Journey*, p. 49.

[20] Abbott, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 151. Comp. Ouseley, *Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 69, 70.

[21] See the description of Mr. Consul Abbott (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. pp. 72-75).

[22] Kinneir, p. 60.

[23] Abbott, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 183.

[24] Of these the most striking are those on the route between Bushire and Shiraz, which have been described by many travellers. (Morier, *First Journey*, pp. 49-54; Fraser, *Khorasan*, pp. 75-79; Monteith, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. pp. 115-117; Clerk, in the same, vol. xxxi. pp. 62-64.) Others of nearly equal grandeur were traversed by Mr. Abbott in the more eastern part of the mountain region. (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. pp. 174, 175.)

View in the mountain pass between Bushire and Shiraz.

larities of these rocks the roads are carried in zig-zags, often crossing the streams from side to side by bridges of a single arch, which are thrown over profound chasms where the waters chafe and roar many hundred feet below.[25] The roads have for the most part been artificially cut in the sides of the precipices, which rise from the streams sometimes to the height of 2000 feet.[26] In order to cross from the Persian Gulf to the high plateau of Iran, no fewer than three or four of these *kotuls*, or strange gorge-passes, have to be traversed successively. Thus the country towards the edge of the plateau is peculiarly safe from attack, being defended on the north and east by vast deserts, and on the south by a mountain-barrier of unusual strength and difficulty.

It is in these regions, which combine facility of defence with pleasantness of climate, that the principal cities of the district have at all times been placed. The earliest known capital of the region was Pasargadæ,[27] or Persagadæ, as the name is sometimes written,[28] of which the ruins still exist near Murgab, in lat. 30° 15′, long. 53° 17′. Here is the famous tomb of Cyrus,[29] whereof a description will be given hereafter; and here are also other interesting remains of the old Persian architecture. Neither the shape nor the extent of the town can be traced. The situation was a plain amid mountains, watered by small streams which found their way to a river of some size (the Pulwar) flowing at a little distance to the west.

At the distance of thirty miles from Pasargadæ, or of more than forty by the ordinary road,[30] grew up the second capital,

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[25] See the plates in Flandin (*Voyage en Perse*, "Planches modernes," pls. xcvi. and xcix.), from one of which the accompanying woodcut is taken.

[26] Monteith, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 115.

[27] Pasargadæ was mentioned as the capital of Cyrus by Anaximenes (ap. Steph. Byz. ad voc. Πασσαργάδαι) and Ctesias (*Pers. Exc.* § 9). Either Ctesias or Dino represented it as the capital city of Atradates, the father of the great Cyrus. (See Nic. Dam. Fr. 66.)

[28] Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* v. 6; x. 1. Probably the true original form of the name was Parsa-gherd, "the castle of the Persians" (as Stephen of Byzantium explains the name). For the root *gherd* compare the modern Darabgherd, Lasjird, Burujird, &c., and the *certa* of the old Parthian cities, Tigrano-*certa*, Carcathio-*certa*, &c.

[29] It is this tomb, placed at Pasargadæ by Strabo (xv. 3, § 7), Arrian (*Exp. Alex.* vi. 29), and others, which alone certainly fixes the site.

[30] Clerk, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxxi. pp. 60, 61.

Persepolis, occupying a more southern position than the primitive seat of power, but still situated towards the edge of the plateau, having the mountain-barrier to the south-west and the desert at no great distance to the north-east. Like its predecessor, Persepolis was situated in a plain, but in a plain of much larger dimensions, and of far greater fertility. The plain of Merdasht is one of the most productive in Persia,[1] being watered by the two streams of the Bendamir and the Pulwar, which unite a few miles below the site of the ancient city.

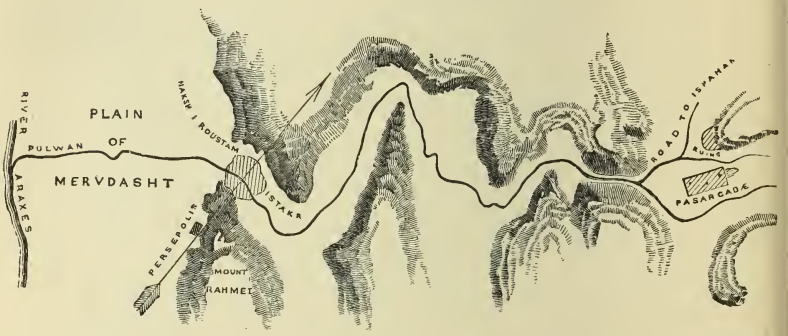

Chart of the country between Pasargadæ (Murgab) and Persepolis.

From these two copious and unfailing rivers a plentiful supply of the precious fluid can at all times be obtained; and in Persia such a supply will always create the loveliest verdure, the most abundant crops, and the richest and thickest foliage. The site of Persepolis is naturally far superior to that in which the modern provincial capital, Shiraz, has grown up,[2] at about the same distance from Persepolis as that is from Pasargadæ, and in the same—*i.e.* in a south-west—direction.

Besides Persepolis and Pasargadæ, Persia Proper contained but few cities of any note or name. If we include Carmania in Persia, Carmana, the capital of that country, may indeed be mentioned as a third Persian town of some consequence; but

[1] Kinneir, p. 59; Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 83.

[2] The streams which fertilise the Shiraz plain are rills rather than rivers. The best known is the *Rocknabad*, celebrated by Hafiz.

otherwise the names which occur in ancient authors are insignificant, and designate villages rather than towns of any size. Carmana, however, which is mentioned by Ptolemy[3] and Ammianus[4] as the capital of those parts, seems to have been a place of considerable importance. It may be identified with the modern Kerman, which lies in lat. 29° 55′, long. 56° 13′, and is still one of the chief cities of Persia.[5] Situated, like Pasargadæ and Persepolis, in a capacious plain surrounded by mountains, which furnish sufficient water for cultivation to be carried on by means of *kanats* in most parts of the tract enclosed by them,[6] and occupying a site through which the trade of the country almost of necessity passes, Kerman must alway be a town of no little consequence. Its inland and remote position, however, caused it to be little known to the Greeks; and, apparently, the great Alexandrian geographer was the first who made them acquainted with its existence and locality.

The Persian towns or villages upon the coast of the Gulf were chiefly Armuza[7] (which gave name to the district of Armuzia[8]) opposite the modern island of Ormuz; Sisidona,[9] which must have been near Cape Jerd; Apostana,[10] probably about Shewar; Gogana,[11] no doubt the modern Kongoon; and Taöcé on the Granis,[12] famous as having in its neighbourhood a royal palace,[13] which we may perhaps place near Dalaki, Taöcé itself occupying the position of Rohilla, at the mouth of the Khisht river. Of the inland towns the most remarkable, after Persepolis, Pasargadæ, and Carmana, were Gabæ, near Pasargadæ,[14] also the site of a palace;[15] Uxia,[16] or the Uxian city,[17] which may have

[3] *Geograph.* vi. 8. Καρμάνη μητρόπολις.

[4] Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6. "Inter civitates nitet Carmana omnium mater."

[5] Pottinger, pp. 221-227; Abbott in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. pp. 29, 30.

[6] Pottinger, p. 206.

[7] Ptol. *Geograph.* vi. 8. This name is evidently the original of the modern Ormuz or Hormuz. The Hormuzians were forced to migrate early in the 13th century. (D'Anville, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences*, tom. xxx. p. 141.)

[8] Armuzia or Harmozia appears as a "region" in Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 27), and Arrian (*Hist. Ind.* xxxiii. 1).

[9] Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* xxxvii. 8.

[10] Ibid. xxxviii. 5. This name, perhaps, remains in the Mount *Asban* of these parts. (Vincent, *Periplus*, p. 381.)

[11] Arrian, xxxviii. 7.

[12] Ibid. xxxix. 3; Ptol. vi. 4.

[13] Arrian, l. s. c.; Strab. xv. 3, § 3.

[14] Ptol. *Geograph.* l. s. c.

[15] Strab. l. s. c. Gabiané, a a district of Elymais (according to Strabo), probably took its name from this city. (Strab. xvi. 1, § 18.)

[16] Ptol. *Geograph.* l. s. c.

[17] So Q. Curtius, *Hist. Alex.* iii. 5.

occupied the position of Mal-Amir,[18] Obroatis, Tragonicé, Ardea, Portospana,[19] Hyrba,[20] &c., which it is impossible to locate unless by the merest conjecture.

The chief districts into which the territory was divided were Parætacêné, a portion of the Bakhtiyari mountain-chain, which some, however, reckoned to Media;[21] Mardyêné, or the country of the Mardi, also one of the hill tracts;[22] Taocêné, the district about Taöcé, part of the low sandy coast region;[23] Ciribo, the more northern portion of the same region;[24] and Carmania, the entire eastern territory.[25] These districts were not divided from one another by any marked natural features, the only division of the country to which such a character attached being the triple one into the high sandy plains north of the mountains, the mountain region, and the Deshtistan, or low hot tract along the coast.

From this account it will be easy to understand how Persia Proper acquired and maintained the character of "a scant land and a rugged," which we find attaching to it in ancient authors.[26] The entire area, as has been already observed, was about 100,000 square miles[27]—little more than half that of Spain, and about one-fifth of the area of Modern Persia. Even of this space nearly one-half was uninhabitable, consisting either of barren stony mountain or of scorching sandy plain, ill supplied with water, and often impregnated with salt. The habitable portion

[18] As the Baron de Bode conjectures. (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiii. pp. 108-112.)

[19] These four places are mentioned both by Ptolemy (*Geograph.* vi. 4) and by Ammianus (xxiii. 6). The latter places Portospana in Carmania.

[20] Hyrba appears as a Persian town on the borders of Media in a fragment of Nicolas of Damascus. (Fr. 66.)

[21] See above, vol. ii. p. 277. Ptolemy, however, assigns Parætacêné to Persia (*Geograph.* vi. 4).

[22] Ptol. l. s. c. This writer's Mardyêné seems to be the mountain region extending from Bebahan to Kazerun. That the Mardi were mountaineers appears from Herod. i. 84; Nic. Dam. Fr. 66; Strab. xv. 3, § 1.

[23] Compare Strab. xv. 3, § 3; Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* xxxix. 3; Ptol. *Geograph.* vi. 4.

[24] Plin. *H. N.* vi. 26.

[25] Most of the ancient geographers regard Carmania as a distinct country, lying east of Persia (Strab. xv. 3, § 1; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 24; Ptol. *Geograph.* vi. 4, 6; Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* xxxviii. 1). But it appears from Herodotus that in the early times the Carmanians were considered to be simply a tribe of Persians. (Herod. i. 120. Compare Strab. xv. 2, § 14, ad fin.)

[26] Herod. ix. 122; Plat. *Leg.* iii. 695 A; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* v. 4.

[27] See above, p. 86.

consisted of the valleys and plains among the mountains and along their skirts, together with certain favoured spots upon the banks of streams in the flat regions. These flat regions themselves were traversed in many places by rocky ridges of a singularly forbidding aspect. The whole appearance of the country was dry, stony, sterile. As a modern writer observes, "the livery of the land is constantly brown or grey; water is scanty; plains and mountains are equally destitute of wood. When the traveller, after toiling over the rocky mountains that separate the plains, looks down from the pass he has won with toil and difficulty upon the country below, his eye wanders unchecked and unrested over an uniform brown expanse losing itself in distance."[28]

Still this character, though predominant, is not universal. Wherever there is water, vegetation springs up. The whole of the mountain region is intersected by valleys and plains which are more or less fertile. The line of country between Bebahan and Shiraz is for above sixty miles "covered with wood and verdure."[29] East of Shiraz, on the route between that city and Kerman, the country is said to be in parts "picturesque and romantic," consisting of "low luxuriant valleys or plains separated by ranges of low mountains, green to their very summits with beautiful turf."[30] The plains of Khubbes, Merdasht, Ujan, Shiraz, Kazerun, and others,[31] produce abundantly under a very inefficient system of cultivation. Even in the most arid tracts there is generally a time of greenness immediately after the spring rains, when the whole country smiles with verdure.[1]

It has been already remarked that the Empire, which, commencing from Persia Proper, spread itself, towards the close of the sixth century before Christ, over the surrounding tracts,

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[28] Fraser, *Khorasan*, pp. 163, 164.

[29] Kinneir, *Persian Empire*, p. 55. Compare *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiii. pp. 79-84.

[30] Pottinger, *Travels*, p. 237.

[31] Compare Pottinger, pp. 229, 239; Abbott, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. pp. 34, 74; vol. xxvii. pp. 150, 158, 165, 184; Monteith, in the same, vol. xxvii. p. 116; Morier, *First Journey*, p. 92; *Second Journey*, pp. 83, 122, &c.; Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 469, 473, 685, 709; Fraser, *Khorasan*, pp. 79, 114, &c.

[1] Fraser, *Khorasan*, p. 163; Abbott, in *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxv. p. 50.

included a number of countries not yet described in these volumes, since they formed no part of any of the four Empires which preceded the Persian.[2] To complete, therefore, the geographical survey proper to our subject, it will be necessary to give a sketch of the tracts in question. They will fall naturally into three groups, an eastern, a north-western, and a south-western—the eastern extending from the skirts of Mount Zagros to the Indian Desert, the north-western from the Caspian to the Propontis, and the south-western from the borders of Palestine to the shores of the Greater Syrtis.

Inside the Zagros and Elburz ranges, bounded on the north and west by those mountain lines, on the east by the ranges of Suliman and Hala, and on the south by the coast chain which runs from Persia Proper nearly to the Indus, lies a vast table-land, from 3000 to 5000 feet above the sea level, known to modern geographers as the Great Plateau of Iran.[3] Its shape is an irregular rectangle, or trapezium, extending in its greatest length, which is from west to east, no less than twenty degrees, or above 1100 miles, while the breadth from north to south varies from seven degrees, or 480 miles (which is its measure along the line of Zagros), to ten degrees, or 690 miles, where it abuts upon the Indus valley. The area of the tract is probably from 500,000 to 600,000 square miles.

It is calculated that two-thirds of this elevated region are absolutely and entirely desert.[4] The rivers which flow from the mountains surrounding it are, with a single exception—that of the Etymandrus or Helmend—insignificant, and their waters almost always lose themselves, after a course proportioned to their volume, in the sands of the interior. Only two, the Helmend and the river of Ghuzni, have even the strength to form lakes; the others are absorbed by irrigation, or sucked up

[2] See above, p. 85.

[3] Fraser, p. 162. This writer's observations gave for the height of different parts of the plateau a minimum of 2500 and a maximum of 4500 feet. Col. Chesney calls the average elevation 5000 feet (*Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 65); but this estimate is in excess of the truth.

[4] Chesney, vol. i. p. 78. This paragraph and the next are repeated from the author's *Herodotus*, where they formed a part of one of the "Essays" appended to the first volume. (See pages 440, 441 of the second edition.)

by the desert. Occasionally a river, rising within the mountains, forces its way through the barrier, and so contrives to reach the sea. This is the case, especially, on the south, where the coast chain is pierced by a number of streams, some of which have their sources at a considerable distance inland.[5] On the north the Heri-rud, or River of Herat, makes its escape in a similar way from the plateau, but only to be absorbed, after passing through two mountain chains, in the sands of the Kharesm. Thus by far the greater portion of this region is desert throughout the year, while, as the summer advances, large tracts, which in the spring were green, are burnt up—the rivers shrink back towards their sources—the whole plateau becomes dry and parched—and the traveller wonders that any portion of it should be inhabited.[6]

It must not be supposed that the entire plateau of which we have been speaking is to the eye a single level and unbroken plain. In the western portion of the region the plains are constantly intersected by "brown, irregular, rocky ridges,"[7] rising to no great height, but serving to condense the vapours held in the air, and furnishing thereby springs and wells of inestimable value to the inhabitants. In the southern and eastern districts "immense" ranges of mountains are said to occur;[8] and the south-eastern as well as the north-eastern corners of the plateau are little else than confused masses of giant elevations.[9] Vast flats, however, are found. In the Great Salt Desert, which extends from Kashan and Koum to the *Deriah* or "Sea" in which the Helmend terminates, and in the sandy desert of Seistan, which lies east and south-east of that lake, reaching from near Furrah to the Mekran mountains, plains of above a

[5] Especially the Dusee or Punjgur river, which rises near *Nushki* in lat. 29° 40′, long. 65° 5′, and falls into the sea near *Gwattur*, in lat. 25° 10′, long. 61° 30′.

[6] "A monotonous reddish-brown colour," says Col. Chesney, "is presented by everything in Iran, including equally the mountains, plains, hills, rocks, animals, and reptiles. For even in the more favoured districts, the fields which have yielded an abundant crop are so parched and burnt before midsummer, that, if it were not for the heaps of corn in the villages near them, a passing stranger might conclude that harvest was unknown in that apparently barren region." (*Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 79.)

[7] Chesney, l. s. c.

[8] Kinneir, *Persian Empire*, p. 210.

[9] Chesney, vol. i. ch. viii.; Kinneir, p. 211; Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys*, p. 238.

hundred miles in extent appear to occur,[10] sometimes formed of loose sand, which the wind raises into waves like those of the sea,[11] sometimes hard and gravelly,[12] or of baked and indurated clay.[13]

The tract in question, which at the present day is divided between Affghanistan, Beloochistan, and Iran, contained, at the time when the Persian Empire arose, the following nations—the Sagartians, the Cossæans, the Parthians, the Hariva or Arians, the Gandarians, the Sattagydians, the Arachotians, the Thamanæans, the Sarangæ, and the Paricanians. The Sagartians and Cossæans dwelt in the western portion of the tract, the latter probably about the Siah-Koh mountains,[14] the former scattered over the whole region from the borders of Persia Proper to the Caspian Gates and the Elburz range.[15] Along its northern edge, east of the Sagartians, were the Parthians, the Arians, and the Gandarians, occurring in that order as we proceed from west to east. The Parthians held the country known now as the *Atak* or "Skirt,"[16] the flat tract at the southern base of the Elburz from about Shahrud to Khaff, together with a portion of the mountain region adjoining. This is a rich and valuable territory, well watered by a number of small streams, which, issuing from the ravines and valleys of the Elburz, spread fertility around,[17] but lose themselves after a short course in the Salt Desert. Adjoining the Parthians upon the east were

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[10] Pottinger, *Travels*, pp. 132-138; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xi. pp. 136-156; vol. xiv. pp. 145-179.

[11] Kinneir says: "The sand of the desert is of a reddish colour, and so light that when taken into the hand the particles are scarcely palpable. It is raised by the wind into longitudinal waves, which present on the side towards the point from which the wind blows a gradual slope from the base, but on the other side rise perpendicularly to the height of 10 or 20 feet, and at a distance have the appearance of a new brick wall." (*Persian Empire*, p. 222. Compare Fraser, *Khorasan*, p. 252, and Abbott in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. p. 37.)

[12] Kinneir, p. 217; Fraser, l. s. c.

[13] Chesney, vol. i. p. 79; Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys*, p. 403.

[14] See above, vol. ii. p. 282.

[15] Herod. i. 125; iii. 93; Justin, xli. 1; Ptol. *Geogr.* vi. 2; *Behist. Inscr.* col. ii. par. 15.

[16] The term *Atak* is applied to both sides of the range. Mr. Fraser applies it especially to the strip which skirts the mountains along their *northern* base. (*Khorasan*, pp. 245, 251, &c.) On the true country of the Parthians, see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 162; and compare Herod. iii. 93, 117; vii. 66; Isid. Char. *Mans. Parth.* p. 7; Pliny, *H. N.* vi. 25.

[17] Fraser, *Khorasan*, pp. 335, 351, 358, &c.

the Haroyu, Hariva, or Arians, an Iranic race of great antiquity,[18] who held the country along the southern skirts of the mountains from the neighbourhood of Khaff to the point where the Heri-Rud (Arius) issues from the Paropamisan mountains. The character of this country closely resembles that of Parthia, whereof it is a continuation; but the copious stream of the Heri-Rud renders it even more productive.[1]

The Gandarians held Kabul, and the mountain tract on both sides of the Kabul river as far as the upper course of the Indus,[2] thus occupying the extreme north-eastern corner of the plateau, the region where its elevation is the greatest. Lofty mountain-ridges, ramifying in various directions but tending generally to run east and west, deep gorges, narrow and tremendous passes, like the Khyber, characterize this district.[3] Its soil is generally rocky and barren; but many of the valleys are fertile, abounding with enchanting scenery and enjoying a delightful climate.[4] More especially is this the case in the neighbourhood of the city of Kabul, which is perhaps the Caspatyrus of Herodotus,[5] where Darius built the fleet which descended the Indus.

South of Aria and Gandaria, in the tract between the Great Desert and the Indus valley, the plateau was occupied by four nations—the Thamanæans, the Sarangians, the Sattagydians, and the Arachotians. The Thamanæan country appears to have been that which lies south and south-east of Aria (Herat), reaching from the Haroot-rud or river of Subzawar to the banks of the Helmend about Ghirisk.[6] This is a varied region, consisting on the north and the north-east of several high moun-

[18] This people appears as *Haroyu* in the Zendavesta (supra, vol. ii. p. 433, § 9). In the inscriptions of Darius they are called *Hariva* (*Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 6). *Herat* and the *Heri-rud* are clearly continuations of the old name. The Greek Ἄριοι or Ἄρειοι very imperfectly renders the native appellation.

[1] Fraser, *Khorasan*, Appendix, p. 30; Vámbéry, *Travels*, pp. 269, 270; Pottinger, *Travels*, p. 416.

[2] On the position of the Gandarians in the time of the Persian Empire, see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 175, 2nd edition. Pressed upon by the *Yue-Chi*, a Tâtar race, in the fifth or sixth century of our era, they migrated to the south-west, occupying the valley of the Urghand-ab (ancient Arachotus), and impressing on the tract the name which it still bears, of Kandahar.

[3] Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. pp. 160-173; Elphinstone, *Kabul*, pp. 86 et seqq.

[4] Chesney, vol. i. p. 171.

[5] Herod. iii. 102; iv. 44. Compare Hecatæus, Fr. 179.

[6] From the accounts which Herodotus gives of the Thamanæans, we could only gather that they dwelt in the neighbour

tain chains which ramify from a common centre, having between them large tracts of hills and downs,[7] while towards the south and the south-west the country is comparatively low and flat, descending to the level of the desert about the thirty-second parallel. Here the Thamanæans were adjoined upon by the Sarangians, who held the land about the lake in which the Helmend terminates[8]—the Seistan of Modern Persia. Seistan is mainly desert. "One-third of the surface of the soil is composed of moving sands, and the other two-thirds of a compact sand, mixed with a little clay, but very rich in vegetable matter."[9] It is traversed by a number of streams, as the Haroot-rud, the river of Furrah, the river of Khash, the Helmend, and others, and is very productive along their banks, which are fertilised by annual inundations;[10] but the country between the streams is for the most part an arid desert.

The Sattagydians and Arachotians divided between them the remainder of Affghanistan, the former probably occupying south-eastern Kabul, from the Ghuzni river and its tributaries to the valley of the Indus,[11] while the latter were located in the modern Candahar, upon the Urghand-ab and Turnuk rivers.[12] The character of these tracts is similar to that of north-western Kabul, but somewhat less rugged and mountainous. Hills and downs alternate with rocky ranges and fairly fertile vales.[13] There is a scantiness of water, but still a certain number of moderate-sized rivers, tolerably well supplied with affluents.

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hood of the Sarangians, Parthians, and Hyrcanians (iii. 93, 117). The ground for locating them in the tract lying between the Haroot-rud and Ghirisk, is to be found in Isidore of Charax, if we are allowed to read ἐντεῦθεν Θαμαναίων χώρα for ἐντεῦθεν Ἀναύων χώρα, the Anaui being a people otherwise wholly unknown. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 173, notes [5] and [6].)

[7] Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys*, pp. 238-255.

[8] The Sarangians (or Zarangians) of Herodotus are undoubtedly the Drangians of later writers. Their position is pretty certainly fixed by the notices in Strabo (xv. 2, §§ 5-10), Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 23), Arrian (*Exp. Alex.* iii. 25; vi. 17), and Ptolemy (*Geograph.* vi. 19).

[9] Ferrier, p. 426. Compare Christie in Pottinger's *Travels*, Appendix, p. 407, and Kinneir, *Persian Empire*, pp. 189-193.

[10] Ferrier, p. 427.

[11] See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 174.

[12] This position is plain from Ptolemy (*Geograph.* vi. 18) and Isidore (*Mans. Parth.* § 19). There can be little doubt that in the word *Urghand-ab* we have a corruption of the name *Arachot-us*, which was applied to the chief stream of the district. (Isid. Char. l. s. c.)

[13] Chesney, vol. i. pp. 166-170; Elphinstone, *Kabul*, p. 452.

The soil, however, is either rocky or sandy; and without a careful system of irrigation great portions of the country remain of necessity barren and unproductive.

The south-eastern corner of the plateau, below the countries of the Sarangians and the Arachotians, was occupied by a people, called Paricanians by Herodotus,[14] perhaps identical with the Gedrosians of later writers. This district, the modern Beloochistan, is still very imperfectly known, but appears to be generally mountainous, to have a singularly barren soil, and to be deficient in rivers.[15] The nomadic life is a necessity in the greater part of the region, which is in few places suitable for cultivation, but has good pastures in the mountains or the plains according to the season of the year. The rivers of the country are for the most part mere torrents, which carry a heavy body of water after rains, but are often absolutely dry for several months in succession.[16] Water, however, is generally obtainable by digging wells in their beds;[17] and the liquid procured in this way suffices, not only for the wants of man and beast, but also for a limited irrigation.

The Great Plateau which has been here described is bordered everywhere, except at its north-eastern and north-western corners, by low regions. On the north the lowland is at first a mere narrow strip intervening between the Elburz range and the Caspian, a strip which has been already described in the account given of the Third Monarchy.[18] Where, however, the Caspian ends, its shore trending away to the northward, there succeeds to this mere strip of territory a broad and ample tract of sandy plain, extending from about the 54th to the 68th degree of east longitude—a distance of 760 miles—and reaching from the 36th to the 50th parallel of north latitude—a distance not much short of a thousand miles! This tract, which comprises the modern Khanats of Khiva and Bokhara, together with a considerable piece of Southern Asiatic Russia,

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[14] Herod. iii. 94; vii. 68. The term "Paricanians" is perhaps not ethnic. Probably it means simply "mountaineers."

[15] Pottinger, *Travels*, pp. 24-184, and pp. 249-262.

[16] Ibid. p. 259.

[17] Ibid. p. 261.

[18] See above, vol. ii. pp. 278, 279.

is for the most part a huge trackless desert, composed of loose sand, black or red,[19] which the wind heaps up into hills. Scarcely any region on the earth's surface is more desolate.[20] The boundless plain lies stretched before the traveller like an interminable sea, but dead, dull, and motionless. Vegetation, even the most dry and sapless, scarcely exists. For three or four hundred miles together he sees no running stream. Water, salt, slimy, and discoloured, lies occasionally in pools, or is drawn from wells, which yield however only a scanty supply.[21] For anything like a drinkable beverage the traveller has to trust to the skies,[1] which give or withhold their stores with a caprice that is truly tantalizing. Occasionally, but only at long intervals, out of the low sandy region there rises a rocky range, or a plateau of moderate eminence, where the soil is firm, the ground smooth, and vegetation tolerably abundant. The most important of the ranges are the Great and Little Balkan, near the Caspian Sea, between the 39th and 40th parallels, the Khalata and Urta Tagh, north-west of Bokhara, and the Kukutli, still further to the north-west, in latitude 42° nearly. The chief plateau is that of Ust-Urt, between the Caspian and the Sea of Aral, which is perhaps not more than three or four hundred feet above the sandy plain, but is entirely different in character.[2]

This desolate region of low sandy plain would be wholly uninhabitable, were it not for the rivers. Two great streams, the Amoo or Jyhun (anciently the Oxus), and the Sir or Syhun (anciently the Jaxartes), carry their waters across the desert, and pour them into the basin of the Aral. Several others of less volume, as the Murg-ab, or river of Merv, the Abi Meshed

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[19] Hence the names "Desert of *Kizil Koum*" (or Red Sand) and "Desert of *Kara Koum*" (or Black Sand).

[20] See M. Vámbéry's *Travels*, p. 107. Compare Mouravieff as quoted by De Hell, *Travels in the Steppes*, p. 326. "This country exhibits the image of death, or rather of the desolation left behind by a great convulsion of nature. Neither birds nor quadrupeds are found in it; no verdure nor vegetation cheers the sight, except here and there at long intervals some spots on which there grow a few stunted shrubs." See also Burnes in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. iv. pp. 305-311.

[21] Vámb ry, pp. 102, 107, 111, 112, &c.

[1] Ibid. pp. 113, 114, 157, &c.

[2] Ibid. pp. 114-116. The *Kaflankir* crossed by M. Vámbéry seems to have been an outlying peninsula belonging to the Ust-Urt tract.

or Tejend, the Heri-rud, the river of Maymene, the river of Balkh, the river of Khulm, the Shehri-Sebz, the Ak Su or river of Bokhara, the Kizil Deria, &c., flow down from the high ground into the plain, where their waters either become lost in the sands, or terminate in small salt pools.[3] Along the banks of these streams the soil is fertile, and where irrigation is employed the crops are abundant. In the vicinity of Khiva,[4] at Kermineh on the Bokhara river,[5] at Samarcand,[6] at Balkh,[7] and in a few other places, the vegetation is even luxuriant; gardens, meadows, orchards and cornfields fringe the river-bank; and the natives see in such favoured spots resemblances of Paradise![8] Often, however, even the river-banks themselves are uncultivated, and the desert creeps up to their very edge;[9] but this is in default, not in spite, of human exertion. A well managed system of irrigation could, in almost every instance, spread on either side of the streams a broad stripe of verdure.

In the time of the Fifth Monarchy, the tract which has been here described was divided among three nations. The region immediately to the east of the Caspian, bounded on the north by the old course of the Oxus and extending eastward to the neighbourhood of Merv, though probably not including that city,[10] was Chorasmia,[11] the country of the Chorasmians. Across the Oxus[12] to the north-east was Sogdiana (or Sugd), reaching thence to the Jaxartes, which was the Persian boundary in this direction.[13] South of Sogdiana, divided from it by the Middle

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[3] This is the case with the Bokhara river, which terminates in Lake *Dengïz*, and with the Shehri-Sebz river, which is evaporated by the *Kul Mohi*. The Murg-ab also ends in a swamp. The rivers of Balkh and Khulm are consumed in irrigation. The Maymene river and the Kizil Deria lose themselves in the sands.

[4] Vámbéry, p. 121.

[5] Ibid. p. 199. [6] Ibid. p. 214.

[7] Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys*, pp. 197-230; Burnes, *Bokhara*, vol. i. p. 245. Compare Q. Curt. vi. 4, § 26.

[8] A native proverb says: "*Samarkand firdousi manend*"—"Samarkand resembles Paradise." (See Vámbéry, p. 204.)

[9] Ibid. pp. 152-156.

[10] Margiana, the tract about Merv, is reckoned by Darius to Bactria. (*Beh. Inscr.* col. iii. par. 4.)

[11] Chorasmia appears as Qâirizem in the Zendavesta (supra, vol. ii. p. 371, note [1]), as Uvarazmiya in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions. (*Beh. Inscr.* col. i. par. 6.) The capital city was still called *Kharesm* in the time of Genghis Khan, and hence its name was given to the great Kharesmian Empire. *Kharezm* is still the political name of Khiva. (Vámbéry, p. 126.)

[12] Eratosth. ap. Strab. xi. 8, § 8.

[13] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 30; iv. 3; Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* vii. 7; Strab. l. s. c.

and Upper Oxus, was Bactria, the country of the Bakhtars or Bactrians. The territory of this people reached southward to the foot of the Paropamisus, adjoining Chorasmia and Aria on the west, and on the south Sattagydia and Gandaria.

East of the table-land lies the valley of the Indus and its tributaries, at first a broad tract, 350 miles from west to east, but narrowing as it descends, and in places not exceeding sixty or seventy miles across. The length of the valley is not less than 800 miles. Its area is probably about a hundred thousand square miles. We may best regard it as composed of two very distinct tracts—one the broad triangular plain towards the north, to which, from the fact of its being watered by five main streams, the natives have given the name of Punj-ab,[14] the other the long and comparatively narrow valley of the single Indus river, which, deriving its appellation from that noble stream, is known in modern geography as Sinde.[15] The Punjab, which contains an area of above fifty thousand square miles, is mountainous towards the north, where it adjoins on Kashmeer and Thibet, but soon sinks down into a vast plain, with a soil which is chiefly either sand or clay, immensely productive under irrigation, but tending to become jungle or desert if left without human care.[16] Sinde, or the Indus valley below the Punjab, is a region of even greater fertility. It is watered, not only by the main stream of the Indus, but by a number of branch channels which the river begins to throw off from about the 28th parallel. It includes, on the right bank of the stream, the important tract called Cutchi Gandava, a triangular plain at the foot of the Suliman and Hala ranges, containing about 7000 square miles of land which is all capable of being made into a garden. The soil is here for the most rich, black, and loamy;[17] water is

[14] *Punj-ab* — "Five Rivers," *punj* being the modern form of the Sanscrit *puncha*, "five," and *ab* (or *au*) being an old word for "water" in most Indo-European languages.

[15] Sinde, India, and Hindu-stan, are various representatives of the same native word. *Hindu* is the oldest known form, since it occurs in one of the most ancient portions of the Zendavesta (supra, vol. ii. p. 434, § 19). The Greeks and Romans sometimes called the river *Sindus* instead of Indus. (Plin. *H. N.* vi. 20.)

[16] Great portions of the *doabs* or tracts between the streams are in this condition. In the most western of them there is a large desert of loose sand. (Elphinstone, *Caubul*, vol. i. pp. 32, 33.)

[17] Kinneir, *Persian Empire*, p. 213.

abundant; and the climate suitable for the growth of all kinds of grain.[18] Below Cutchi Gandava the valley of the Indus is narrow for about a hundred miles, but about Tatta it expands and a vast delta is formed. This is a third triangle, containing above a thousand square miles of the richest alluvium, which is liable however to floods and to vast changes in the river beds, whereby often whole fields are swept away. Much of this tract is moreover low and swampy; the climate is trying; and rice is almost the only product that can be advantageously cultivated.[19]

The low region lying south of the Great Plateau is neither extensive nor valuable. It consists of a mere strip of land along the coast of the Indian Ocean, extending a distance of about nine degrees (550 miles) from the mouth of the Persian Gulf to Cape Monze, near Kurrachee, but in width not exceeding ten or, at the most, twenty miles. This tract was occupied in ancient times mainly by a race which Herodotus called Ethiopians[20] and the historians of Alexander Ichthyophagi (Fish-Eaters).[21] It is an arid, sultry, and unpleasant region, scarcely possessing a perennial stream, and depending for its harvests entirely upon the winter rains,[22] and for its water during the summer on wells which are chiefly brackish.[23] Tolerable pasturage is, however, obtainable in places even during the hottest part of the year, and between Cape Jask and Gwattur the crops produced are far from contemptible.[24]

A small tract of coast, a continuation of the territory just described, intervening between it and Kerman, was occupied in the early Persian times by a race known to the Persians as *Maka*, and to the Greeks as Mycians (Μύκοι). This district, reaching from about Cape Jask to Gombroon, is one of greater fertility than is usual in these regions, being particularly pro-

[18] Pottinger, *Travels*, pp. 303-311; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiv. p. 198.

[19] See Wood's *Memoir on the Indus*, and compare the *Geograph. Journal*, vol. iii. pp. 113-115; vol. viii. art. 25; and vol. x. p. 530.

[20] Herod. iii. 94; vii. 70.

[21] Nearchus ap. Arr. *Hist. Ind.* xxvi. 2; xxix. 9-16; Strab. xv. 2, §§ 1 and 13; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 23; Solinus, *Polyhist.* § 57.

[22] Kinneir, p. 203.

[23] Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 178; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxxiii. pp. 183, 187, 195; Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* xxvi. 5.

[24] Kinneir, pp. 203, 204.

ductive in dates and grain.[25] This fertility seems, however, to be confined to the vicinity of the sea-shore.

To complete the description of the Eastern provinces two other tracts must be mentioned. The mountain-chain which skirts the Great Plateau on the north, distinguished in these pages by the name of Elburz, broadens out after it passes the south-eastern corner of the Caspian Sea till it covers a space of nearly three degrees (more than 200 miles). Instead of the single lofty ridge which separates the Salt Desert from the low Caspian region, we find between the fifty-fourth and fifty-ninth degrees of east longitude three or four distinct ranges, all nearly parallel to one another, having a general direction of east and west. Broad and rich valleys are enclosed between these latitudinal ranges, which are watered by rivers of a considerable size, as more especially the Ettrek and the Gurgan. Thus a territory is formed capable of supporting a largish population, a territory which possesses a natural unity, being shut in on three sides by mountains, and on the fourth by the Caspian. Here in Persian times was settled a people called Hyrcani; and from them the tract derived the name of Hyrcania (Vehrkana[1]). while the lake on which it adjoined came to be known as "the Hyrcanian Sea."[2] The fertility of the region, its broad plains, shady woods, and lofty mountains were celebrated by the ancient writers.[3]

Further to the east, beyond the low sandy plain, and beyond the mountains in which its great rivers have their source—on the other side of the "Roof of the World," as the natives name this elevated region[4]—lay a tract unimportant in itself, but

[25] Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* xxxii. 3, 4; Kinneir, pp. 194, 201.

[1] *Vehrkana* appears in the Zendavesta as the "ninth best of regions and countries" (supra, vol. ii. p. 433, § 12). The name is given as *Varkana* in the Behistun Inscription (col. ii. par. 16).

[2] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 29, 30; Strab. xi. 6, § 1; 7, § 1; Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* vi. 4.

[3] Strab. vi. 7, § 2; Ἡ Ὑρκανία σφόδρα εὐδαίμων καὶ πολλὴ καὶ τὸ πλέον πεδίας. Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 23; Ἡ Ὑρκανία . . . τῇ μὲν ὄρεσιν ἀπείργεται δασέσι καὶ ὑψηλοῖς, τῇ δὲ πεδίον αὐτῆς καθήκει ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ταύτῃ θάλασσαν. See also Q. Curt. vi. 4, and compare the accounts of the moderns (Fraser, *Khorasan*, pp. 599-602; Vámbéry, *Travels*, pp. 47-56).

[4] The Pamir Steppe, which is a continuation of the Bolor range, is called by the natives *Bami-duniya*, or "the Roof of the World." (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. x. p. 535.)

valuable to the Persians as the home of a people from whom they obtained excellent soldiers. The plain of Chinese Tartary, the district about Kashgar and Yarkand, seems to have been in possession of certain Sacans or Scythians,[5] who in the flourishing times of the empire acknowledged subjection to the Persian crown. These Sacans, who called themselves *Humavarga*[6] or Amyrgians, furnished some of the best and bravest of the Persian troops.[7] Westward they bordered on Sogdiana and Bactria; northward they extended probably to the great mountain-chain of the Tien-chan; on the east they were shut in by the vast desert of Gobi or Shamoo; while southward they must have touched Gandaria and perhaps India.[8] A portion of this country—that towards the north and west—was well watered and fairly productive;[9] but the southern and eastern part of it must have been arid and desert.

From this consideration of the Eastern provinces of the Empire, we pass on naturally to those which lay towards the North-West. The Caspian Sea alone intervened between these two groups, which thus approached each other within a distance of some 250 or 260 miles.

Almost immediately to the west of the Caspian there rises a high table-land diversified by mountains, which stretches eastward for more than eighteen degrees between the 37th and 41st parallels. This highland may properly be regarded as a continuation of the great Iranean plateau, with which it is connected at its south-eastern corner. It comprises a portion of the modern Persia, the whole of Armenia, and most of Asia Minor. Its principal mountain-ranges are latitudinal, or from west to east, only the minor ones taking the opposite or longitudinal direction.[10] Of the latitudinal chains the most

[5] The somewhat doubtful question of the *habitat* of these Persian Scythians is discussed at more length in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 168, 169, 2nd edition.

[6] See the Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription, par. 3 (ibid. p. 207). Compare Herod. vii. 64, and Hecatæus, Fr. 171.

[7] Herod. vi. 113; vii. 184; viii. 113; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 13.

[8] Darius unites the Sacæ, at Behistun, with the Gandarians and Sattagydians—at Persepolis with the Gandarians and Mycians—at Nakhsh-i-Rustam with the Gandarians and Indians.

[9] Fraser, *Khorasan*, Appendix, pp. 110-112.

[10] These longitudinal chains are chiefly towards the east. The principal are Mount Massula near the Cas-

important is the Taurus, which, commencing at the south-western corner of Asia Minor in longitude 29° nearly, bounds the great table-land upon the south, running parallel with the shore at the distance of sixty or seventy miles as far as the Pylæ Ciliciæ, near Tarsus, and then proceeding in a direction decidedly north of east, to the neighbourhood of Lake Van, where it unites with the line of Zagros. The elevation of this range, though not equal to that of some in Asia, is considerable. In Asia Minor the loftiest of the Taurus peaks seem to attain a height of about 9000 or 10,000 feet.[11] Further to the east the elevation appears to be even greater, the peaks of Ala Dagh, Sapan, Nimrud, and Mut Khan in the tract about Lake Van being all of them considerably above the line of perpetual snow,[12] and therefore probably 11,000 or 12,000 feet.

At the opposite side of the table-land, bounding it towards the north, there runs under various names a second continuous range of inferior elevation, which begins near Brusa, in the Keshish Dagh or Mysian Olympus, and proceeds in a line nearly parallel with the northern coast to the vicinity of Kars. Between this and Taurus are two other important ridges, which run westward from the neighbourhood of Ararat to about the 34th degree of east longitude, after which they subside into the plain.

The heart of the mountain-region, the tract extending from the district of Erivan on the east to the upper course of the Kizil-Irmak river and the vicinity of Sivas upon the west, was, as it still is, Armenia. Amidst these natural fastnesses, in a country of lofty ridges, deep and narrow valleys, numerous and copious streams, and occasional broad plains—a country of rich pasture grounds, productive orchards, and abundant harvests[13]—

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pian, Mounts Kibleh and Sehend between the Urumiyeh lake and the basin of the Kizil Uzen, and Mount Zagros or the great Kurdish range, which runs between Urumiyeh and Van, separating those two lake basins.

[11] Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 68. Compare Beaufort, *Karamania*, p. 57; Leake, *Asia Minor*, p. 104; Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, vol. ii. p. 305. The last-named writer saw many peaks covered with snow in August, which in this latitude would imply a height of at least 10,000 feet.

[12] Chesney, vol. i. p. 69.

[13] Ibid. p. 97. Comp. Strab. xi. 14. § 4; Hamilton, vol. i. pp. 164-255, and Ker Porter, vol. i. pp. 171-215.

this interesting people has maintained itself almost unchanged from the time of the early Persian kings to the present day. Armenia was one of the most valuable portions of the Persian Empire, furnishing, as it did, besides stone and timber, and several most important minerals,[14] an annual supply of 20,000 excellent horses to the stud of the Persian King.[15]

The high-land west of Armenia, the plateau of Asia Minor, from the longitude of Siwas (37° E.) to the sources of the Meander and the Hermus, was occupied by the two nations of the Cappadocians and Phrygians, whose territories were separated by the Kizil-Irmak or Halys river. This tract, though diversified by some considerable ranges, and possessing one really lofty mountain, that of Argæus,[16] was, compared with Armenia, champaign and level. Its broad plains afforded the best possible pasturage for sheep, while at the same time they bore excellent crops of wheat.[17] The entire region was well-watered; it enjoyed a delightful climate; and besides corn and cattle, furnished many products of value.[18]

Outside the plateau on the north, on the north-east, on the west, and on the south, lie territories which, in comparison with the high region whereon they adjoined, may be called lowlands. The north-eastern lowland, the broad and rich valley of the Kur, which corresponds closely with the modern Russian province of Georgia, was in the possession of a people called by Herodotus Saspeires or Sapeires,[1] whom we may identify with the Iberians of later writers.[2] Adjoining upon them towards the south, probably in the country about Erivan, and so in the neighbourhood of Ararat, were the Alarodians, whose name

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[14] See below, ch. ii. pp. 158-163.

[15] Strab. xi. 14, § 9. Compare Ezek. xxvii. 14.

[16] The height of Mount Argæus, as obtained from the mean of three observations taken by Mr. Hamilton, was 13,017 feet. (*Researches in Asia Minor*, vol. ii. p. 279.)

[17] Herodotus calls the Phrygians πολυπροβατωτάτους ἁπάντων καὶ πολυκαρποτάτους (v. 49). Strabo says of Cappadocia, that it was ἀγαθὴ καὶ καρποῖς, μάλιστα δὲ σίτῳ καὶ βοσκήμασι παντοδαποῖς (xii. 2, § 10).

[18] See the next chapter.

[1] Herod. iii. 94; iv. 37; vii. 79.

[2] Strab. xi. 3, §§ 1-6; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 10; Ptol. v. 12; Dionys. *Perieg.* 695-699; Eustath. ad Dionys. 19; Pomp. Mel. i. 2, &c. For intermediate forms of the name, see Steph. Byz. ad voc. Σάπειρες; Menand. Protect. Frs. 5, 41, 42, &c.; and Etym. Magn. ad voc. Βέχειρ.

must be connected with that of the great mountain.[3] On the other side of the Sapeirian country, in the tracts now known as Mingrelia and Imeritia, regions of a wonderful beauty and fertility,[4] were the Colchians—dependants, but not exactly subjects, of Persia.[5]

The northern lowland, which consisted of a somewhat narrow strip of land between the plateau and the Euxine, was a rich and well-wooded region, 650 miles in length, and in breadth from forty to a hundred. It was inhabited by a large number of rude and barbarous tribes each of whom possessed a small portion of the sea-board.[6] These tribes, enumerated in the order of their occurrence from east to west, were the following:—the Moschi, the Macrones (or Tzani),[7] the Mosynœci, the Mares, the Tibareni, the Chalybes, the Paphlagones, the Mariandyni, the Bithyni, and the Thyni. The Moschi, Macrones, Mosynœci, Mares, and Tibareni dwelt towards the east, occupying the coast from Batoum to Ordou.[8] The Chalybes inhabited the tract immediately adjoining on Sinôpé.[9] The Paphlagonians held the rest of the coast from the mouth of the Kizil-Irmak to Cape Baba, where they were succeeded by the Mariandyni, who owned the small tract between Cape Baba and the mouth of the Sakkariyeh (Sangarius).[10] From the Sangarius to the canal of Constantinople dwelt the Thynians and Bithynians intermixed, the former however affecting the coast and the latter the interior of the country.[11] The entire tract was of a nearly uniform character, consisting of wooded spurs from the northern mountain-chain, with valleys of greater or less width between them.[12]

[3] The *l* and *r* are scarcely distinguishable in the Old Persian, and the Persian form of Ararat would naturally be *Alarud* or *Aluud*. The Assyrian representation of the word is *Urard* or *Urarda*. (See Sir H. Rawlinson "On the Alarodians of Herodotus" in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 203-206, 2nd edition.)

[4] *Geographical Journal*, vol. iii. pp. 34, 35. Compare Strabo, xi. 2, § 17.

[5] Herod. iii. 97; vii. 79.

[6] Except, perhaps, the Mosch. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 179, note [1], 2nd edition.)

[7] On this identity, see Hecatæus, Fr. 191; Strab. xii. 3, § 18; Eustath. ad Dionys. 766; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Μάκρωνες.

[8] The *exact* position of each of these tribes is considered in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 179-184.

[9] Herod. i. 28; Ephorus, Fr. 80; Pomp. Mel. i. 21; Scymn. Ch. 938.

[10] Strab. xii. 2, § 4; Scylax, *Peripl.* § 91.

[11] Plin. *H. N.* v. 32.

[12] See Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, vol. i. pp. 158-167; Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. pp. 321-332.

Streams were numerous, and vegetation was consequently rich; but it may be doubted whether the climate was healthy.

The western lowland comprised the inland regions of Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, together with the coast-tracts which had been occupied by immigrant Greeks, and which were known as Æolis, Doris, and Ionia. The broad and rich plains, the open valleys, the fair grassy mountains, the noble trees, the numerous and copious rivers of this district are too well known to need description here. The western portion of Asia Minor is a terrestrial paradise, well deserving the praises which Herodotus with patriotic enthusiasm bestowed upon it.[13] The climate is delightful, only that it is somewhat too luxurious; the soil is rich and varied in quality; the vegetable productions are abundant; and the mountains, at any rate anciently,[14] possessed mineral treasures of great value.

The lowland upon the south is narrower and more mountainous than either of the others. It comprised three countries only—Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia. The tract is chiefly occupied by spurs from Taurus, between which lie warm and richly wooded valleys. In Lycia, however, the mountain-ridges embrace some extensive uplands,[15] on a level not much inferior to that of the central plateau itself, while in Pamphylia and Cilicia are two or three low alluvial plains of tolerable extent and of great fertility. Of these the most remarkable is that near Tarsus, formed by the three streams of the Cydnus, the Sarus, and the Pyramus, which extends along the coast a distance of forty miles and reaches inland above thirty,[16] the region which gave to the tract where it occurs the name of Cilicia Campestris or Pedias.[17]

The Persian dominion in this quarter was not bounded by the sea. Opposite to Cilicia lay the large and important island of

[13] Herod. i. 142. Οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες . . . τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὀρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἱδρυσάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τὠυτὸ ποιέει τῇ Ἰωνίῃ, οὔτε τὰ κάτω, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην.

[14] See Herod. v. 101; Soph. *Philoct.* 393; Strab. xiii. 4, § 5.

[15] Fellows, *Lycia*, pp. 249-251; 256-260.

[16] Strab. xiv. 5, §§ 12-17; Beaufort, *Karamania*, pp. 285-288; Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 352.

[17] Strab. xiv. 5, § 1; Ptol. *Geograph.* v. 8.

Cyprus, which was included in the territories of the Great King from the time of Cambyses to the close of the Empire. Further to the west, Rhodes, Cos, Samos, Chios, Lesbos, Tenedos, Lemnus, Imbrus, Samothrace, Thasos, and most of the islands of the Egean were for a time Persian, but were never grasped with such firmness as to be a source of real strength to their conquerors. The same may be said of Thrace and Pæonia, subjugated under Darius, and held for some twenty or thirty years, but not assimilated, not brought into the condition of provinces, and therefore rather a drain upon the Empire than an addition to its resources. It seems unnecessary to lengthen out this description of the Persian territories by giving an account of countries and islands, whose connection with the Empire was at once so slight and so temporary.

A few words must, however, be said respecting Cyprus. This island, which is 140 miles long from Bafa (Paphos) to Cape Andrea, with an average width for two-thirds of its length of thirty-five, and for the remaining third of about six or seven miles, is a mountainous tract, picturesque and varied, containing numerous slopes, and a few plains, well fitted for cultivation.[18] According to Eratosthenes it was in the more ancient times richly wooded, but was gradually cleared by human labour.[19] Its soil was productive, and particularly well suited for the vine and the olive. It grew also sufficient corn for its own use.[20] But its special value arose from its mineral products. The copper-mines near Tamasus were enormously productive,[21] and the ore thence derived so preponderated over all other supplies, that the later Romans came to use the word *cyprium* for the metal generally—whence the names by which it is even now known in most of the languages of modern Europe.[22] On the whole Cyprus was considered inferior to no known island.[23]

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[18] Chesney, pp. 456-460. Compare Ross, *Reisen nach Kos*, &c., pp. 83-209.

[19] Ap. Strab. xiv. 6, § 5.

[20] Strab. l. s. c. Εὔοινός ἐστι καὶ ἐνέλαιος, σίτῳ τε αὐτάρκει χρῆται.

[21] Ibid. See also Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 1.

[22] The German *Kupfer*, our own *copper*, the Spanish *cobre*, the Dutch *koper*, and the French *cuivre*, are all derived from the Latin *Cyprium*.

[23] Κατ' ἀρετὴν οὐδεμίας τῶν νήσων λείπεται. Strab. l. s. c. Ὀλβιώτατοι νησιωτῶν οἱ Κύπριοι. Eustath. ad Dionys. 508.

Besides its vegetable and mineral products, it furnished a large number of excellent sailors to the Persian fleet.[24]

It remains to notice briefly those provinces of the south-west, which had not been included within any of the preceding monarchies, and which are therefore as yet undescribed in these volumes. These provinces are the African, and may be best considered under the three heads of Egypt, Libya, and the Cyrenaica.

Egypt, if we include under the name not merely the Nile valley and the Delta, but the entire tract interposed between the Libyan Desert on the one side and the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea on the other, is a country of nearly the size of Italy.[1] It measures 520 miles from Elephantiné to the Mediterranean, and has an average width of 150 or 160 miles. It must thus contain an area of about 80,000 square miles. Of this space, however, at least three-fourths is valueless, consisting of bare rocky mountain or dry sandy plain. It is only along the course of the narrow valley in which the Nile flows from the Cataracts to beyond Cairo,[2] in the tract known as the Faioum, and in the broad region of the Delta, that cultivation is possible. Even in the Delta itself there are large spaces which are arid, and others which are permanent marshes,[3] so that considerable portions of its surface are unfitted for husbandry. But if the quantity of cultivable land is thus limited in Egypt, the quality is so excellent, in consequence of the alluvial character of the soil, that the country was always in ancient times a sort of granary of the world. The noble river, bringing annually a fresh deposit of the richest soil, and furnishing a supply of

[24] Herod. iii. 19; vi. 6; vii. 90.

[1] Heeren (*Manual of Ancient History*. i. p. 47, E. T.) reckons Egypt as "equal in its superficial contents to two-thirds of Germany." But this is an enormous over-estimate. Germany contains 250,000 square miles, Egypt certainly not more than 80,000. Italy, without the islands, contains about 90,000 square miles.

[2] The Greeks had a notion that the valley expanded at some little distance above Cairo (Herod. ii. 8, ad fin.), and Scylax even compares its shape to that of a double-headed axe (*Peripl.* § 106). But in reality the valley only varies in width from about seven miles to fifteen during its entire course from the Cataracts to the head of the Delta. (Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 9, note [1], 2nd edition.)

[3] Herod. ii. 7, 92, 137, 140; Thucyd. i. 110; Diod. Sic. i. 31, § 5; 34, § 3. Compare Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv. p. 115.

water, which is sufficient, if carefully husbanded, to produce a succession of luxuriant crops throughout the year, makes Egypt —what it is even at the present day—one of the most fertile portions of the earth's surface—a land of varied products, all excellent—but especially a land of corn, to which the principal nations of the world looked for their supplies, either regularly, or at any rate in times of difficulty.[4]

West of Egypt was a dry and sandy tract, dotted with oases, but otherwise only habitable along the shore,[5] which in the time of the Persian Empire was occupied by a number of wild tribes who were mostly in the lowest condition to which savage man is capable of sinking.[6] The geographical extent of this tract was large, exceeding considerably that of Egypt; but its value was slight. Naturally, it produced nothing but dates and hides. The inhumanity of the inhabitants made it, however, further productive of a commodity, which, until the world is christianized, will probably always be regarded as one of high value —the commodity of negro slaves, which were procured in the Sahara by slave-hunts,[7] and perhaps by purchase in Nigritia.

Still further to the west, and forming the boundary of the Empire in this direction, lay the district of the Cyrenaica, a tract of singular fertility and beauty. Between Benghazi, in east longitude 20°, and the Ras al Tynn (long. 23° 15′), there rises above the level of the adjacent regions an extensive table-land,[8] which, attracting the vapours that float over the Mediterranean, condenses them, and so abounds with springs and rills. A general freshness and greenness, with rich vegetation in places, is the consequence. Olives, figs, carobs, junipers, oleanders, cypresses, cedars, myrtles, arbutus-trees, cover the flanks of the plateau and the hollows which break its surface,[9]

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[4] See Gen. xii. 10; xlii. 57; Herod. iii. 91; Tac. *Hist.* iii. 8, 48; *Ann.* ii. 59; Plin. *Paneg.* § 31; &c. The dependance of the Romans on Egypt for their corn supplies is a well-known fact.

[5] Herod. ii. 32; iv. 181.

[6] See the description of Herodotus (iv. 168-172).

[7] Ibid. iv. 183. The practice which Herodotus mentions still continues. (Hamilton, *Wanderings in N. Africa*, p. 196.)

[8] The elevation of the upper plateau is estimated at from 1800 to 2000 feet. (Beechy, *Expedition to N. Coast of Africa*, pp. 434, 435.)

[9] Hamilton, pp. 31, 75, 76, 79, 80, &c.

while the remainder is suitable alike for the cultivation of cereals and for pasturage.[10] Nature has also made the region a special gift in the *laserpitium* or *silphium*, which was regarded by the ancients as at once a delicacy and a plant of great medicinal power,[11] and which added largely to the value of the country.

Such was the geographical extent of the Persian Empire, and such were the chief provinces which it contained besides those previously comprised in the empires of Media or Babylon. Territorially, the great mass of the Empire lay towards the east, between long. 50° and 75°, or between the Zagros range and the Indian Desert. But its most important provinces were the western ones. East of Persepolis, the only regions of much value were the valleys of the Indus and the Oxus. Westward lay Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Media, Armenia, Iberia, Cappadocia, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, the Cyrenaica—all countries of great, or at least considerable, productiveness. The two richest grain tracts of the ancient world, the best pasture regions, the districts which produced the most valuable horses, the most abundant of known gold-fields, were included within the limits of the Empire, which may be looked upon as self-sufficing, containing within it all that man in those days required, not only for his necessities, but even for his most cherished luxuries.

The productiveness of the Empire was the natural result of its possessing so many and such large rivers. Six streams of the first class,[12] having courses exceeding a thousand miles in length, helped to fertilise the lands which owned the sway of the Great King. These were the Nile, the Indus, the Euphrates, the Jaxartes, the Oxus, and the Tigris. Two of the six have been already described in these volumes,[13] and therefore will not need to detain us here; but a few words must be said with

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[10] Beechy, pp. 434-437.

[11] See Herod. iv. 169; Scyl. *Peripl.* § 108; Plin. *H. N.* xxii. 23; Theophrast. *Hist. Pl.* vi. 3; &c.

[12] Europe has only four such rivers, the Wolga, the Danube, the Dniepr, and the Don.

[13] The Euphrates and the Tigris. (See above, vol. i. pp. 6-14.)

respect to each of the remaining four, if our sketch of the geography of the Empire is to make any approach to completeness.

The Nile was only in the latter part of its course a Persian stream. Flowing, as we now know that it does,[14] from within a short distance of the equator, it had accomplished more than three-fourths of its course before it entered a Persian province. It ran, however, through Persian territory a distance of about six hundred miles,[15] and conferred on the tract, through which it passed, immeasurable benefits. The Greeks sometimes maintained that "Egypt was the gift of the river;"[16] and, though this was very far from being a correct statement in the sense intended, there is a meaning of the words in which we may accept them as expressing a fact. Egypt is only what she is through her river. The Nile gives her all that makes her valuable. This broad, ample, and unfailing stream not only by its annual inundation enriches the soil and prepares it for tillage in a manner that renders only the lightest further labour necessary,[1] but serves as a reservoir from which inexhaustible supplies of the precious fluid can be obtained throughout the whole of the year. The water, which rises towards the end of June, begins to subside early in October, and for half the year—from December till June—Egypt is only cultivable through irrigation. She produces, however, during this period, excellent crops —even at the present day, when there are few canals—from the facility with which water is obtained, by means of a very simple engine,[2] out of the channel of the Nile. This unfailing supply enabled the cultivator to obtain a second, a third, and even

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[14] The labours of Speke, Grant, and Baker have not perhaps solved the entire mystery of the Nile sources—for a chain of lakes may communicate with the south-western extremity of the Albert Nyanza, or a great stream, the true infant Nile, may enter that lake from the west—but they have traced the river at any rate southward almost to the equator, and shown that it has a course of *at least* 3000 miles.

[15] Sir G. Wilkinson estimates the distance of the old apex of the Delta from the sea by the Sebennytic branch at 110 miles—from that to Thebes by the river at 421 miles—from Thebes to Elephantiné at 124 miles—Total, 655 miles. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 8 and 10, notes [6] and [3], 2nd edition.)

[16] Herod. ii. 5; Hecatæus, Fr. 279.

[1] Herod. ii. 14. Compare Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iv. pp. 39-41.

[2] The *shadoof* of the modern Egyptians has a near representative upon the monu-

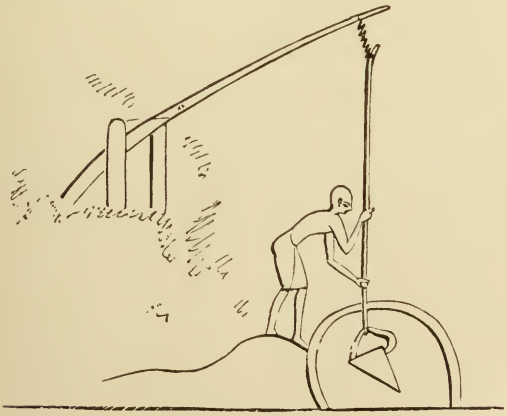
sometimes a fourth crop from the same land within the space of a year.[3]

The course of the Nile from Elephantiné, where it entered Egypt, to Cercasorus,[4] near Heliopolis, where it bifurcated, was in general north, with, however, a certain tendency westward. It entered Egypt nearly in long. 33°, and at Neapolis (more than two degrees further north) it was still within 15′ of the same meridian; then, however, it took a westerly bend, crossed the 32nd and 31st meridians, and in lat. 28° 23′ reached west as far as long. 30° 45′. After this it returned a little eastward, recrossed the 31st meridian, and having reached long. 31° 22′ near Aphroditopolis (lat. 29° 25′), it proceeded almost due north to Cercasorus in lat. 30° 7′. The course of the river up to this point was, from its entry into the country, about 540 miles. At Cercasorus the Delta began. The river threw out two branches, which flowed respectively to the north-east and the north-west, while between them was a third channel, a continuation of the previous course of the stream, which pierced the Delta through its centre, flowing almost due north. Lower down, further branch channels were thrown out, some natural, some

ments. It consists of a long pole working over a cross-bar, with a rope and bucket at one end, and a weight to balance them at the other.

[3] Wilkinson, vol. iv. pp. 96, 97.

[4] Herod. ii. 15, 17, and 97; Strab. xvii. 1, § 30; Pomp. Mel. i. 9.



Ancient Shadoof.

artificial, and the triangular tract between the two outer arms of the river was intersected by at least five,[5] and (in later times) by fourteen large streams.[6] The right and left arms appear to have been of about equal length, and may be estimated at 150 or 160 miles; the central arm had a shorter course, not exceeding 110 miles. The volume of water which the Nile pours into the Mediterranean during a day and night is estimated at from 150,000 millions to 700,000 millions of cubic *mètres*.[7] It was by far the largest of all the rivers of the Empire.

The Indus, which was the next largest of the Persian rivers to the Nile, rose (like the Nile) outside the Persian territory. Its source is in the region north of the Himalaya range, about lat. 31° long. 82° 30′.[8] It begins by flowing to the north-west, in a direction parallel to that of the Western Himalayas, along the northern flank of which it continues in this line a distance of about 700 miles, past Ladak, to long. 75° nearly. Here it is met by the Bolor chain, which prevents its further progress in this direction and causes it to turn suddenly nearly at a right angle to the south-west. Entering a transverse valley, it finds a way (which is still very imperfectly known[9]) through the numerous ridges of the Himalaya to the plain at its southern base, on which it debouches about thirty miles above Attock. It is difficult to say at what exact point it crossed the Persian frontier, but probably at least the first 700 miles of its course were through territory not Persian. From Attock to the sea the Indus is a noble river. It runs for 900 miles in a general direction of S.S.W. through the plain in one main stream (which

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[5] See the description of Herodotus (ii. 17), who calls the three main branches the Canobic, the Sebennytic, and the Pelusiac. From the Sebennytic, or central stream, there branched out (according to him) two others, which he calls the Saitic (Sanitic?) and the Mendesian. Both these seem to have intervened between the Sebennytic and the Pelusiac mouths. There were also two artificial channels—the Bucolic and the Bolbitine—the former between the Sebennytic and the Mendesian, the latter a branch from the Canobic. Scylax (*Peripl.* § 106) and Strabo (xvii. 1, § 18) have also seven mouths, the Canobic, Bolbitine, Sebennytic, Phatnitic, Mendesian, Tanitic, and Pelusiac.

[6] Plin. *H. N.* v. 10.

[7] Horner, in *Transactions of the Royal Society*, vol. cxlv. pp. 101-138.

[8] See Capt. Strachey's paper in the *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxiii. pp. 1-69.

[9] See Capt. Strachey's Map, and compare Lieut. Macartney's "Memoir" in the second volume of Elphinstone's *Caubul*, pp. 415, 416.

is several hundred yards in width),[10] while on its way it throws off also from time to time small side streamlets, which are either consumed in irrigation or rejoin the main channel. A little below Tatta its Delta begins—a Delta, however, much inferior in size to that of the Nile. The distance from the apex to the sea is not more than sixty miles, and the breadth of the tract embraced between the two arms does not exceed seventy miles.[11] The entire course of the Indus is reckoned at 1960 miles,[12] of which probably 1260 were through Persian territory. The volume of the stream is always considerable, while in the rainy season it is very great. The Indus is said then to discharge into the Indian Ocean 446,000 cubic feet per second,[13] or 4280 millions of cubic yards in the twenty-four hours.

The Oxus rises from an Alpine lake,[14] lying on the western side of the Bolor chain in lat. 37° 40′, long. 73° 50′. After a rapid descent from the high elevation of the lake, during which it pursues a somewhat serpentine course, it debouches from the hills upon the plain about long. 69° 20′, after receiving the river of Fyzabad, and then proceeds, first west and afterwards north-west, across the Great Kharesmian Desert to the Sea of Aral. During the first 450 miles of its course, while it runs among the hills, it receives from both sides numerous and important tributaries; but from the meridian of Balkh these fail entirely, and for above 800 miles the Oxus pursues its solitary way, unaug-

[10] At Mittun Kote, after receiving the great stream of the Chenab, which brings with it the waters of all the other Punjab rivers, the Indus is more than a mile wide, and never less than 15 feet deep. This width continues till Bukker (lat. 27° 40′). From Bukker to Schwan (lat. 26° 25′) the average width is about three-quarters of a mile. At Hyderabad (lat. 25° 23′) it is 830 yards, while at Tatta it is not more than 700 yards. (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. iii. pp. 125-135.)

[11] The *true* Delta, which lies between the *Buggaur* and *Sata* arms, is here spoken of. If we take the Delta in the widest sense of the term, extending it southward to the Koree mouth, which only conveys water during the time of the annual inundation, the size of it will be greatly enlarged. It must then be said to extend along the coast for 125 miles, and inland for above 100. Its area, according to this latter view of its limits, has been estimated at 7000 square miles. (See Burnes, in the *Geograph. Journal*, vol. iii. pp. 115-123, and compare the third volume of his *Bokhara*, pp. 228-240.)

[12] Keith Johnston, *Physical Atlas*, "Hydrology," No. 5, p. 14. The estimate of Major Cunningham is 1977 miles. (*Ladak*, p. 90.)

[13] Wood's *Memoir on the Indus*, p. 306.

[14] *Geograph. Journal*, vol. x. p. 536. The elevation of this lake is estimated at 15,600 feet.

mented by a single affluent, across the waste of Tartary, rolling through the desert a wealth of waters, which must diminish, but which does not seem very sensibly to diminish, by evaporation. At Kilef, sixty miles north-west of Balkh, the width of the river is 350 yards;[15] at Khodja Salih, thirty miles lower down, it is 823 yards with a depth of twenty feet;[16] at Kerki, seventy miles below Khodja Salih, it is "twice the width of the Danube at Buda-Pesth,"[17] or about 940 yards;[18] at Betik, on the route between Bokhara and Merv, its width has diminished to 650 yards, but its depth has increased to twenty-nine feet.[19] Finally, at Görlen Hezaresp near Khiva, "the breadth of the Oxus is so great, that both banks are hardly distinguishable at the same time;"[20] but the stream is here comparatively shallow, ceasing to be navigable at about this point.[1] The present course of the Oxus from its rise in Lake Sir-i-Kol to its termination in the Sea of Aral is estimated at 1400 miles.[2] Anciently its course must have been still longer. The Oxus, in the time of the Achæmenian kings, fell into the Caspian[3] by a channel which can even now be traced.[4] Its length was thus increased by at least 450 miles, and, exceeding that of the Jaxartes, fell but little short of the length of the Indus.

The Oxus, like the Nile and the Indus, has a periodical swell, which lasts from May to October.[5] It does not, however, overflow its banks. Under a scientific system of irrigation it is probable that a considerable belt of land on either side of its course might be brought under cultivation. But at present the extreme limit to which culture is carried, except in the immediate vicinity of Khiva,[6] seems to be four miles;[7]

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[15] Burnes, *Bokhara*, vol. ii. p. 190.
[16] Ibid. Compare vol. i. p. 249.
[17] Vámbéry, *Travels*, p. 228.
[18] The famous bridge of boats, which unites Buda with Pesth, is said to measure 1408 feet. (Murray, *Handbook for S. Germany*, p. 435, 3rd edition.)
[19] Burnes, *Bokhara*, vol. ii. p. 190.
[20] Vámbéry, p. 147.
[1] Burnes, *Bokhara*, vol. ii. p. 189.
[2] Keith Johnston, *Physical Atlas*, "Hydrology," No. 5, p. 14.
[3] Herod. i. 202; Aristobulus ap. Strab. xi. 7, § 3; Patrocles ap. eund. xi. 11, § 5; Eratosth. ap. eund. xi. 6, § 1; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 17; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 29; Dionys. *Perieg.* l. 748; Mela, iii. 5; Ptol. *Geograph.* vi. 14.
[4] See Meyendorf, *Voyage à Bokhara*, pp. 239-241; Vámbéry, *Travels*, pp. 106, 115.
[5] Burnes, *Bokhara*, vol. ii. p. 192.
[6] On the cultivation here, see Vámbéry, pp. 120, 121, and 141.
[7] Burnes, l. s. c.

while often, in the absence of human care, the desert creeps up to the very brink of the river.

The Jaxartes, or Sir-Deria, rises from two sources in the Thian-chan mountain-chain, the more remote of which is in long. 79° nearly.[8] The two streams both flow to the westward in almost parallel valleys, uniting about long. 71°. After their junction the course of the stream is still to the westward for two degrees; but between Khokand and Tashkend the river sweeps round in a semicircle and proceeds to run first due north and then north-west, skirting the Kizil Koum desert to Otrar, where it resumes its original westerly direction and flows with continually diminishing volume across the desert to the Sea of Aral. The Jaxartes is a smaller stream than the Oxus. At Otrar, after receiving its last tributary, it is no more than 250 yards wide. Below this point it continually dwindles, partly from evaporation, partly from the branch streams which it throws off right and left, of which the chief are the Cazala and the Kuvan Deria. On its way through the desert it spreads but little fertility along its banks, which are in places high and arid, in others depressed and swampy.[9] The branch streams are of some service for irrigation;[10] and it is possible that a scientific system might turn the water of the

[8] For the true source of the Jaxartes, and the real course of its upper branches, see the Map accompanying Mr. J. Michell's paper in vol. xxxi. of the *Geographical Journal*, opp. p. 356.

[9] On the course of the lower Jaxartes, see an article in the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1865, pp. 553, 554: — "Watering with its numerous affluents in the upper part of its basin," says the writer, "one of the most fertile and delightful countries in the world, and fringed throughout its course with the richest cultivation, it debouches below the town of Turkistan upon a saline steppe, and its character becomes entirely altered. Where the banks are high, a thin belt of jungle alone separates the river from the desert; where they are low, inundations, forming reedy lagoons and impassable morasses, spread for hundreds of miles over the face of the plain; in the intermediate portions alone, where the banks admit the river over the adjacent lands at the time of flood, but cut off the supply of water at other seasons, is there much cultivation or pasturage. In such positions the lands are said to be exceedingly fertile, the irrigating waters overlaying the surface with a rich alluvial loam, which, in combination with the saline soil, is found to be peculiarly favourable to agriculture. Whether Russian engineering science, by a skilful management of the waters of the river, will be able to conquer the general sterility of the adjoining steppe to any appreciable extent, remains to be seen; but it is certain that in all history the lower basin of the river has been regarded as an irreclaimable desert."

[10] Butakoff, in *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxiii. p. 99.

main channel to good account, and by its means redeem from the desert large tracts which have never yet been cultivated. But no such system has hitherto been applied to the Sir, and it is doubtful whether success would attend it. The Sir, where it falls into the Sea of Aral, is very shallow, seldom even in the flood season exceeding four feet.[11] The length of the stream was till recently estimated at more than 1208 miles;[12] but the latest explorations seem to require an enlargement of this estimate by at least 200 or 250 miles.

In rivers of the second class the Persian Empire was so rich, that it will be impossible, within the limits prescribed for the present work, to do more than briefly enumerate them. The principal were, in Asia Minor, the Hermus (Ghiediz Chai), and the Mæander (Mendere), on the west, the Sangarius (Sakkariyeh), the Halys (Kizil Irmak), and the Iris (Yechil Irmak) on the north, the Cydnus (Tersoos Chai), Sarus (Cilician Syhun), and Pyramus (Cilician Jyhun) on the south;—in Armenia and the adjacent regions, the Araxes (Aras), Cyrus (Kur), and Phasis (Rion);—on the Iranic plateau, the Sefid-rud, the Zenderud or river of Isfahan, the Etymandrus (Helmend), and the Arius (Heri-rud);—in the low country east of the Caspian, the Gurgan and Ettrek, rivers of Hyrcania, the Margus (Murghab or river of Merv), the Dehas or river of Balkh, the Ak Su or Bokhara river, and the Kizil Deria, a stream in the Khanat of Kokand;—in Affghanistan and India, the Kabul river, the Hydaspes (Jelum), the Acesines (Chenab), the Hydraotes (Ravee), and the Hyphasis (Sutlej or Gharra);—in Persia Proper, the Oroatis (Hindyan or Tab), and the Bendamir;—in Susiana, the Pasitigris (Kuran), the Hedypnus (Jerahi), the Choaspes (Kerkhah), and the Eulæus (a branch of the same);—in the Upper Zagros region, the Gyndes (Diyaleh) and the Greater and Lesser Zabs;—in Mesopotamia, the Chaboras (Khabour) and Bilichus (Belik);—finally, in Syria and Palestine, the Orontes or river of Antioch (Nahr-el-Asy), the Jordan, and the Barada, or river of Da-

[11] Butakoff, in *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxiii. p. 99.
[12] Keith Johnston, *Physical Atlas*, "Hydrology," No. 5, p. 14.

mascus. Thus, besides the six great rivers of the Empire, forty other considerable streams[13] fertilised and enriched the territories of the Persian monarch, which, though they embraced many arid tracts, where cultivation was difficult, must be pronounced upon the whole well-watered, considering their extent and the latitude in which they lay.

The Empire possessed, besides its rivers, a number of important lakes. Omitting the Caspian and the Aral, which lay upon its borders, there were contained within the Persian territories the following important basins—the Urumiyeh, Lake Van, and Lake Goutcha or Sivan in Armenia; Lakes Touz-Ghieul, Egerdir, Bey-Shehr, Chardak, Soghla, Buldur, Ghieul-Hissar, Iznik, Abullionte, Maniyas, and many others in Asia Minor; the Sabakhah, the Bahr-el-Melak, and the Lake of Antioch in Northern Syria; the Lake of Hems in the Cœle-Syrian valley; the Damascus lakes, the Lake of Merom, the Sea of Tiberias, and the Dead Sea in Southern Syria and Palestine; Lake Mœris and the Natron lakes[14] in Egypt; the Bahr-i-Nedjif in Babylonia; Lake Neyriz in Persia Proper; the Lake of Seistan in the Iranic Desert; and Lake Manchur in the Indus valley. Several of these have been already described in these volumes.[15] Of the remainder the most important were the Lake of Van, the Touz-Ghieul, the great lake of Seistan, and Lake Mœris. These cannot be dismissed without a brief description.

Lake Van is situated at a very unusual elevation, being

[13] Of these forty streams, no fewer than seventeen have been already described in these volumes—the two Zabs, the Diyaleh, the Belik, and the Khabour in vol. i. (pp. 183-188); most of the remainder in vol. ii. as the Aras (pp. 257, 258); the Sefid Rud (p. 258); the Zenderud (p. 259); the Hindyan or Tab (p. 454); the Jerahi (pp. 454, 455); the Kuran (pp. 455-457); the Kerkhah with its two branches (pp. 457, 458); the Orontes (pp. 459-461); the Barada (pp. 462, 463), and the Jordan (pp. 463, 464). For a description of the Bendamir, see above, p. 88. For some account of the other streams, see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 315-317, 447, 448, 459-461, 2nd edition.

[14] On these lakes, see a paper by Sir G. Wilkinson, in the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. xiii. pp. 113-118.

[15] See vol. i. p. 14, for a description of the Bahr-i-Nedjif; vol. ii. pp. 260, 261, for an account of the Urumiyeh, and pp. 466-472, for descriptions of the Sabakhah, the Bahr-el-Melak, the Damascus lakes, the Dead Sea, the Sea of Tiberias, Lake Merom, the Lake of Hems, and the Sea of Antioch. Finally, see p. 89 of the present volume for a description of Lake Neyriz.

more than 5400 feet above the sea level.[16] It is a triangular basin, of which the three sides front respectively S.S.E., N.N.E., and N.W. by W. The sides are all irregular, being broken by rocky promontories; but the chief projection lies to the east of the lake, where a tract is thrown out which suddenly narrows the expanse from about fifty miles to less than five. The greatest length of the basin is from N.E. to S.W., where it extends a distance of eighty miles between Arnis and Tadvan; its greatest width is between Aklat and Van, where it measures across somewhat more than fifty miles.[1] The scenery which surrounds it is remarkable for its beauty.[2] The lake is embosomed amid high mountains, picturesque in outline and all reaching in places the level of perpetual snow. Its waters, generally placid, but sometimes lashed into high waves,[3] are of the deepest blue; while its banks exhibit a succession of orchards, meadows, and gardens which have scarcely their equals in Asia. The lake is fed by a number of small streams flowing down from the lofty ridges which surround it, and having no outlet is of course salt, though far less so than the neighbouring lake of Urumiyeh. Gulls and cormorants float upon its surface;[4] fish can live in it; and it is not distasteful to cattle.[5] Set in the expanse of waters are a few small islets, whose vivid green contrasts well with the deep azure which surrounds them.

The Touz-Ghieul is a basin of a very different character. Situated on the upland of Phrygia, in lat. 39°, long. 33° 30′, its elevation is not more than 2500 feet.[6] Low hills of sandstone and conglomerate encircle it,[7] but generally at some distance, so that a tract of plain, six or seven miles in width,

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[16] Mr. Brant's observations, made in 1838, showed the elevation of Lake Van to be 5467 feet. (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. x. p. 410.)

[1] Lake Van was first correctly laid down by Lieut. Glascott in the year 1838. The results of his survey were embodied in maps published by the Royal Geographical Society in 1840. (See *Geograph. Journal*, vol. x. Maps opp. pp. 1 and 530.)

[2] Shiel *in Geograph. Journal*, vol. viii. p. 63; Brant, in the same, vol. x. p. 391; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 22-34 and 387-412.

[3] Layard, p. 415.

[4] Ibid. l. s. c.

[5] Brant, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. x. p. 403. Compare vol. iii. p. 50.

[6] *Geograph. Journal*, vol. x. p. 299.

[7] Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, vol. ii. p. 235.

intervenes between their base and the shore. The shape of the lake is an irregular oval, with the greater axis running nearly due north and south. Its greatest length is estimated at forty-five miles;[8] its width varies, but is generally from ten to sixteen miles.[9] At one point, however, nearly opposite to Kodj Hissar, the lake narrows to a distance of no more than five miles; and here a causeway has been constructed from shore to shore, which, though ruined, still affords a dry pathway in the summer.[10] The water of the Touz-Ghieul is intensely salt, containing at some seasons of the year no less than thirty-two per cent. of saline matter,[11] which is considerably more than the amount of such matter in the water of the Dead Sea.[12] The surrounding plain is barren, in places marshy, and often covered with an incrustation of salt.[13] The whole scene is one of desolation. The acrid waters support no animal organisation;[14] birds shun them; the plain grows nothing but a few stunted and sapless shrubs.[15] The only signs of life which greet the traveller are the carts of the natives, which pass him laden with the salt that is obtained with ease from the saturated water.[16]

The Zerreh, or Sea of Seistan—called sometimes the Hamûn, or "expanse"[17]—is situated in the Seistan Desert on the Great Iranic plateau, and consequently at an elevation of (probably) 3000 feet.[18] It is formed by the accumulation of the waters brought down by the Helmend, the Haroot-rud, the river of

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[8] Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 346. Mr. Hamilton estimated the circumference at 30 leagues. (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. viii. p. 147.)

[9] Chesney, vol. i. p. 347.

[10] Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, vol. ii. p. 237. Mr. Ainsworth speaks of the whole lake as "almost entirely dry in summer." (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. x. p. 298.) But this is an exaggeration of the truth.

[11] Hamilton, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 388.

[12] See above, vol. ii. p. 469, note [19].

[13] Hamilton, vol. ii. pp. 235-237.

[14] Hamilton, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. viii. p. 147. "The water of the lake," says this traveller, "is so extremely salt that no fish or other animals can live in it; birds dare not even touch the water; their wings become instantly stiff with a thick crust of salt." Mr. Ainsworth (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. x. p. 299) regards what is here said of the birds as a myth, but agrees that neither fish, mollusc, nor shell is to be found in the lake, and that no birds were seen by his party to float on it.

[15] Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, vol. ii. p. 235.

[16] Ibid. pp. 237, 238.

[17] See Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys*, p. 429, with the editor's note.

[18] The entire plateau is supposed to have, at least, this elevation. (See Fraser, *Khorasan*, p. 162.)

Khash, the Furrah-rud, and other streams, which flow from the mountains of Affghanistan, with converging courses to the south-west. It is an extensive basin, composed of two arms, an eastern and a western.[19] The western arm, which is the larger of the two, has its greatest length from N.N.E. to S.S.W., and extends in this direction about ninety miles.[20] Its greatest width is about twenty-five miles. The eastern arm is rather more than forty miles long, and from ten to twenty broad. It is shaped much like a fish's tail. The two arms are connected by a strait seven or eight miles in width, which joins them near their northern extremities. The water of the lake, though not salt, is black and has a bad taste. Fish support life in it with difficulty, and never grow to any great size. The lake is shallow, not much exceeding a depth of three or four feet. It contracts greatly in the summer, at which time the strait connecting the two arms is often absolutely dry.[21] The edges of the lake are clothed with tamarisk and other trees; and where the rivers enter it, sometimes by several branches, the soil is rich and cultivation productive:[22] but elsewhere the sand of the desert creeps up almost to the margin of the water, clothed only with some sickly grass and a few scattered shrubs.[23]

The Birket-el-Keroun, or Lake Mœris of the classical writers,[24] is a natural basin—not, as Herodotus imagined,[25] an artificial one—situated on the western side of the Nile valley, in a curious depression which nature has made among the Libyan hills. This depression—the modern district of the Faioom—is a circular plain, which sinks gradually towards the north-west, descending till it is more than 100 feet below the surface of the Nile at low water.[26] The northern and north-western portion

[19] Gen. Ferrier, the only European who has recently visited the Lake of Seistan, calls its shape "a kind of trefoil without a stalk, having the head very long" (*Caravan Journeys*, p. 430); but the map attached to his work scarcely bears out this description.

[20] Gen. Ferrier (l. s. c.) calls the length "25 parasangs" (i. e. farsakhs). Reckoning the farsakh at 3½ miles, this would give a length of 87½ miles.

[21] Ferrier, p. 430.

[22] Ibid. pp. 413, 414, 423, &c.

[23] Ibid. p. 420.

[24] Herod. ii. 149; Strab. xvii. 1, § 37; Diod. Sic. i. 52, § 3; Plin. *H. N.* xxvi. 12.

[25] Herod. l. s. c. So Diodorus (i. 51). Strabo, on the other hand, seems to have regarded the basin as natural.

[26] This district was first explored by M. Linant de Bellefonds. A good de-

of the depression is occupied by the lake, a sheet of brackish water shaped like a horn (whence the modern name [27]), measuring about thirty-five or thirty-six miles from end to end, and attaining in the middle a width of between five and six miles. The area of the lake is estimated roughly at 150 square miles,[28] its circumference at about ninety miles.[29] It has a depth varying from twelve to twenty-four feet.[30] Though the water is somewhat brackish, yet the Birket contains several species of fresh-water fish; [31] and in ancient times its fisheries are said to have been exceedingly productive.[32]

The principal cities of the Empire were, besides Pasargadæ and Persepolis, Susa [1]—the chief city of Susiana—which became the capital; Babylon, Ecbatana, Rhages, Zadracarta,[2] Bactra (now Balkh), Maracanda (now Samarcand), Aria, or Artacoana [3] (Herat), Caspatyrus on the Upper Indus,[4] Taxila [5] (Attock?), Pura [6] (perhaps Bunpoor), Carmana [7] (Kerman), Arbela, Nisibis, Amida (now Diarbekr); Mazaca in Cappadocia; [8]

scription of it is given by Mr. Blakesley in his edition of Herodotus (vol. i. pp. 303-308).

[27] *Keren*, or *Korn*, is one of the roots which the Semitic and Indo-European languages possess in common. It appears in Hebrew as קרן, in Arabic as *keroun* or *qorn*, in Greek as κέρας, Lat. *cornu*, Germ. and English *horn*, &c.

[28] Blakesley, p. 304.

[29] Ibid. p. 307, note.

[30] Sir Gardner Wilkinson calls the depth 24 feet. (See the author's *Herodotus*, p. 196, note [8], 2nd edition.) M. Linant's calculations imply a depth of only 12 feet.

[31] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii. p. 66.

[32] Herod. iii. 90; Diod. Sic. i. 52, §§ 5, 6.

[1] For a description of Susa, see vol. ii. p. 474.

[2] Zadracarta was the capital of Hyrcania (Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 25). It contained a palace (βασίλεια), no doubt the residence of the satrap. Heeren locates Zadracarta in the neighbourhood of Nishapoor (*As. Nat.* vol. i. p. 287, note, E. T.): but Hyrcania scarcely extended so far to the east.

[3] Artacoana is called the chief city of the Arians by Arrian (*Exp. Alex.* iii. 25). It is mentioned by Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 23), Isidore (*Mans. Parth.* § 15), Strabo (xi. 10, § 1), and Ptolemy (*Geograph.* vi. 17). Its identity with Herat is uncertain, but probable.

[4] Herod. iii. 102; iv. 44.

[5] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* v. 8. Τάξιλα . . . πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, τὴν μεγίστην τῶν μεταξὺ Ἰνδοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑδάσπου. Strab. xv. 1, § 28. Τάξιλα. . . . πόλις μεγάλη καὶ εὐνομωτάτη. The identification of Taxila with Attock is generally agreed upon.

[6] Heeren, from the resemblance of the name (*As. Nat.* vol. i. p. 270, note) identifies Pura (Ποῦρα, Arr. *Exp. Al.* vi. 24) with the modern *Puhra*, a small village about 15 miles N.E. of Bunpoor. But the argument drawn from the name is weak, since *poor* or *pore* means simply "a fortified place." And Puhra has no signs of antiquity about it, while Bunpoor possesses a most remarkable — probably a very ancient—citadel. (Pottinger, *Travels*, pp. 169 and 176.)

[7] See above, p. 92.

[8] On the importance of Mazaca, see Strab. xii. 2, §§ 7-9; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 3; Solin. *Polyhist.* § 47: "Mazacam Cappadoces matrem urbium nominant."

Trapezus (Trebizond), Sinopé, Dascyleium,[9] Sardis, Ephesus, Miletus, Gordium,[10] Perga, and Tarsus in Asia Minor; Damascus, Jerusalem, Sidon, Tyre, Azotus or Ashdod, and Gaza in Syria; Memphis and Thebes in Egypt; Cyrêné and Barca in the Cyrenaica. Of these, while Susa had from the time of Darius Hystaspis a decided pre-eminence as the main residence of the Court, and consequently as the usual seat of government, there were three others which could boast the distinction of being royal abodes from time to time, either regularly at certain seasons, or occasionally at the caprice of the monarch. These were Babylon, Ecbatana, and Persepolis, the capitals respectively of Chaldæa, Media, and Persia Proper, all great and ancient cities, accustomed to the presence of Courts, and all occupying positions sufficiently central to render them not ill-suited for the business of administration. Next to these in order of dignity may be classed the satrapial residences, often the chief cities of old monarchies, such as Sardis, the capital city of Lydia, Dascyleium of Bithynia, Memphis of Egypt, Bactra of Bactria, and the like; while the third rank was held by the towns, where there was no Court, either royal or satrapial.

Before this chapter is concluded, a few words must be said with respect to the countries which bordered upon the Persian Empire. The Empire was surrounded, for the most part, either by seas or deserts. The Mediterranean, the Egean, the Propontis, the Euxine, the Caspian, the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea washed its shores, bounding almost all its western, and much of its northern and southern sides; while the sands of the Sahara, the deserts of Arabia and Syria, of India and Thibet, filled up the greater part of the intervening spaces. The only countries of importance which can be viewed as in any sense neighbours of Persia are European and Asiatic Scythia, Hindustan, Arabia, Ethiopia, and Greece.

Where the Black Sea, curving round to the north, ceased

[9] Herod. iii. 120; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1, § 10; 2, § 1; iv. 1, § 15; Strab. xii. 8, § 10; Arr. *Exp. Al.* i. 12; &c.

[10] On the importance of Gordium, see Arrian. *Exp. Al.* i. 29; Strab. xii. 5, § 3.

to furnish to the Empire the advantage of a water barrier, a protection of almost equal strength was afforded to it by the mountain-chain of the Caucasus. Excepting on the extreme east, where it slopes gently to the Caspian,[11] this range is one of great elevation, possessing but few passes, and very difficult to traverse. Its fastnesses have always been inhabited by wild tribes, jealous of their freedom; and these tribes may have caused annoyance, but they could at no time have been a serious danger to the Empire. They were weak in numbers, divided in nationality[12] and in interests, and quite incapable of conducting any distant expedition. Like their modern successors, the Circassians, Abassians, and Lesghians, their one and only desire was to maintain themselves in possession of their beloved mountains; and this desire would cause them to resist all attempts that might be made to traverse their country, whether proceeding from the north or from the south, from the inhabitants of Europe, or from those of Asia. Persia was thus strongly protected in this quarter; but still she could not feel herself altogether safe. Once at least within historic memory the barrier of the Caucasus had proved to be surmountable. From the vast Steppe which stretches northwards from its base, in part salt, in part grassy, had crossed into Asia —through its passes or round its eastern flank—a countless host, which had swept all before it, and brought ruin upon flourishing empires.[13] The Scythian and Sarmatian[14] hordes of the steppe-country between the Wolga and the Dnieper were to the monarchies of Western Asia a permanent, if a somewhat distant, peril. It could not be forgotten that they had proved themselves capable of penetrating the rocky barrier which would otherwise have seemed so sure a protection, or that, when they swarmed across it in the seventh century before our

[11] The modern Daghistan, compared with the rest of the Caucasus, is a low region. The route along the shores of the Caspian, by Derbend and Baku, presents but few difficulties.

[12] On the ethnology of the Caucasus region, see Professor Max Müller's *Languages of the Seat of War*, pp. 114-121.

[13] For an account of the great invasion of the Scyths, see above, vol. ii. pp. 221-227.

[14] According to Herodotus (iv. 21), the steppe between the Don and the Wolga was in the possession of the Sauromatæ (or Sarmatæ), as early as the reign of Darius Hystaspis.

era, their strength was at first irresistible. The Persians knew, what the great nations of the earth afterwards forgot, that along the northern horizon there lay a black cloud, which might at any time burst, carrying desolation to their homes and bringing ruin upon their civilisation. We shall find the course of their history importantly affected by a sense of this danger, and we shall have reason to admire the wisdom of their measures of precaution against it.

It was not only to the west of the Caspian that the danger threatened. East of that sea also was a vast steppe-region—rolling plains of sand or grass—the home of nomadic hordes similar in character to those who drank the waters of the Don and Wolga. The Sacæ, Massagetæ, and Dahæ of this country, who dwelt about the Caspian, the Aral, and the Lower Jaxartes,[15] were an enemy scarcely less formidable than the Sarmatians and the Scyths of the West. As the modern Iran now suffers from the perpetual incursions of Uzbegs and Turcomans, so the north-eastern provinces of the ancient Persia were exposed to the raids of the Asiatic Scythians and the Massagetæ,[16] who were confined by no such barrier as the Caucasus, having merely to cross a river, probably often fordable during the summer, in order to be in Persia. Hyrcania and Parthia had indeed a certain amount of protection from the Kharesmian Desert; but the upper valleys of the great streams—the satrapies of Sogdiana and Bactria—must have suffered considerable annoyance from such attacks.

On the side of India, the Empire enjoyed a twofold security. From the shores of the Indian Ocean in the vicinity of the Runn of Cutch to the 31st parallel of north latitude—a distance of above 600 miles—there extends a desert, from one to two hundred miles across, which effectually shuts off the valley of

[15] See especially Strabo, xi. 8, § 2. Compare Herod. i. 201-216.

[16] Strab. xi. 8, § 4. The Persians seem to have guarded against this danger by establishing along the line of the Jaxartes a number of fortified posts. We hear of seven (Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iv. 2), the principal being Cyropolis or Cyreschata, a town founded by Cyrus. Similarly at the present day, only with an inversion of the geographical position, Russia guards her frontier against the wild tribes of Turkestan by a line of forts along the Sir-Daria. (*Quarterly Review*, No. 236, p. 553.)

the Indus from the rest of Hindustan. It is only along the skirts of the mountains, by Lahore, Umritsir, and Loodiana, that the march of armies is possible—by this line alone can the Punjabis threaten Central India, or the inhabitants of Central India attack the Punjab. Hence in this quarter there was but a very narrow tract to guard; and the task of defence was still further lightened, by the political condition of the people. The Gangetic Indians, though brave and powerful,[1] were politically weak from their separation into a number of distinct states under petty Rajahs,[2] who could never hope to contend successfully against the forces of a mighty Empire. Persia, consequently, was safe upon this side, in the division of her adversaries. Nor had she neglected the further security which was obtainable by an interposition between her own actual frontier and her enemies' dominions of a number of half-subject dependencies. Native princes were allowed to bear sway in the Punjab region,[3] who acknowledged the suzerainty of Persia, and probably paid her a fixed tribute, but whose best service was that they prevented a collision between the Power of whom they held their crowns and the great mass of their own nation.

The Great Arabian Peninsula, which lay due south of the most central part of the Empire, and bordered it on this side for about thirteen degrees, or (if we follow the line of the boundary) for above a thousand miles, might seem to have been the most important of all the adjacent countries, since it contains an area of a million of square miles,[4] and is a nursery of brave and hardy races. Politically, however, Arabia is weak, as has been shown in a former volume;[5] while geographically she presents to the north her most arid and untraversable regions, so that it is rarely, and only under very exceptional cir-

[1] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* v. 25. Γενναῖοι τὰ πολέμια . . . . μεγέθει μέγιστοί τε καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ. Heeren considers that it was fear of the military prowess of these Indians, rather than mere weariness, which made Alexander's soldiers refuse to follow him to the Ganges. (*As. Nat.* vol. i. p. 320.)

[2] Arrian speaks of aristocracies as bearing rule in these parts (l. s. c.); but, if such existed at all, we may at least be sure that regal rule was more common.

[3] As Taxilas, Porus, and others. (Arrian, iv. 22; v. 3, 8, 21, &c.)

[4] Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. ii. p. 448.

[5] Vol. ii. pp. 476, 477.

cumstances, that she menaces seriously her northern neighbours. Persia seems never to have experienced any alarm of an Arab invasion; her relations with the tribes that came into closest contact with her were friendly;[6] and she left the bulk of the nation in unmolested enjoyment of their independence.

Another country adjoining the Persian Empire on the south, and one which might have been expected to cause some trouble, was Ethiopia. To Egypt Ethiopia had always proved an unquiet, and sometimes even a dangerous, neighbour; she was fertile, rich, populous;[7] her inhabitants were tall, strong, and brave;[8] she had a ready means of marching into Egypt down the fertile valley of the Nile; and her hosts had frequently ravaged, and even held for considerable terms of years, that easily subjected country.[9] It is remarkable that during the whole time of the Persian dominion Ethiopia seems to have abstained from any invasion of the Egyptian territory. Apparently, she feared to provoke the power which had seated itself on the throne of the Pharaohs, and preferred the quiet enjoyment of her own wealth and resources to the doubtful issues of a combat with the mistress of Asia.

On her western horizon, clearly discernible from the capes and headlands of the Asiatic coast, but separated from her, except in one or two places, by a tolerably broad expanse of sea, and so—as it might have seemed—less liable to come in contact with her than her neighbours upon the land, lay the shores and isles of Greece—lovely and delightful regions, in possession of a brave and hardy race, as yet uncorrupted by luxury though in the enjoyment of a fair amount of civilisation. As the eye looked across the Egean waters, resting with pleasure on the varied and graceful forms of Sporades and Cyclades, covetous thoughts might naturally arise in the beholder's heart; and the idea might readily occur of conquering and annexing the fair tracts which lay so temptingly near and pos-

[6] Herod. iii. 6-9 and 97; vii. 69, 86; Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, § 1; vii. 8, § 25.

[7] Herod. iii. 18, 23; Diod. Sic. iii. 10; Strabo, xvii. 2, §§ 1-3; Pomp. Mel. iii. 10.

[8] Herod. iii. 20, 114; Isaiah xlv. 14.

[9] Herod. iii. 100, 137; Diod. Sic. i. 65; Manetho, Frs. 64 and 65.

sessed such numerous attractions. The entire region, continent and islands included, was one of diminutive size [10]—not half so large as an ordinary Persian satrapy; it was well peopled,[11] but its population could not have amounted to that of the Punjab or of Egypt,[12] countries which Persia had overrun in a single campaign;[13] its inhabitants were warlike, but they were comparatively poor, and the true sinews of war are money; moreover, they were divided amongst themselves, locally split up by the physical conformation of their country, and politically repugnant to anything like centralisation or union. A Persian king like Cambyses or Darius might be excused if, when his thoughts turned to Greece, he had a complacent feeling that no danger could threaten him from that quarter—that the little territory on his western border was a prey which he might seize at any time that it suited his convenience or seemed good to his caprice;[14] so opening without any risk a new world to his ambition. It required a knowledge that the causes of military success and political advance lie deeper than statistics can reach—that they have their roots in the moral nature of man, in the grandeur of his ideas and the energy of his character—in order to comprehend the fact, that the puny power upon her right flank was the enemy which Persia had most to fear, the foe who would gradually sap her strength, and finally deal her the blow that would lay her prostrate.

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[10] Clinton, *F. H.* vol. ii. p. 471, 3rd edition. This writer calculates that the entire area of ancient Greece amounted to no more than 22,231 square miles (ib. 473).

[11] Clinton sees grounds for believing that the population was at the rate of 165 persons to the square mile, or equal in density to that of Great Britain in 1821. (*F. H.* vol. ii. p. 474.) He estimates the entire population roughly at 3½ millions.

[12] The present population of the Punjab exceeds 4,000,000. That of Egypt is now only 2½ millions; but anciently it must have been at least double that number.

[13] Herod. iii. 11-15; iv. 44.

[14] Compare Herod. iii. 134, and vii. 9.

CHAPTER II.

CLIMATE AND PRODUCTIONS.

Ἔστι ἀγαθὰ τοῖσι τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκείνην νεμομένοισι, ὅσα οὐδὲ τοῖσι συνάπασι ἄλλοισι, ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ ἀρξαμένοισι ἄργυρος καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ ἐσθὴς ποικίλη καὶ ὑποζύγιά τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα.—HEROD. v. 49.

IT is evident that an Empire which extended over more than twenty degrees of latitude, touching on the one hand the tropic of Cancer, while it reached upon the other to the parallel of Astrakan, and which at the same time varied in elevation, from 20,000 feet above to 1300 below the sea-level,[1] must have comprised within it great differences of climate, and have boasted an immense variety of productions. No general description can be applicable to such a stretch of territory; and it will therefore be necessary to speak of the various parts of the Empire successively in order to convey to the reader a true idea of the climatic influences to which it was subject, and the animals, vegetables, and minerals which it produced.

Commencing with Persia Proper, the original seat and home of the race with whose history we are specially concerned at present, we may observe that it was regarded by the ancients as possessing three distinct climates[2]—one along the shore, dry and scorchingly hot; another in the mountain region beyond, temperate and delightful; and a third in the tract further inland, which was thought to be disagreeably cold and wintry.

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[1] The altitude of Mount Demavend in the Elburz range south of the Caspian exceeds 20,000 feet. (See above, vol. ii. p. 252, note [6].) The lower Jordan valley and the shores of the Dead Sea are 1300 feet below the Mediterranean. (Ibid. p. 469, note [16].)

[2] Nearchus ap. Arr. *Hist. Ind.* § 40: *Τὴν Περσίδα γῆν τριχῇ νενεμῆσθαι τῶν ὡρέων ὁ λόγος κατέχει· τὸ μὲν αὐτῆς πρὸς τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ οἰκεόμενον ἀμμώδές τε εἶναι καὶ ἄκαρπον ὑπὸ καύματος· τὸ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇδε ὡς πρὸς ἄρκτον τε καὶ βορέην ἄνεμον ἰόντων καλῶς κεκρᾶσθαι τῶν ὡρέων . . . τὴν δὲ πρόσω ἔτι ἐπ' ἄρκτον ἰόντων χειμερίην τε καὶ νιφετώδεα.* Compare Strab. xv. 3, § 1.

Moderns, on the contrary, find two climates only in Fars[3]—one, that of the Deshtistan or "low country," extremely hot and dry, with frequent scorching and oppressive winds from the south and the south-east;[4] the other, that of the highlands, which is cold in winter, but in summer pleasant and enjoyable.[5]

View of Mount Demavend in the Elburz.

In the Deshtistan snow never falls, and there is but little rain; heavy dews, however, occur at night,[6] so that the mornings are often fresh and cool; but the middle of the day is almost always

[3] Kinneir, *Persian Empire*, p. 54; Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 120; Abbott, in *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 184.

[4] On the character of this climate which is called the *Ghermsir* ("warm climate"), see Fraser, *Khorasan*, p. 75, and Appendix, p. 133; Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 43; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 109.

[5] Kinneir calls the climate of Shiraz "one of the finest in the world" (p. 64). Ker Porter says "it is generally esteemed the most moderate climate in the southern division of the empire; its summer noons may be warmer than is pleasant, but the mornings and evenings are delightful; when September commences the weather becomes heavenly, and continues until the end of November, with a perfectly serene atmosphere, of a most balmy and serene temperature." (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 709.)

[6] Fraser, *Khorasan*, p. 55.

hot, and from March to November the temperature at noon ranges from 90° to 100° of Fahrenheit.[7] Occasionally it reaches 125°, and is then fearfully oppressive.[8] Fierce gusts laden with sand sweep over the plain,[9] causing vegetation to droop or disappear, and the animal world to hide itself. Man with difficulty retains life at these trying times, feeling a languor and a depression of spirits which are barely supportable.[10] All who can do so quit the plains and betake themselves to the upland region till the great heats are past, and the advance of autumn brings at any rate cool nights and mornings. The climate of the uplands is severe in winter. Much snow falls,[11] and the thermometer often marks from ten to fifteen degrees of frost.[12] From time to time there are furious gales,[13] and, as the spring advances, a good deal of wet falls;[14] but the summer and autumn are almost rainless.[15] The heat towards midday is often considerable,[16] but it is tempered by cool winds, and even at the worst is not relaxing.[17] The variations of temperature are great in the twenty-four hours, and the climate is, so far, trying; but, on the whole, it seems to be neither disagreeable nor unhealthy.

A climate resembling that of the Deshtistan prevailed along the entire southern coast of the Empire, from the mouth of the Tigris to that of the Indus.[18] It was exchanged in the lower valleys of the great streams for a damp close heat, intolerably stifling and oppressive.[19] The upper valleys of these streams and the plains into which they expanded were at once less hot and less moist,[20] but were subject to violent storms, owing to

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[7] Fraser, p. 75; and Appendix, p. 133.

[8] Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 98; Monteith, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 115. The highest temperature noted by Mr. Fraser during his stay at Bushire in the year 1821 was 109°.

[9] Morier, p. 43; Monteith, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 109. The first-named writer remarks:—"The *sam* wind is hurtful to vegetation; about six years ago there was a *sam* during the summer months, which totally burnt up all the corn."

[10] Fraser, pp. 56, 57.

[11] Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 54; Kinneir, p. 78.

[12] Fraser, Appendix, p. 134.

[13] Morier, *First Journey*, p. 148.

[14] Abbott, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. p. 50.

[15] Fraser, l. s. c.

[16] See above, note [5], and compare Ker Porter, vol. i. p. 708; Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 113; Fraser, Appendix, p. 134. The highest temperature recorded is 110°.

[17] Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 97.

[18] On the coast of Beloochistan the thermometer in the month of December ranges from 64° to 80° in the daytime. (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxxiii. p. 183.)

[19] See above, vol. i. p. 28.

[20] Ibid. p. 211.

the near vicinity of the mountains.[21] In the mountains themselves, in Armenia and Zagros, and again in the Elburz, the climate was of a more rigorous character, intensely cold in winter, but pleasant in the summer-time. Asia Minor enjoyed generally a warmer climate than the high mountain regions; and its western and southern coasts, being fanned by fresh breezes from the sea, or from the hills of the interior, and cooled during the whole of the summer by frequent showers, were especially charming.[22] In Syria and Egypt the heats of summer were somewhat trying, more especially in the *Ghor* or depressed Jordan valley,[23] and in the parts of Egypt adjoining on Ethiopia;[24] but the winters were mild, and the springs and autumns delightful. The rarity of rain in Egypt was remarkable, and drew the attention of foreigners, who recorded, in somewhat exaggerated terms, the curious meteorological phenomenon.[25] In the Cyrenaica there was a delicious summer climate—an entire absence of rain, with cool breezes from the sea, cloudy skies, and heavy dews at night, these last supplying the moisture which through the whole of summer covered the ground with the freshest and loveliest verdure.[26] The autumn and winter rains were, however, violent; and terrific storms were at that time of no unusual occurrence.[27] The natives regarded it as a blessing, that over this part of Africa the sky was "pierced,"[28] and allowed moisture to fall from the great reservoir of "waters above the firmament;" but the blessing must have seemed one of questionable value at the time of the November monsoon, when the country is deluged with rain for several weeks in succession.

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[21] See above, vol. i. p. 211.

[22] Herod. i. 142. Sir C. Fellows says of the climate at the present day:—"During the summer the heat becomes intense as the morning advances, but before noon a land breeze is drawn down from the cold mountain country, which brings a refreshing coolness, with the shade of clouds, and not unfrequently flying showers. In the early part of the evening the heat again becomes oppressive; the dews are very heavy." (*Asia Minor*, p. 301.)

[23] See above, vol. ii. p. 481, note [20].

[24] Herod. ii. 22.

[25] Ibid. iii. 10; Diod. Sic. i. 10, § 4; Pomp. Mel. i. 9: "Terra expers imbrium." (On the occurrence of rain in Egypt see the remarks of Sir G. Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 338, note [4], 2nd edition.)

[26] Hamilton, *Wanderings in N. Africa*, pp. 93, 94.

[27] Ibid. pp. 92, 145, &c.

[28] Herod. iv. 159: Ἐνθαῦτα ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται.

On the opposite side of the Empire, towards the north and the north-east, in Azerbijan, on the Iranian plateau, in the Affghan plains, in the high flat region east of the Bolor, and again in the low plain about the Aral lake and the Caspian, a severe climate prevailed during the winter,[29] while the summer combined intense heat during the day with extraordinary cold —the result of radiation—at night.[30] Still more bitter weather was experienced in the mountain regions of these parts—in the Bolor, the Thian Chan, the Himalaya, and the Paropamisus or Hindu Kush[31]—where the winters lasted more than half the year, deep snow covering the ground almost the whole of the time, and locomotion being rendered almost impossible; while the summers were only moderately hot. On the other hand, there was in this quarter, at the very extreme east of the Empire, one of the most sultry and disagreeable of all climates, namely, that of the Indus valley, which is either intolerably hot and dry, with fierce tornadoes of dust that are unspeakably oppressive,[1] or close and moist, swept by heavy storms,[2] which, while they somewhat lower the temperature, increase the unhealthiness of the region. The worst portion of the valley is its southern extremity, where the climate is only tolerable during three months of the year. From March to November the heat is excessive; dust-storms prevail, there are dangerous dews at night;[3] and with the inundation, which commences in April,[4] a sickly time sets in, which causes all the wealthier classes to

[29] Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii. pp. 3, 193, 194; Butakoff, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxiii. p. 98; Humboldt, *Aspects of Nature*, vol. i. p. 84.

[30] On the coldness of the nights in these regions see Morier, *Second Journey*, pp. 55, 97; Fraser, *Khorasan*, p. 114; Burns, *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. i. p. 253; vol. ii. p. 2. Humboldt observes on this point:—"The high temperature of the air, which makes the day's march so oppressive, renders the coldness of the nights . . . . so much the more striking. Melloni ascribes this cold, *produced doubtless by the radiation from the ground*, less to the great purity and serenity of the sky than to the profound calm, the nightly absence of all movement in the atmosphere." (*Aspects of Nature*, vol. i. pp. 117, 118, E. T.)

[31] Burnes, vol. i. pp. 176, 181, 182, &c.; vol. ii. p. 241; Strachey, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxiii. pp. 58-62; Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys*, pp. 217, 222, &c.; Humboldt, vol. i. pp. 85-99, &c. (Compare Q. Curt. *Hist. Al. Magn.* ii. 3.)

[1] Burnes, *Journey to Bokhara*, vol. iii. pp. 119, 135; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. viii. p. 125.

[2] Burnes, p. 135.

[3] Ibid. p. 254; *Geograph. Journal*, l. s. c.

[4] The swell commences in April, continues to increase till July, and terminates in September. (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. viii. p. 123.)

withdraw from the country till the stagnant water, which the swell always leaves behind it, has dried up.[5]

Upon the whole the climate of the Empire belonged to the warmer class of the climates which are called temperate. In a few parts only, indeed, as in the Indus valley, along the coast from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Tigris, in Lower Babylonia and the adjoining portion of Susiana, in Southern Palestine, and in Egypt, was frost absolutely unknown; while in many places, especially in the high mountainous regions, the winters were bitterly severe; and in all the more elevated portions of the Empire, as in Phrygia and Cappadocia, in Azerbijan, on the great Iranian plateau, and again in the district about Kashgar and Yarkand, there was a prolonged period of sharp and bracing weather. But the summer warmth of almost the whole Empire was great, the thermometer probably ranging in most places from 90° to 120° during the months of June, July, August, and September.[6] The springs and autumns were, except in the high mountain tracts, mild and enjoyable; the Empire had few very unhealthy districts; while the range of the thermometer was in most of the provinces considerable, and the variations in the course of a single day and night were unusually great, there was in the climate, speaking generally, nothing destructive of human vigour—nothing even inimical to longevity.[7]

The vegetable productions of Persia Proper in ancient times (so far as we have direct testimony on the subject) were neither numerous nor very remarkable. The low coast tract supplied dates in tolerable plenty,[8] and bore in a few favoured spots corn, vines, and different kinds of fruit-trees;[9] but its general cha-

[5] *Geograph. Journal*, vol. viii. p. 360.

[6] Such is found to be the range in modern times. (See above, vol. i. pp. 28, 211, 212; vol. ii. pp. 286, 480.) There is no reason to believe that it was either more or less anciently. (See vol. ii. pp. 483, 484.)

[7] Morier (*First Journey*, p. 61) notes the longevity of the natives inhabiting the Deshtistan, one of the hottest and most unhealthy parts of the Empire. If any exception is to be made to the statement in the text, it must be to exempt from it some of the damp hot regions, as Mazanderan, and perhaps Balkh.

[8] Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* xxxviii. § 6; Strab. xv. 3, § 1: Ἡ παραλία . . . σπανίστη καρποῖς πλὴν φοινίκων.

[9] Arrian, *H. I.* xxxii. §§ 4, 5; xxxiii. § 2; xxxviii. 6; xxxix. § 2.

racter was one of extreme barrenness. In the mountain region there was an abundance of rich pasture,[10] excellent grapes were grown,[11] and fruit-trees of almost every sort, except the olive,[12] flourished. One fruit-tree, regarded as indigenous in the country, acquired a special celebrity, and was known to the Romans as the *persica*,[13] whence the German *Pfirsche*, the French *pêche*, and our "peach." Citrons, which grew in few places, were also a Persian fruit.[14] Further, Persia produced a coarse kind of silphium or assafœtida;[15] it was famous for its walnuts, which were distinguished by the epithet of "royal;"[16] and it supplied to the pharmacopeia of Greece and Rome a certain number of herbs.[17]

The account of Persian vegetable products which we derive from antiquity is no doubt very incomplete; and it is necessary to supplement it from the observations of modern travellers. These persons tell us that, while Fars and Kerman are ill-supplied with forest-trees, they yet produce in places oaks, planes, chenars or sycamores, poplars, willows, pinasters, cypresses, acacias, fan-palms, konars, and junipers.[18] Among shrubs, they bear the wild fig, the wild almond, the tamarisk, the myrtle, the box, the rhododendron, the camel's thorn, the gum tragacanth, the caper plant, the *benneh*, the blackberry,

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[10] Arr. *H. I.* xl. § 3: Χώρην ποώδεά τε εἶναι καὶ λειμῶνας ὑδρηλούς.

[11] Ib. l. s. c. Strabo says that in Carmania the bunches of grapes were often a yard long. (*Geograph.* xv. ii. § 14: Ἡ Καρμανία . . . δίπηχυν ἔχει πολλάκις τὸν βότρυν.) Ker Porter observes of the vines grown near Shiraz: "The grapes grow to a size and fulness hardly to be matched in other climates." (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 706.)

[12] Arrian more than once pointedly notes this exception. (*Hist. Ind.* xxxiii. § 2; xl. § 3.)

[13] Plin. *H. N.* xv. 13, 14. The Italians still call the peach "*persica*" and the Russians have a very similar name for it—"*persikie*."

[14] Plin. *H. N.* xii. 3.

[15] Ibid. xix. 3. Assafœtida is still a product of Carmania. (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. p. 32.)

[16] Plin. *H. N.* xv. p. 22.

[17] As *hestiatoris* (Plin. *H. N.* xxiv. 17), *napy* (ib. xxvii. 13), *theobrotion* (ib. xxiv. 17), and others.

[18] Oaks, generally dwarf, grow in the Bakhtiyari mountains (Morier, *First Journey*, p. 93; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiii. pp. 77, 84; vol. xxvii. p. 117); planes, chenars, cypresses, poplars, willows, and konar-trees, are common in all the upper country (Morier, *First Journey*, pp. 81, 92; *Second Journey*, pp. 74, 122; Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 88; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 84; vol. xxv. pp. 32, 74; vol. xxvii. pp. 151, 157, &c.). The pinaster was observed by Mr. Morier near Ekleed (*Second Journey*, p. 122). Mr. Abbott noticed the acacia, the fan-palm, and the juniper in the district between Kerman and Lake Neyriz (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. pp. 52, 54, 59).

and the liquorice plant.[19] They boast a great abundance of fruit-trees — as date-bearing palms, lemons, oranges, pomegranates, vines, peaches, nectarines, apricots, quinces, pears, apples, plums, figs, cherries, mulberries, barberries, walnuts, almonds, and pistachio-nuts.[20] The kinds of grain chiefly cultivated are wheat, barley, millet, rice, and Indian corn or maize,[21] which has been imported into the country from America. Pulse, beans, sesame, madder, henna, cotton, opium, tobacco, and indigo, are also grown in some places.[22] The three last-named, and maize or Indian corn, are of comparatively recent introduction; but of the remainder it may be doubted whether there is a single one which was unknown to the ancient inhabitants.

Among Persian indigenous animals may be enumerated the lion, the bear, the wild ass, the stag, the antelope, the ibex or wild goat, the wild boar, the hyæna, the jackal, the wolf, the fox, the hare, the porcupine, the otter, the jerboa, the ichneumon, and the marmot.[23] The lion appears to be rare, occurring only in some parts of the mountains.[24] The ichneumon is confined to the Deshtistan. The antelope, the wild boar, the wolf,

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[19] Thickets of box abound near Failyun (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 79); the tamarisk occurs in Kerman near Khubbes (ib. vol. xxv. p. 33) and in the low country near Dalaki (Morier, *First Journey*, p. 76; Fraser, p. 71); rhododendrons grow in the mountains between Dalaki and Kazerun (ib. pp. 82, 92); wild myrtle is common near Shiraz (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 150); the camel's thorn and the liquorice-plant are found on the plateau north of Shiraz (Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 115); the gum tragacanth plant is a product of the region about Fessa (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. pp. 152, 157); the caper-bush grows in the Deshtistan (Fraser, p. 71); the *benneh* is common in the Fessa and Darab districts (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 152); the blackberry was seen by Mr. Abbott near Khubbes (ib. vol. xxv. p. 32). Wild figs and wild almonds are common in all the upper country.

[20] Pottinger, *Travels*, p. 234; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. pp. 32, 59; vol. xxvii. pp. 165, 184, &c. Compare Ker Porter, vol. i. p. 709.

[21] *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 80; vol. xxv. p. 74; vol. xxvii. pp. 115, 150, &c.

[22] Pulse and beans are cultivated in Kerman (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. p. 47), as are also indigo, henna, and madder (ib. pp. 34, 51, 64). Cotton, indigo, and opium are grown in the vicinity of Shiraz (ib. vol. xxvii. p. 150). Sesame is grown near Failyun (ib. vol. xiii. p. 80), at Fessa (ib. vol. xxvii. p. 154), and elsewhere.

[23] Morier, *First Journey*, p. 64; Ker Porter, vol. i. pp. 461, 462, 468, 509; vol. ii. pp. 6, 19; Ouseley, vol. ii. pp. 67, 179, 215; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 79; vol. xxv. pp. 28, 41, 47, 62, 68, &c. The Baron de Bode heard also of wild buffaloes (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 82).

[24] Morier, *First Journey*, p. 64; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiii. pp. 77, 78.

the fox, the jackal, the porcupine, and the jerboa are common. Wild asses are found only on the northern side of the mountains, towards the salt desert. In this tract they are frequently seen, both singly and in herds,[25] and are hunted by the natives, who regard their flesh as a great delicacy.[26]

The most remarkable of the Persian birds are the eagle, the vulture,[27] the cormorant, the falcon, the bustard,[28] the pheasant, the heath-cock,[29] the red-legged partridge, the small grey partridge, the pin-tailed grouse, the sand-grouse, the francolin,[30] the wild swan, the flamingo, the stork, the bittern, the oyster-catcher,[31] the raven,[32] the hooded crow, and the cuckoo.[33] Besides these, the lakes boast all the usual kinds of waterfowl, as herons, ducks, snipe, teal, &c.; the gardens and groves abound with blackbirds, thrushes, and nightingales; curlews and peewits are seen occasionally; while pigeons, starlings, crows, magpies, larks, sparrows, and swallows are common. The francolin is hunted by men on foot in the country between Shiraz and Kerman, and is taken by the hand after a few flights.[34] The oyster-catcher, which is a somewhat rare bird, has been observed only on Lake Neyriz.[35] The bustard occurs both in the low plain[1] along the coast, and on the high plateau,[2] where it is captured by means of hawks. The pheasant and the heath-cock (the latter a black species spotted with white) are found in the woods near Failyun.[3] The sand-grouse and the pin-tailed grouse belong to the eastern portion of the country,[4] the portion known anciently as Carmania or "the hot region."[5] The other kinds are diffused pretty generally.

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[25] Ker Porter, vol. i. p. 461; *Geog. Journal*, vol. xxv. p. 68.

[26] Ker Porter, vol. i. p. 460. Compare Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys*, p. 138, and Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 270.

[27] Eagles were seen frequently in the mountains between Bushire and Shiraz by Sir W. Ouseley (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 305). A vulture was shot near Darab by one of his party (ib. vol. ii. p. 153).

[28] Cormorants, falcons, bustards, and partridges of more than one kind were noticed by Mr. Morier in the Deshtistan (*First Journey*, p. 64).

[29] *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 79.

[30] Ibid. vol. xxv. pp. 32, 54, 59; vol. xxvii. p. 162.

[31] Ibid. vol. xxv. p. 73; vol. xxvii. p. 150; Morier, *First Journey*, p. 142.

[32] Morier, p. 77.

[33] *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. l. s. c.

[34] Abbott, in *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxv. p. 60.

[35] *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. p. 73.

[1] Morier, *First Journey*, pp. 61, 64.

[2] Ker Porter, vol. ii. p. 19.

[3] *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xiii. p. 79.

[4] Ibid. vol. xxv. p. 54; vol. xxvii. p. 162.

[5] The root of Carm-ania (or Ger-

The shores and rivers of Persia Proper supplied the people very plentifully with fish. The ancient writers tell us that the inhabitants of the coast tract lived almost wholly on a fish diet.[6] The Indian Sea appears in those days to have abounded with whales,[7] which were not unfrequently cast upon the shores,[8] affording a mine of wealth to the natives. The great ribs were used as beams in the formation of huts, while the jaws served as doors and the smaller bones as planking.[9] Dolphins also abounded in the Persian waters;[10] together with many other fish of less bulk, which were more easy to capture.[11] On these smaller fish, which they caught in nets, the maritime inhabitants subsisted principally.[12] They had also an unfailing resource in the abundance of oysters,[13] and other shell-fish along their coast—the former of excellent quality.[14]

In the interior, though the lakes, being salt or brackish, had no piscatory stores, the rivers were, for the most part, it would seem, well provided; at least, good fish are still found in many of the streams, both small and large; and in some they are exceedingly plentiful.[15] Modern travellers fail to distinguish the different kinds; but we may presume that they are not very unlike those of the adjoining Media, which appear to be trout, carp, barbel, dace, bleak, and gudgeon.[16]

The reptiles of Persia Proper are not numerous. They are chiefly tortoises, lizards, frogs, land-snakes, and water-snakes.

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mania, Herod. i. 125) would seem to be the ancient Persian *garma* (found in the month *Garmapada*), which is represented by the modern Persian *gherm*—both words being identical with our own "warm."

[6] Though the name of Ichthyophagi is restricted by the ancient writers to the inhabitants of the coast tract *outside* the gulf (Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* xxix.-xxxii.; Strab. xv. 2, §§ 1, 2, &c.), yet the fact of dependence on the sea for food had evidently no such limitation. (See Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* xxxvii. 8; xxxviii. 4.)

[7] Nearchus, ap. Arr. *H. I.* xxx. 1-9; Compare Strab. xv. 2, § 2. Whales have been observed by moderns in the Persian Gulf, near Busrah (Vincent, *Periplus*, p. 392, 2nd edition; Ouseley, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 230).

[8] Arr. *H. I.* xxix. 15; xxx. 8; xxxix. 4.

[9] Ibid. xxix. 16; xxx. 9.

[10] Nearchus ap. Arr. *H. I.* xxxix. 5.

[11] Ibid. xxix. 11. Chardin says of the Persian Gulf—"Il n'y a point au monde, comme je crois, de mer si poissonneuse que le Golfe de Perse." (*Voyages*, tom. iii. p. 44.) See also Ouseley, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 227.

[12] Arrian, *H. I.* xxix. 12.

[13] Ibid. 14; xxxviii. 3; xxxix. 5.

[14] On the excellent quality of the Gulf oysters, see Morier, *First Journey*, p. 55.

[15] As in the Khist river (Ouseley, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 261), in the small stream which flows by Ekleed (ib. p. 446). and elsewhere.

[16] See above, vol. ii. p. 298.

The land-snakes are venomous, but their poison is not of a very deadly character;[17] and persons who have been bitten by them, if properly treated, generally recover. The lizards are of various sizes, some quite small, others more than three feet long, and covered with a coarse rough skin like that of a toad. They have the character of being venomous, and even dangerous to life;[18] but it may be doubted whether they are not, like our toads and newts, in reality perfectly harmless.

The traveller in Persia suffers less from reptiles than from insects. Scorpions abound in all parts of the country, and, infesting houses, furniture, and clothes, cause perpetual annoyance.[19] Mosquitoes swarm in certain places and seasons,[20] preventing sleep and irritating the traveller almost beyond endurance. A poisonous spider, a sort of tarantula, is said to occur in some localities;[21] and Chardin further mentions a kind of centipede, the bite of which, according to him, is fatal.[22] To the sufferings which these creatures cause, must be added a constant annoyance from those more vulgar forms of insect life which detract from the delights of travel even in Europe.

Persia, moreover, suffers no less than Babylonia and Media,[23] from the ravages of locusts. Constantly, when the wind is from the south-east, there cross from the Arabian coast clouds of these destructive insects, whose numbers darken the air as they move, in flight after flight, across the desert to the spots where nature or cultivation has clothed the earth with verdure.[24] The Deshtistan, or low country, is, of course, most exposed to their attacks, but they are far from being confined to that region. The interior, as far as Shiraz itself, suffers terribly from this scourge, which produces scarcity, or even famine, when (as often happens) it is repeated year after year.[25] The natives at such

[17] Kinneir, p. 43; Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 216.

[18] Chardin, tom. iii. p. 38. "On dit qu'ils attaquent quelquefois les hommes et *qu'ils les tuent.*"

[19] Ouseley, vol. ii. pp. 176, 216; Chardin, l. s. c.; Kinneir, l. s. c.

[20] Chardin, l. s. c.; Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 227.

[21] Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 215.

[22] Tom. iii. p. 38: "Sa morsure est dangereuse, et même mortelle, quand ils entrent dans les oreilles."

[23] Compare above, vol. ii. pp. 299, 300, and 493.

[24] Chardin, l. s. c.; Ouseley, vol. i. p. 195; vol. ii. p. 213; Morier, *Second Journey*, pp. 43, 44; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 158, &c.

[25] *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. pp. 118, 159.

times are reduced to feeding on the locusts themselves; a diet which they do not relish, but to which necessity compels them.[26]

The locusts of Persia Proper are said to be of two kinds. One, which is regarded as bred in the country, bears the name of *missri*, being identified with the locust of Egypt.[27] The other, which is thought to be blown over from Arabia, and thus to cross the sea, is known as the *melekh deriai*, or "sea-locust."[28] The former is regarded as especially destructive to the crops, the latter to the shrubs and trees.

The domestic animals in use at the present day within the provinces of Fars and Kerman are identical with those employed in the neighbouring country of Media,[29] and will need only a very few words of notice here. The ordinary horse of the country is the Turcoman, a large, strong, but somewhat clumsy animal, possessed of remarkable powers of endurance; but in the Deshtistan the Arabian breed prevails, and travellers tell us that in this region horses are produced which fall but little short of the most admired coursers of Nejd.[30] Cows and oxen are somewhat rare, beef being little eaten, and such cattle being only kept for the supply of the dairy, and for purposes of agriculture.[31] Sheep and goats are abundant, and constitute the chief wealth of the inhabitants;[32] the goat is, on the whole, preferred,[33] and both goats and sheep are generally of a black or brown colour.[34] The sheep of Kerman are small and short-legged; they produce a wool of great softness and delicacy.[35]

It is probable that in ancient times the domestic animals of the country were nearly the same as at the present day.

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[26] Ouseley observes that the Arab population seems to relish the locust, but not so the Persian (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 196). He himself tried the dish, and found it "by no means unpalatable," being "in flavour like lobsters or shrimps."

[27] Abbott, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 154.

[28] Ibid. Compare Ouseley, vol. i. p. 196, note.

[29] That is to say, they consist of the camel, the horse, the mule, the ass, the cow, the goat, the sheep, the dog, the cat, and the buffalo. (See above, vol. ii. p. 300.)

[30] Kinneir, p. 41; Fraser, *Khorasan*, p. 72.

[31] Kinneir, pp. 41, 42; Chardin, tom. iii. p. 37.

[32] See, besides the authorities quoted in the last note, *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 152; Pottinger, *Travels*, p. 238; and Fraser, l. s. c.

[33] Abbott, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 159.

[34] Ibid. p. 152.

[35] Pottinger, p. 225.

The statement of Xenophon, that anciently a horse was a rarity in Persia Proper,[36] is contradicted by the great bulk of the early writers, who tell us that the Persians were from the first expert riders, and that their country was peculiarly well fitted for the breeding of horses.[37] Their camels, sheep, goats, asses, and oxen, are also expressly mentioned by the Greeks,[38] who even indicate a knowledge of the fact that goats were preferred to sheep by the herdsmen of the country.[39]

The mineral treasures of the country appear to have been considerable, though to what extent they were known and made use of in ancient times is open to some question. Mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, red lead, and orpiment are said to have been actually worked under the Persian kings;[1] and some of the other minerals were so patent and obvious, that we can scarcely suppose them to have been neglected. Salt abounded in the region in several shapes. It appeared in some places as rock salt, showing itself in masses of vast size and various colours.[2] In other places it covered the surface of the ground for miles together with a thick incrustation, and could be gathered at all seasons with little labour.[3] It was deposited by the waters of several lakes within the territory, and could be collected round their edges at certain times of the year.[4] Finally, it was held in solution, both in the lakes and in many of the streams;[5] from whose waters it might have been obtained by evaporation. Bitumen and naphtha were yielded by sources

[36] Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3, § 3. Ἐν Πέρσαις γὰρ, διὰ τὸ χαλεπὸν εἶναι καὶ τρέφειν ἵππους καὶ ἱππεύειν, ἐν ὀρεινῇ οὔσῃ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἵππον πάνυ σπάνιον ἦν.

[37] Herod. i. 136; Nic. Dam. Fr. 66, p. 403, sub fin.; Strab. xv. 3, § 18; Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* xl. § 4, &c.

[38] Camels (Herod. i. 80); sheep and goats (ib. i. 126; Arr. *H. I.* xxxvii. 11); asses (Strab. xv. 2, § 14); oxen (Herod. i. 126; Nic. Dam. Fr. 66, p. 403).

[39] In Nicolas's fragment concerning the early life of Cyrus (Fr. 66), the Persians, including Cyrus himself, are throughout represented as "goat-herds" (αἰπόλοι). So Herodotus, when he mentions the various flocks and herds of Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, assigns the first place to the goats (τά τε αἰπόλια, καὶ τὰς ποίμνας, καὶ τὰ βουκόλια, i. 126).

[1] Strab. xv. 2, § 14; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 23. These mines were in Carmania, where there was also a river (the Hyctanis) whose sands contained gold.

[2] Strabo (l. s. c.) speaks of a "mountain of salt" (ἅλὸς ὄρος) in Carmania. Abbott (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 157) uses almost exactly the same expression. He and Ouseley (*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 155) note that the salt is of different colours.

[3] Pottinger, *Travels*, p. 229; Abbott in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. pp. 34, 66.

[4] See above, p. 89.

[5] Pottinger, p. 237.

near Dalaki,[6] which were certainly known to the ancients.[7] Sulphur was deposited upon the surface of the ground in places.[8] Some of the mountains contained ordinary lead;[9] but it is not unlikely that this metal escaped notice.

Ancient Persia produced a certain number of gems. The pearls of the Gulf, which have still so great a reputation, had attracted the attention of adventurers before the time of Alexander, whose naval captains found a regular fishery established in one of the islands.[10] The Orientals have always set a high value on this commodity; and it appears that in ancient times the Gulf pearls were more highly esteemed than any others.[11] Of hard stones the only kinds that can be distinctly assigned to Persia Proper are the *iritis*,[12] a species of rock-crystal; the *atizoë*, a white stone which had a pleasant odour;[13] the *mithrax*, a gem of many hues;[14] the *nipparéné*, which resembled ivory;[15] and the *thelycardios* or *mulc*, which was in special favour among the natives of the country.[16]

From this account of the products of Persia Proper we have now to pass to those of the empire in general—a wide subject, which it will be impossible to treat here with any completeness, owing to the limits to which the present work is necessarily confined. In order to bring the matter within reasonable compass, the reader may be referred in the first instance to the account which was given in a former volume of the products of the empire of Babylon;[17] and the enquiry may then be confined

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[6] Ouseley, vol. i. p. 258; Morier, *First Journey*, p. 78; Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i, p. 75.

[7] See Plin. *H. N.* vi. 23: "Flumen Granis modicarum navium per Susianem fluit; dextra ejus adcolunt Deximontani, *qui bitumen perficiunt*."

[8] Ouseley, vol. i. p. 258; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 152.

[9] Lead is found in Fars, near Neyriz (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. p. 71), and also in the vicinity of Murgab (Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 120).

[10] Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* xxxviii. 3.

[11] Plin. *H. N.* ix. 25.

[12] Ibid. xxxvii. 9, sub fin.

[13] Ib. xxxvii. 10.

[14] Plin. *H. N.* l. s. c.

[15] Pliny compares it to the teeth of the hippopotamus (*H. N.* l. s. c.), which are a little more transparent and less white than ivory.

[16] "Thelycardios . . Persas, apud quos gignitur, magnopere delectat: *mulc* appellant." (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 10, sub fin.) The turquoise, which is now the favourite gem of the Persians, and which is found in Kerman (*Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. pp. 30, 63) as well as at Nishapur, may have been known in the time of the Empire; but there is no evidence that it was so.

[17] See vol. ii. pp. 483-496.

to those regions which were subject to Persia, but not contained within the limits of the Fourth Monarchy.

Among the animals belonging to these regions, the following are especially noticeable :—The tiger, the elephant, the hippopotamus, the crocodile, the monitor, the two-humped camel, the Angora goat, the elk, the monkey, and the spotted hyæna, or *Felis chaus*. The tiger, which is entirely absent from Mesopotamia, and unknown upon the plateau of Iran, abounds in the low tract between the Elburz and the Caspian,[18] in the flat region about the Sea of Aral,[19] and in the Indus valley.[20] The elephant was, perhaps, anciently an inhabitant of Upper Egypt, where the island of Elephantiné remained an evidence of the fact.[21] It was also in Persian times a denizen of the Indus valley, though perhaps only in a domesticated state.[22] The hippopotamus, unknown in India, was confined to the single province of Egypt, where it was included among the animals which were the objects of popular worship.[23] The crocodile—likewise a sacred animal to the Egyptians[24]—frequented both the Nile and the Indus.[25] Monitors,[26] which are a sort of diminutive crocodiles, were of two kinds: one, the *Lacerta Nilotica*, was a water animal, and was probably found only in Egypt; the other, *Lacerta scincus*, frequented dry and sandy spots, and abounded in North Africa[27] and Syria,[28] as well as in the Nile valley. The two-humped camel belonged to Bactria,[29] where he was probably indigenous, but was widely spread over the

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[18] Kinneir, *Persian Empire*, p. 42.

[19] Butakoff in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxiii. p. 95.

[20] Burnes, *Journey to Bokhara*, vol. iii. p. 139. Tigers are also said to exist in the high country about Kashgar and Yarkand, east of the Bolor mountain-range.

[21] See Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v. pp. 176, 177; and Stuart Poole in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. viii. p. 432.

[22] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iv. 22; v. 3, 9, &c. The native country of the elephant is the *peninsula* of Hindustan. Nearchus (ap. Strab. xv. 1, § 43) and even Megasthenes (ap. eund. xv. 1, § 42, and Arr. *Hist. Ind.* xiii. and xiv.) probably derived their accounts of the mode in which wild elephants were taken from hearsay.

[23] Herod. ii. 71. Compare Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v. pp. 177-181.

[24] Herod. ii. 68, 69; Diod. Sic. i. 89.

[25] Herod. iv. 44; Burnes, *Bokhara*, vol. iii. p. 303.

[26] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v. p. 123. Compare his note in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iii. p. 141, note [8], 2nd edition.

[27] Herod. iv. 192.

[28] Ainsworth, *Researches*, p. 46.

[29] See above, vol. ii. p. 301.

Empire, on account of his great strength and powers of endurance.

The Angora goat is, perhaps, scarcely a distinct species.[30] If not identical with the ordinary wild goat of Persia and Mesopotamia (*Capra ægagrus*), he is at any rate closely allied to it; and it is possible that all his peculiar characteristics may be the effect of climate. He has a soft, white, silky fleece, very long, divided down the back by a strong line of separation, and falling on either side in beautiful spiral ringlets; his fleece weighs from two to four pounds. It is of nearly uniform length, and averages from five to five and a half inches.[1]

The elk is said to inhabit Armenia,[2] Affghanistan,[3] and the lower part of the valley of the Indus;[4] but it is perhaps not certain that he is really to be found in the two latter regions.[5] Monkeys abound in Eastern Cabul and the adjoining parts of India.[6] They may have also existed formerly in Upper Egypt.[7] The spotted hyæna, *Felis chaus* (*Canis crocuta* of Linnæus), is an Egyptian animal, inhabiting principally the hills on the western side of the Nile. In appearance it is like a large cat, with a tuft of long black hair at the extremities of its ears—a feature which it has in common with the lynx.[8]

Among the rarer birds of the empire may be mentioned the ostrich, which occurred in Mesopotamia;[9] parrots, which were found in Cabul and the Punjab;[10] ibises, which abounded in Egypt,[11] and in the Delta of the Indus;[12] the great vulture (*Vultur cinereus*), which inhabited the Taurus;[13] the Indian owl

[30] *Encycl. Britannica*, ad voc. Mammalia, vol. xiv. p. 211.

[1] Ibid. vol. xxi. p. 906.

[2] Chesney, vol. i. p. 142.

[3] Elphinstone, *Caubul*, vol. i. p. 188.

[4] Carless in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. viii. p. 362.

[5] Naturalists seem now to doubt whether the elk can live much below the 45th parallel. (*Encycl. Britannica*, vol. xiv. p. 206.)

[6] Elphinstone, l. s. c.

[7] Mummies of the cynocephalus are common in the Egyptian tombs, and the same ape is frequently represented on the sculptures. (Wilkinson, vol. v. pp. 128-130.) But it was perhaps only imported into Egypt from Ethiopia. (See Plin. *H. N.* viii. 54.)

[8] Wilkinson, vol. v. p. 174.

[9] Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, § 2. Supra, vol. i. p. 228.

[10] Elphinstone, *Caubul*, vol. i. p. 192. The green parrot is found also in Syria. (Chesney, vol. i. pp. 443, 537.)

[11] Herod. ii. 75, 76; Diod. Sic. i. 87, § 6; Strab. xvii. 2, § 4.

[12] *Geograph. Journal*, vol. viii. p. 362.

[13] Ainsworth, in Chesney's *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. Appendix, p. 730. This bird is "equal in size to the condor."

(*Athena Indica*);[14] the spoonbill[15] (*Platalea nudifrons*); the benno (*Ardea bubulcus*), and the sicsac (*Charadrius melanocephalus*).[16]

The most valuable of the fish belonging to the Persian seas and rivers were the pearl oyster of the Gulf, and the murex of the Mediterranean, which furnished the famous purple dye of Tyre. After these may be placed the sturgeon and sterlet of the Caspian,[17] the silurus[18] of the Sea of Aral, the Aleppo eel,[19] and the *palla*, a small but excellent fish, which is captured in the Indus during the flood season.[20] The Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, as we have seen,[21] were visited by whales; dolphins, porpoises, cod, and mullet abounded in the same seas;[22] the large rivers generally contained barbel and carp;[23] while some of them, together with many of the smaller streams, supplied trout of a good flavour. The Nile had some curious fish peculiar to itself, as the oxyrinchus, the lepidotus, the *Perca Nilotica*, the *Silurus Schilbe Niloticus*, the *Silurus carmuth*[1] and others. Great numbers of fish, mostly of the same species with those of the Nile,[2] were also furnished by the Lake Mœris; and from these a considerable revenue was derived by the Great King.[3]

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[14] Ainsworth, l. s. c.

[15] The spoonbill occurs in the Egyptian sculptures. (Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 51.)

[16] The *benno* and the *sicsac* are found only in Egypt. The latter is probably the *trochilus* of Herodotus. (Wilkinson, vol. v. p. 226.)

[17] Chesney, *Euphrates Exp.* vol. i. p. 82.

[18] Butakoff in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxiii. p. 99.

[19] Chesney, vol. i. p. 412.

[20] Burnes, *Bokhara*, vol. iii. p. 39.

[21] Supra, p. 143.

[22] Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* xxxix. 5; Burnes, vol. iii. p. 65; *Geograph. Journal*, vol. viii. pp. 332, 362, &c.

[23] Supra, vol. i. pp. 41, 231; vol. ii. p. 298.

[1] The oxyrinchus is mentioned by Strabo (xvii. 2, § 4), Plutarch (*De Is.* § 2, &c.), Ælian (*Nat. An.* x. 46), and others. It has been recognised in the *Mormyrus oxyrinchus*, or *mizdeh*, of modern Egypt (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v. p. 249; *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." vol. i. p. 270, and pl. 6, fig. 1). The *lepidotus* is spoken of by Herodotus (ii. 72) and Strabo (l. s. c.). It is thought to have been the modern *Cyprinus lepidotus*, or *Cyprinus benni*. (*Description*, p. 284; Wilkinson, p. 252. Compare the latter writer's note in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 101, 2nd edition.) Strabo mentions as fish of the Nile having peculiar characteristics (χαρακτῆρα ἔχοντες ἴδιον καὶ ἐπιχώριον) — besides these two — the *latus*, the *alabes*, the *coracinus*, the *chærus*, the *phagrorius* or *phagrus*, the *silurus*, the *citharus*, the *thrissa*, the *cestreus*, the *lychnus*, the *physa*, and the *bus* (βοῦς). On the whole subject of the fish of the Nile, see the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." vol. i. pp. 1-52, and pp. 265-340.

[2] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii. p. 66.

[3] Herod. iii. 91; Diod. Sic. i. 52.

Among the more remarkable of the reptiles which the empire comprised within its limits may be noticed—besides the great saurians already mentioned among the larger animals[4]—the Nile and Euphrates turtles (*Trionyx Ægypticus* and *Trionyx Euphraticus*), iguanas (*Stellio vulgaris* and *Stellio spinipes*), geckos, especially the Egyptian house gecko (*G. lobatus*), snakes, such as the asp (*Coluber haje*) and the horned snake (*Coluber cerastes*), and the chameleon. The Egyptian turtle is a large species, sometimes exceeding three feet in length.[5] It is said to feed on the young of the crocodile. Both it and the Euphrates turtle are of the *soft* kind, *i. e.*, of the kind which has not the shell complete, but unites the upper and under portions by a coriaceous membrane. The turtle of the Euphrates is of moderate size, not exceeding a length of two feet. It lives in the river, and on warm days suns itself on the sandbanks with which the stream abounds. It is active, strong, violent, and passionate. When laid on its back, it easily recovers itself. If provoked, it will snap at sticks and other objects, and endeavour to tear them to pieces. It is of an olive-green colour, with large irregular greenish black spots.[6]

Iguanas are found in Egypt, in Syria, and elsewhere. The most common kind (*Stellio vulgaris*) does not exceed a foot in length, and is of an olive colour, shaded with black. It is persecuted and killed by the Mahometans, because they regard its favourite attitude as a derisive imitation of their own attitude of prayer.[7] There is another species, also Egyptian, which is of a much larger size, and of a grass-green colour. This is called *Stellios pinipes:* it has a length of from two to three feet.[8]

The *gecko*[9] is a kind of nocturnal lizard. Its eyes are large, and the pupil is extremely contractile. It hides itself during

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[4] The crocodile, and the two monitors, *Lacerta Nilotica* and *Lacerta scincus.*

[5] St. Hilaire in the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." tom. i. pp 115-120.

[6] For an exact description of the Euphrates turtle see the Appendix to vol. i. of Chesney's *Euphrates Expedition*, pp. 733, 734. (Compare Ollivier, *Voyage en Perse*, tom. iii. p. 453.)

[7] *Encycl. Britannica*, vol. xix. p 31.

[8] *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." tom. i. pp. 125, 126.

[9] On the *gecko* see *Description de l'Égypte*, pp. 130-134, and compare *Enc. Britannica*, vol. xix. p. 35.

the day, and is lively only at nights. It haunts rooms, especially kitchens, in Egypt, where it finds the insects which form its ordinary food. Its feet constitute its most marked characteristic. The five toes are enlarged and furnished with an apparatus of folds, which, by some peculiar action, enable it to adhere to perfectly smooth surfaces, to ascend perpendicular walls, cross ceilings, or hang suspended for hours on the under side of leaves. The Egyptians call it the *abu burs*,[10] or "father of leprosy," and there is a widespread belief in its poisonous character; but modern naturalists incline to regard the belief as unfounded, and to place the *gecko* among reptiles which are absolutely harmless.[11]

Gecko, and Feet of Gecko magnified.

The asp of Egypt (*Coluber haje*) is a species of cobra.[12] It is a large snake, varying from three to six feet in length,[13] and is extremely venomous. It haunts gardens, where it is of great use, feeding on mice, frogs, and various small reptiles. It has the power of greatly dilating the skin of the neck, and this it does when angered in a way that is very remarkable. Though naturally irritable, it is easily tamed; and the serpent-charmers of the East make it the object of their art more often than any

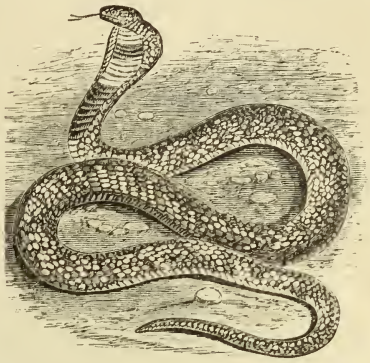
[10] Forskål, *Descript. Anim.* 13.

[11] See Mr. Houghton's remarks in Dr. Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 127.

[12] The asp of Egypt has been well described by St. Hilaire in the *Description de l'Égypte* ("Hist. Nat." tom. i. pp. 157-160); by Wilkinson, in his *Ancient Egyptians* (vol. v. pp. 241, 242); and by Mr. Houghton, in Smith's *Biblical Dictionary* (Appendix to vol. i. p. xvii.). The accompanying representation is from the last-named work.

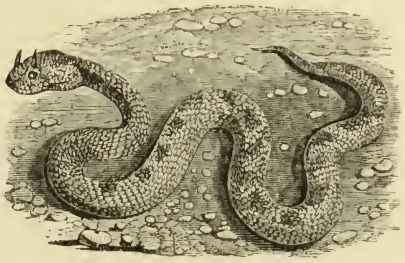
[13] Sir G. Wilkinson had an asp six feet long, which was the largest that he saw in Egypt. (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. v. p. 241; *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 105, note 2.) He discredits the account of Ælian (*Nat. An.* vi. 38), that some specimens measured five cubits ($7\frac{1}{2}$ feet).

other species. After extracting the fangs or burning out the poison-bag with a red-hot iron, the charmer trains the animal by the shrill sounds of a small flute, and it is soon perfectly docile.



The Egyptian asp, or *Coluber haje*.

The cerastes[14] is also employed occasionally by the snake-charmers. It has two long and thin excrescences above the eyes, whereto the name of "horns" has been given: they stand erect, leaning a little backwards; no naturalist has as yet discovered their use. The cerastes is of a very pale brown colour, and is spotted with large, unequal, and irregularly placed spots. Its bite is exceedingly dangerous, since it possesses a virulent poison;[15] and, being in the habit of nearly burying itself in the sand, which is of the same colour with itself, it is the more difficult of avoidance. Its size also favours its escaping notice, since in length it rarely much exceeds a foot.



The "Cerastes."

The chameleon has in all ages attracted the attention of mankind.[16] It is found in Egypt, and in many other parts

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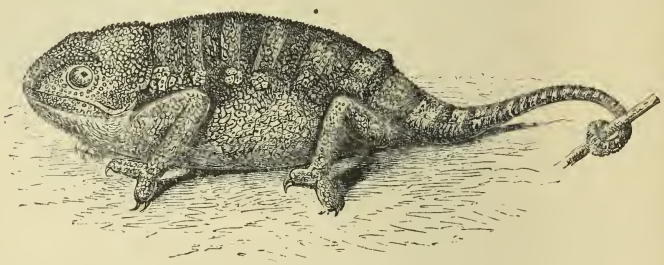
[14] This snake is described by Wilkinson (vol. v. pp. 245-247), by St. Hilaire (in the *Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." tom. i. pp. 155, 156), and by Mr. Houghton (*Biblical Dictionary*, vol. i. Appendix, p. iv). It was known to Herodotus (ii. 74), Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* ii. 1), Diodorus (i. 87), Pliny (*H. N.* viii. 23), Ælian (*Nat. Anim.* xv. 13), and others.

[15] On the error of Herodotus in this respect (ii. 74; ὄφιες ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς δηλήμονες), see Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, note ad loc.

[16] The chameleon is perhaps not the animal intended in Lev. xi. 30, though the LXX. so understood the passage. The attention of the Greeks seems to

of Africa, in Georgia, and in India. The power of changing colour which it possesses is not really its most remarkable characteristic. Far more worthy of notice are its slow pace, extraordinary form, awkward movements, vivacity, and control of eye, and marvellous rapidity of tongue.[17] It is the most grotesque of reptiles. With protruding and telescopic eyes, that move at will in the most opposite directions, with an ungainly head, a cold, dry, strange-looking skin, and a prehensile tail, the creature slowly steals along a branch or twig, scarcely dis-



The Chameleon.

tinguishable from the substance along which it moves, and scarcely seeming to move at all, until it has come within reach of its prey. Then suddenly, with a motion rapid as that of the most agile bird, the long cylindrical and readily extensile tongue is darted forth with unerring aim, and the prey is seized and swallowed in a single moment of time. The ordinary colour of

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have been first called to it by Democritus, who wrote a special book on the subject. (Plin. *H. N.* xxviii. 8.) By Aristotle's time the creature was so well known as to have become a proverb for changefulness (*Eth. Nic.* i. 10, § 8). Aristotle himself gave a good description of it in his "History of Animals" (ii. 11, § 1). Later writers among the Greeks, as Alexander the Myndian (ap. Æl. *De Nat. Anim.* iv. 33), indulged their fancies on the subject, and invented a number of absurd tales in connection with it. The first Latin writer who speaks of the chameleon is Ovid (*Metaph.* xv. 411). After him Pliny (*H. N.* l. s. c.), Solinus (*Polyhist.* § 43), and Leo Africanus (*Descrip. Afric.* ix. p. 298), treat of the animal, all with much exaggeration.

[17] St. Hilaire well observes of these reptiles:—"Ce qui les rend véritablement bien remarquables, c'est la forme bizarre de leur tête, la disposition non moins singulière de leurs yeux presque entièrement recouverts par la peau, et dont l'un peut se mouvoir en sens inverse de l'autre; la structure de leur langue charnue, cylindrique et très-extensible; leur queue prenante; enfin leurs doigts divisés en deux paquets opposables l'un à l'autre." (*Description de l'Égypte*, "Hist. Nat." vol. i. p. 134.)

the chameleon is a pale olive-green. This sometimes fades to a sort of ashen-grey, while sometimes it warms to a yellowish-brown, on which are seen faint spots of red.[18] Modern naturalists, for the most part, attribute the changes to the action of the lungs, which is itself affected chiefly by the emotions of anger, desire, and fear.

The great extent of the Empire caused its vegetable productions to include almost all the forms known to the ancient world. On the one hand, the more northern and more elevated regions bore pines, firs, larches, oaks, birch, beach, ash, ilex, and junipers, together with the shrubs and flowers of the cooler temperate regions; on the other hand, the southern tracts grew palms of various kinds,[19] mangoes, tamarind-trees, lemons, oranges, jujubes, mimosas, and sensitive plants. Between these extremes of tropical and cold-temperate products, the Empire embraced an almost infinite variety of trees, shrubs, and flowers. The walnut and the Oriental plane grew to a vast size in many places.[20] Poplars, willows, fig-mulberries, konars, cedars, cypresses, acacias, were common. Bananas, egg-plants, locust-trees, banyans,[21] terebinths, the gum-styrax, the gum-tragacanth, the assafœtida plant, the arbor vitæ, the castor-oil plant, the Judas tree, and other somewhat rare forms, sprang up side by side with the pomegranate, the oleander, the pistachio-nut, the myrtle, the bay, the laurel, the mulberry, the rhododendron, and the arbutus. The Empire grew all the known sorts of grain, and almost all the known fruits. Among its various productions of this class, it is only possible to select for notice a few which were especially remarkable either for their rarity or for their excellent quality.

The ancients celebrated the wheat of Æolis,[1] the dates of

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[18] *Encycl. Britann.* vol. xix. p. 37. The author had in his house for some time a specimen lent him by Mr. Frank Buckland. Its colour only varied between ashy grey and yellowish olive.

[19] As the common unproductive palm, the date-bearing palm, the fan palm (supra, p. 141), and the branching palm (*Palma Thebaica*) of Upper Egypt. (*Description de l'Égypte*, vol. ii. p. 145.)

[20] See Herod. vii. 31; Fellows, *Asia Minor*, pp. 36, 42; Pottinger, *Travels*, p. 238; Ker Porter, vol. i. pp. 409, 712; Ouseley, vol. ii. p. 165; &c.

[21] The banyan is a native of the Punjab. (Elphinstone's *Caubul*, vol. i. p. 108.)

[1] Strab. xv. 3, § 22.

Babylon,[2] the citrons of Media,[3] the Persian peach,[4] the grapes of Carmania,[5] the Hyrcanian fig,[6] the plum of Damascus,[7] the cherries of Pontus,[8] the mulberries of Egypt and of Cyprus,[9] the silphium of Cyrêné,[10] the wine of Helbon,[11] the wild-grape oil of Syria.[12] It is not unlikely that to these might have been added as many other vegetable products of first-rate excellence, had the ancients possessed as good a knowledge of the countries included within the empire as the moderns. At present, the mulberries of Khiva,[13] the apricots of Bokhara,[14] the roses of Mezar,[15] the quinces and melons of Isfahan,[16] the grapes of Kasvin and Shiraz,[17] the pears of Natunz,[18] the dates of Dalaki,[19] have a wide-spread reputation, which appears in most cases to be well deserved. On the whole, it is certain that for variety and excellence the vegetable products of the Persian Empire will bear comparison with those of any other state or community that has as yet existed, either in the ancient or the modern world.

Two only of these products seem to deserve a longer description. The Cyrenaic silphium, of which we hear so much, as constituting the main wealth of that province,[20] was valued chiefly for its medicinal qualities. A decoction from its leaves was used to hasten the worst kind of labours; its root and a

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[2] Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* ii. 7; p. 67.

[3] Plin. *H. N.* xii. 3; Theophrastus, *H. P.* iv. 4; Dioscorid. *De Mat. Med.* i. § 166; Virg. *Georg.* ii. 126-135.

[4] See above, p. 140, note [13].

[5] Strab. xv. 2, § 14.

[6] Onesicritus ap. Plin. *H. N.* xv. 18; Strab. xi. 7, § 2.

[7] Plin. *H. N.* xv. 13. The name "Damascene plum" has been contracted into our "damson."

[8] Plin. *H. N.* xv. 25. Here again language is a record of facts in natural history. The word "cherry" represents the latin *cerasus* (Gk. κερασός), which was the special fruit of Cerasus, one of the Greek cities on the north coast of Asia Minor.

[9] Ibid. xxiii. 7, § 70, ed. Sillig.

[10] Herod. iv. 169; Scylax. *Peripl.* § 108; Plin. *H. N.* xix. 3.

[11] Ezek. xxvii. 18; Strab. xv. 3, § 22.

[12] Plin. *H. N.* xxiii. proëm. § 5.

[13] Vámbéry, *Travels*, p. 146.

[14] Ibid. p. 419.

[15] Ibid. p. 233.

[16] Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 451; Kinneir, *Persian Empire*, pp. 38 and 110.

[17] Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 203; Kinneir, p. 38.

[18] Kinneir, p. 115.

[19] Fraser, *Khorasan*, p. 75.

[20] Τὸ Βάττου σίλφιον had become the subject of a proverb as early as the time of Aristophanes (*Plut.* 621). It was assumed as the special emblem of Cyrêné upon coins. From the possession of the treasure the city derived its epithet of *laserpicifera* (Catull. vii. 4). On the qualities of the drug, see Theophrast. *Hist. Pl.* vi. 3; ix. 2; Plin. *H. N.* xix. 3.

juice which flowed from it were employed in a variety of maladies. The plant, which is elaborately described by Theophrastus, appears to have been successfully identified by modern travellers in the Cyrenaïca,[21] who see it in the *drias* or *derias* of the Arabs, an umbelliferous plant, which grows to a height of about three feet, has a deleterious effect on the camels that browse on it, and bears a striking resemblance to the representations of the ancient silphium upon coins and medals. This plant grows only in the tract between Merj and Derna—the very heart of the old silphium country, while that it has medicinal properties is certain from its effects upon animals; there can thus be little doubt that it is the silphium of the ancients, somewhat degenerated, owing to want of cultivation.

The Egyptian byblus or papyrus (*Cyperus papyrus*) was perhaps the most valuable of all the vegetables of the Empire. The plant was a tall smooth reed, of a triangular shape.[22] It grew to the height of ten or fifteen feet, and terminated in a tuft or plume of leaves and flowers. Though indigenous in the country, it was the subject of careful cultivation, and was grown in irrigated ground, or in such lands as were naturally marshy. The root of the plant was eaten,[23] while from its stem was made the famous Egyptian paper. The manufacture of the papyrus was as follows:—The outer rind having been removed, there was exposed a laminated interior, consisting of a number of successive layers of inner cuticle, generally about twenty. These were carefully separated from one another by the point of a needle,[24] and thus were obtained a number of strips of the raw material, which were then arranged in rows, covered with a paste,[25] and crossed at right angles by another set of strips placed over them, after which the whole was converted into

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[21] Della Cella, *Narrative*, pp. 126, 127; Pacho, *Voyage dans la Marmarique*, ch. xviii.; Beechey, *Expedition to N. C. of Africa*, pp. 409-420; Hamilton, *Wanderings in N. Africa*, p. 27.

[22] On the subject of the Egyptian papyrus the reader may be referred to Sir G. Wilkinson (in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 128, 129,) and Mr. Cowan, the writer of the article on "Paper" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (vol. xvii. pp. 246-248).

[23] Herod. ii. 92. Theophrastus (*H. P.* iv. 9) says that the root was used as fire-wood, and that many articles were made from it.

[24] Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 12.

[25] Ibid.

paper by means of a strong pressure. A papyrus roll was made by uniting together a greater or less number of such sheets. The best paper was made from the inmost layers of cuticle. The outer rind of the papyrus was converted into ropes; and this fabric was found to be peculiarly adapted for immersion in water.

The mineral treasures of the Empire were various and abundant. It has been noticed already that Persia Proper, if we include in it Carmania, possessed mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, red lead, orpiment, and salt, yielding also bitumen, naphtha, sulphur, and most probably common lead.[26] We are further informed by ancient writers that Drangiana, or Sarangia, furnished the rare and valuable mineral, tin,[27] without which copper could not be hardened into bronze; that Armenia yielded emery,[28] so necessary for the working and polishing of gems; that the mountains and mines of the Empire supplied almost all the varieties of useful and precious stones; and that thus there was scarcely a mineral known to and required by the ancients for the purposes of their life which the Great King could not command without having recourse to others than his own subjects. It may be likewise noticed that the more important were very abundant, being found in many places and in large quantities. Gold was furnished from the mountains and deserts of Thibet and India,[29] from the rivers of Lydia,[30] and probably from other places where it is still found, as Armenia, Cabul, and the neighbourhood of Meshed.[1] Silver, which was the general medium of exchange in Persia,[2] must have been especially plentiful. It was probably yielded, not only by the Kerman mines,[3] but also by those of Armenia, Asia Minor, and

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[26] Supra, p. 146.

[27] Strab. xv. 2, § 10.

[28] Theophrast. *De Lapid.* § 44; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 7, 22. On the identity of the Greek σμύρις and Roman *Naxium* with our "emery," see King's *Antique Gems*, p. 473.

[29] Herod. iii. 95, 104-106; Megasth. Fr. 39; Arrian. *Hist. Ind.* xv. 5. The fabulous account of the ants does not invalidate the fact that gold was procured from these quarters.

[30] Herod. v. 101; Soph. *Philoct.* 393; Strab. xiii. 4, § 5.

[1] See Ainsworth's *Researches*, p. 278; Elphinstone's *Caubul*, vol. i. p. 194; and Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys*, p. 116. Armenian gold mines are mentioned by Strabo (xi. 14, § 9).

[2] Herod. iii. 90-96. Silver Darics have been found in considerable numbers.

[3] Strab. xv. 2, § 14.

the Elburz.[4] Copper was obtained in great abundance from Cyprus,[5] as well as from Carmania;[6] and it may have been also derived, as it is now in very large quantities, from Armenia.[7] Iron, really the most precious of all metals, existed within the Persian territory in the shape of huge boulders,[8] as well as in nodules and in the form of iron-stone.[9] Lead was procurable from Bactria, Armenia, Kerman, and many parts of Affghanistan;[10] orpiment from Bactria, Kerman, and the Hazareh country;[11] antimony from Armenia, Affghanistan, and Media;[12] hornblende, quartz, talc, and asbestos, from various places in the Taurus.[13]

Of all necessary minerals probably none was so plentiful and so widely diffused as salt. It was not only in Persia Proper that nature had bestowed this commodity with a lavish hand—there was scarcely a province of the Empire which did not possess it in superfluous abundance. Large tracts were covered by it in North Africa, in Media, in Carmania, and in Lower Babylonia.[1] In Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, and other places, it could be obtained from lakes.[2] In Kerman, and again in Palestine, it showed itself in the shape of large masses, not inappropriately termed "mountains."[3] Finally, in India it was the chief material of a long mountain-range,[4] which is capable of supplying the whole world with salt for many ages.

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[4] Silver is yielded in considerable quantities by the mines at Kapan Maden near Kharput (Ainsworth's *Researches*, pp. 279-281) and of Denek Maden on the right bank of the Halys between Kaiseriyeh and Angora (*Travels in Asia Minor*, vol. i. p. 153). It is also found in the Elburz (Ferrier, l. s. c.).

[5] Strab. xiv. 6, § 5; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 2.

[6] Strab. xv. 2, § 14.

[7] See Ainsworth's *Researches*, pp. 273-275.

[8] Ibid. p. 285.

[9] Ibid. pp. 57, 276, 285, &c.

[10] Fraser, *Khorasan*, p. 367; Ainsworth, *Researches*, p. 279; Abbott, in *Geograph. Journal*, vol. xxv. p. 64; Elphinstone, *Caubul*, vol. i. p. 194.

[11] Elphinstone, p. 195; Strab. l. s. c.

[12] Ainsworth, *Researches*, p. 279; Elphinstone, p. 194; Morier, *First Journey*, pp. 283, 284.

[13] Ainsworth, pp. 274, 275, 285, 336, &c.

[1] Hamilton, *Wanderings*, pp. 183. 193, &c.; Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 385; Abbott, in *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxv. pp. 34, 66; Pottinger, *Travels*, p. 229; Ainsworth, *Researches*, p. 118.

[2] See vol. ii. pp. 294, 487, &c. Compare Herod. vii. 30; and see above, p. 125.

[3] Robinson, *Researches in Palestine*, vol. ii. p. 482; Abbott, in *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 157. Compare Strabo, xv. 2, § 14.

[4] On the "Salt Range" of north-western India, see Elphinstone's *Caubul*, vol. i. pp. 48, 49, and 137.

Bitumen and naphtha were also very widely diffused. At the eastern foot of the Caucasus, where it subsides into the Caspian Sea,[5] at various points in the great Mesopotamian plain,[6] in the Deshtistan or low country of Persia Proper,[7] in the Bakhtiyari mountains,[8] and again in the distant Jordan valley,[9] these two inseparable products are to be found, generally united with indications of volcanic action, present or recent. The bitumen is of excellent quality, and was largely employed by the ancients.[10] The naphtha is of two kinds, black naphtha or petroleum, and white naphtha, which is much preferred to the other. The bitumen-pits also, in some places, yielded salt.[11]

Another useful mineral with which the Persians were very plentifully supplied, was sulphur. Sulphur is found in Persia Proper, in Carmania, on the coast of Mekran,[12] in Azerbijan, in the Elburz, on the Iranian plateau, in the vicinity of the Dead Sea,[13] and in very large quantities near Mosul.[14] Here it is quarried in great blocks, which are conveyed to considerable distances.

Excellent stone for building purposes was obtainable in most parts of the Empire. Egypt furnished an inexhaustible supply of the best possible granite; marbles of various kinds, compact sandstone, limestone, and other useful sorts were widely diffused; and basalt was procurable from some of the outlying ranges of Taurus. In the neighbourhood of Nineveh, and in much of the Mesopotamian region, there was abundance of grey alabaster,[15] and a better kind was quarried near

[5] Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. i. p. 132.

[6] As at Nimrud (*Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 371), at Kerkuk (Ker Porter, vol. ii. pp. 440-442), at Kifri (Rich, *Kurdistan*, vol. i. p. 29), and at Hit (Herod. i. 179; Rich, *First Memoir on Babylon*, pp. 63, 64).

[7] On the naphtha pits near Dalaki, see Ouseley, vol. i. p. 258; Clerk in *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxxi. p. 64.

[8] *Geographical Journal*, vol. ix. p. 94. Compare Herod. vi. 119.

[9] See above, vol. ii. p. 487.

[10] Herod. i. 179; vi. 119; Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 15.

[11] Herod. vi. 119.

[12] *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxxiii. p. 203.

[13] Ouseley, vol. i. p. 258; *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxvii. p. 152; Kinneir, p. 40; Morier, *First Journey*, p. 284; *Second Journey*, p. 355; Rich, *Kurdistan*, vol. i. p. 374; Lynch, *Official Report*, pp. 176, 180, 187, &c.

[14] On the sulphur mines of Mosul, see Ainsworth, *Researches*, pp. 259, 260.

[15] See above, vol. i. p. 219.

Damascus.[16] A gritty silicious rock on the banks of the Euphrates, a little above Hit, was suitable for mill-stones.[17]

The gems furnished by the various provinces of the Empire are too numerous for mention. They included, it must be remembered, all the kinds which have already been enumerated among the mineral products of the earlier Monarchies.[18] Among them, a principal place must, one would think, have been occupied by the turquoise—*the* gem, *par excellence*, of modern Persia—although, strange to say, there is no certain mention of it among the literary remains of antiquity. This lovely stone is produced largely by the mines at Nishapur in the Elburz,[19] and is furnished also in less abundance and less beauty by a mine in Kerman,[20] and another near Khojend.[21] It is noticed by an Arabian author as early as the twelfth century of our era.[22] A modern writer on gems supposes that it is mentioned, though not named, by Theophrastus; but this view scarcely seems to be tenable.[23]

Among the gems of most value which the Empire certainly produced were the emerald, the green ruby, the red ruby, the opal, the sapphire, the amethyst, the carbuncle, the jasper, the lapis lazuli, the sard, the agate, and the topaz. Emeralds were found in Egypt, Media, and Cyprus;[24] green rubies in Bactria;[25]

[16] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 10.

[17] Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, § 5. Compare Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand*, p. 82.

[18] See above, vol. ii. pp. 304, 305, and 488.

[19] A good account of these mines is given in Fraser's *Khorasan*, pp. 410-420. Compare Ferrier, *Caravan Journeys*, p. 106.

[20] Ousceley, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 211; *Geographical Journal*, vol. xxv. pp. 30 and 63.

[21] Fraser, *Khorasan*, Appendix, p. 105.

[22] *Mines de l'Orient*, tom. vi. pp. 112-142.

[23] See King's *Antique Gems*, pp. 4, 5. The passage of Theophrastus runs as follows:—Καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἡ Σμάραγδος καὶ ἡ Ἴασπις· οἷς δὲ εἰς τὰ λιθόκολλα χρῶνται ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς εἰσὶ πρὸς τῇ ἐρήμῳ· συλλέγουσι δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοὺς Ἐτησίους ἱππεῖς ἐξίοντες· τότε γὰρ ἐμφανεῖς γίνονται, κινουμένης τῆς ἄμμου διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πνευμάτων. Εἰσὶ δὲ μικροὶ καὶ οὐ μεγάλοι. (*De Lapid.* p. 396.) Mr. King argues that these Bactrian gems must be turquoises, 1. On account of the turquoise having been so much used by the Persians of all ages (?) for setting in their arms and ornaments; and 2. On account of their small size. But a passage of Pliny makes it clear that he at least understood Theophrastus to mean emeralds. "Proximam laudem habent, sicut et sedem Bactriani (smaragdi): in commissuris saxorum colligere eos dicuntur *etesiis flantibus*; tunc enim tellure deoperta *nitent*, et *quibus iis ventis hurenæ maxime morentur*" (*H. N.* xxxvii. 5).

[24] Plin. l. s. c.; Theophrastus, l. s. c.

[25] Mr. King has shown grounds for

common or red rubies in Caria;[26] opals in Egypt, Cyprus, and Asia Minor;[27] sapphires in Cyprus;[28] amethysts also in Cyprus, and moreover in Egypt, Galatia, and Armenia;[29] carbuncles in Caria;[30] jaspers in Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Persia Proper;[31] the lapis lazuli in Cyprus, Egypt, and Media;[32] the sard in Babylonia;[33] the agate in Carmania, Susiana, and Armenia;[34] and the topaz or chrysoprase in Upper Egypt.[35]

The tales which are told of enormous emeralds[1] are undoubtedly fictions, the material which passed for that precious substance being really in these cases either green jasper or (more probably) glass.[2] But lapis lazuli and agate seem to have existed within the Empire in huge masses. Whole cliffs of the former overhang the river Kashkar in Kaferistan;[3] and the myrrhine vases of antiquity, which were (it is probable[4]) of agate, and came mainly from Carmania,[5] seem to have been of a great size.

We may conclude this review by noticing, among stones

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regarding the "Smaragdi Bactriani" of Pliny, which were dark-coloured, free from flaws, and extremely hard, as green rubies (*Antique Gems*. p. 29).

[26] The *lychnis* of Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. 7) is identified by Mr. King with the common ruby (*Antique Gems*, p. 53). This stone was found near Orthosia in Caria. It is yielded now in great abundance by mines in Badakshan (Elphinstone, vol. i. p. 164; Fraser, Appendix, p. 105).

[27] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 6 and 9.

[28] The "Cyprian diamond" of Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. 4), which had a bluish tinge and could be bored by means of a true diamond, was most probably a sapphire. (See King, *Antique Gems*, p. 67.)

[29] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 9.

[30] Ib. 7.

[31] Ib. 8. Jaspers are now found near Zenobia on the Euphrates. (Ainsworth, *Researches*, p. 71.)

[32] The "sapphirus" of Pliny seems to be the common lapis lazuli. (See above, vol. ii. p. 304.) The best sort came, he says, from Media. (*H. N.* xxxvii. 9.) His "cyanos", is perhaps the *clear* variety of the same stone. (King, *Antique Gems*, p. 45.) It was brought from Scythia, Cyprus, and Egypt.

[33] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 7. (See above, vol. ii. p. 488.)

[34] Dionys. *Perieg.* 1073-1077; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 6. The "sardonyx" of the latter is a species of agate. (King, pp. 8-13.)

[35] *H. N.* xxxvii. 8.

[1] Herodotus speaks of an emerald pillar in the temple of Hercules at Tyre (ii. 44). So too Theophrastus (*De Lapid.* pp. 395, 396) and Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. 5). The former of these two writers tells us further of an emerald presented to a king of Egypt by a king of Babylon which was four cubits long and three broad, and of an obelisk made of four emeralds, each of which was *forty cubits* in length!

[2] King, p. 32; Wilkinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 69, note [8], 2nd edition.

[3] Elphinstone, *Caubul*, vol. i. p. 194.

[4] King, pp. 85-87.

[5] Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 2.

of less consequence produced within the Empire, jet, which was so called from being found at the mouth of the river Gagis in Lycia,[6] garnets, which are common in Armenia,[7] and beryl,[8] which is a product of the same country.

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[6] "Jet" is a corruption of "*gagates lapis*," a name formed from Gagis. (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 19.)

[7] Ainsworth, *Researches*, pp. 55 and 289.

[8] Ibid. p. 285.

CHAPTER III.

CHARACTER, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, DRESS, ETC. OF THE PEOPLE.

"I lifted up mine eyes, and saw, and, behold, there stood before the river a ram which had two horns: and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last."—DAN. viii. 3.

THE ethnic identity of the Persian people with the Medes, and the inclusion of both nations in that remarkable division of the human race which is known to ethnologers as the Iranic or Arian, have been maintained in a former volume.[1] To the arguments there adduced it seems unnecessary to add anything in this place, since at the present day neither of the two positions appears to be controverted. It is admitted generally, not only that the Persians were of the same stock with the Medes, but that they formed, together with the Medes and a few other tribes and peoples of less celebrity, a special branch of the Indo-European family—a branch to which the name of Arian may be assigned, not merely for convenience sake, but on grounds of actual tradition and history.[2] Undistinguished[3] in the earlier

[1] See vol. ii. pp. 306, 307.

[2] In the Zendavesta, "the first best of regions and countries," the original home of Ahura-mazda's peculiar people is *Aryanem vaejo*—"the source of the Arians." According to Herodotus (vii. 62), the Medes of his day were known as "Arians" by all the surrounding nations. The sculptor whom Darius Hystaspis employed at Behistun, explained to the Scythic aborigines of Zagros, in a note of his own, that *Ahura-mazda*, of whom so much was said in the inscription, was "the God of the Arians." (*Beh. Inscr.* col. iv. par. 12.) Darius himself, in another inscription, boasted that he was "a Persian, the son of a Persian, an Arian of Arian descent." (*Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscription*, par. 2.) Eudemus, the disciple of Aristotle, called the people who had the magi for their priests, "the Arian nation." (Ap. Damasc. *De Princip.* sub init.) Strabo introduced the term "Ariana" into geography, and gave it a sense nearly corresponding to the modern Iran. The Sassanian monarchs divided the world into *Airan* and *Aniran* and claimed to be kings both of the Arian and the un-Arian races. Finally, the term Iran remains to the present day the only designation by which the modern Persian knows his country.

[3] I have already noticed the remark-

annals of their race, the Medes and Persians became towards the eighth or seventh century before our era, its leading and most important tribes. Closely united together,[4] with the superiority now inclining to one, now to the other, they claimed and exercised a lordship over all the other members of the stock, and not only over them, but over various alien races also. They had qualities which raised them above their fellows, and a civilisation, which was not, perhaps, very advanced, but was still not wholly contemptible. Such details as could be collected, either from ancient authors, or from the extant remains, of the character, mode of life, customs, &c., of the Medes, have already found a place in this work.[5]

The greater part of what was there said will apply also to the Persians. The information, however, which we possess, with respect to this latter people, is so much more copious than that which has come down to us with regard to the Medes, that, without repeating anything from the former place, our materials will probably enable us to give to the present chapter considerable dimensions.

The woodcuts of the preceding volume will have made the reader sufficiently familiar with the physiognomy of the Persians,[6] or, at any rate, with the representation of it which has come down to us upon the Persian monuments. It may be remarked that the type of face and head is uniform upon all of them, and offers a remarkable contrast to the type assigned to themselves by the Assyrians, from whom the Arians evidently adopted the general idea of bas-reliefs, as well as their general mode of treating subjects upon them. The novelty of the physiognomy is a strong argument in favour of its truthfulness; and this is further confirmed by the evidence which we have, that the Persian artists aimed at representing the varieties of the human race, and succeeded fairly in rendering them. Varieties of physiognomy are represented upon the bas-reliefs

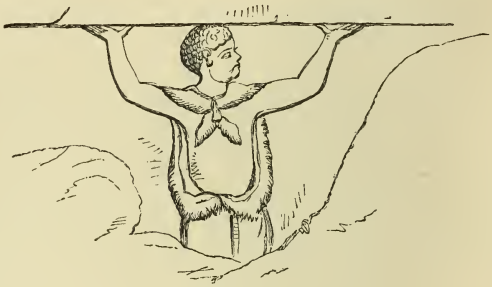
able fact that the Medes are unmentioned in the Zendavesta (supra, vol. ii. p. 371). There is the same absolute silence with regard to the Persians.

[4] See above, vol. ii. p. 306, note [1].

[5] See vol. ii. p. 306-321.

[6] See pp. 308, 313, 315, 316, and 317.

with much care, and sometimes with remarkable success, as the annexed head of a negro, taken from one of the royal tombs,[7] will sufficiently indicate.



Ethiopian (Persepolis).

According to Herodotus, the skulls of the Persians were extraordinarily thin and weak[8]—a phenomenon for which he accounted by the national habit of always covering the head. There does not seem to be in reality any ground for supposing that such a practice would at all tend to produce such a result. If, therefore, we regard the fact of thinness as established, we can only view it as an original feature in the physical type of the race. Such a feature would imply, on the supposition that the heads were of the ordinary size, a large brain-cavity, and so an unusual volume of brain, which is generally a concomitant of high intellectual power.

The Persians seem, certainly, to have been quick and lively, keen-witted, capable of repartee, ingenious, and, for Orientals, far-sighted. They had fancy and imagination, a relish for poetry and art, and they were not without a certain power of political combination. But we cannot justly ascribe to them any high degree of intellectual excellence. The religious ideas which they held in common with the Medes were, indeed, of a more elevated character than is usual with races not enlightened by special revelation;[9] but these ideas were the common stock

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[7] Ker Porter, vol i. p. 670; Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, "Planches Antiques," tom. iii. pl. 156. [8] Herod. iii. 12. [9] Supra, vol. ii. pp. 323-340.

of the Iranic peoples, and were inherited by the Persians from a remote ancestry, not excogitated by themselves. Their taste for art, though marked, was neither pure nor high. We shall have to consider, in a future chapter, the architecture and mimetic art of the people;[10] to weigh their merits in these respects, and, at the same time, to note their deficiencies. Without anticipating the exact verdict then to be pronounced, we may say at once that there is nothing in the remains of the Persian architecture and sculpture that have come down to us indicative of any remarkable artistic genius; nothing that even places them on a par with the best works of the kind produced by Orientals. Again, if the great work of Firdausi represents to us, as it probably does, the true spirit of the ancient poetry of the Persians, we must conclude that, in the highest department of art, their efforts were but of moderate merit. A tone of exaggeration, an imagination exuberant and unrestrained, a preference for glitter over solid excellence, a love of far-fetched conceits, characterise the Shahnameh; and, though we may fairly ascribe something of this to the idiosyncracy of the poet, still, after we have made all due allowance upon this score, the conviction presses upon us that there was a childish and grotesque character[1] in the great mass of the old Persian poetry, which marks it as the creation of moderate rather than of high intellectual power, and prevents us from regarding it with the respect with which we view the labours of the Greeks and Romans, or, again, of the Hebrews, in this department. A want of seriousness, a want of reality, and, again, a want of depth, characterize the poetry of Iran, whose bards do not touch the chords which rouse what is noblest and highest in our nature. They give us sparkle, prettiness, quaint and ingenious fancies, grotesque marvels, an inflated kind of human heroism; but they have none of the higher excellencies of the poetic art, none of the divine fire which renders the true poet, and the true prophet, one.

Among moral qualities, we must assign to the Persians as

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[10] See below, ch. v.

[1] Compare above, vol. ii. pp. 342-344.

their most marked characteristics, at any rate in the earlier times, courage, energy, and a regard for truth. The valour of their troops in the great combats of Platæa and Thermopylæ extorted the admiration of their enemies, who have left on record their belief that, "in boldness and warlike spirit, the Persians were not a whit behind the Greeks," and that their defeat was wholly owing to the inferiority of their equipment and training.[2] Without proper shields, with little defensive armour, wielding only short swords and lances that were scarcely more than javelins, they dashed themselves upon the serried ranks of the Spartans, seizing the huge spear-shafts of these latter with their hands, striving to break them, and to force a way in. No conduct could have been braver than this, which the modern historian well compares with brilliant actions of the Romans and the Swiss.[3] The Persians thoroughly deserved to be termed (as they are termed by Æschylus) a "valiant-minded people;"[4] they had boldness, *élan*, dash, and considerable tenacity and stubbornness; no nation of Asia or Africa was able to stand against them; if they found their masters in the Greeks, it was owing, as the Greeks themselves tell us, to the superiority of Hellenic arms, equipment, and, above all, of Hellenic discipline, which together rendered the most desperate valour unavailing, when it lacked the support of scientific organisation and united simultaneous movement.

The energy of the Persians during the earlier years of their ascendancy is no less remarkable than their courage. Æschylus speaks of a mysterious *fate* which forced them to engage continually in a long series of wars, to take delight in combats of horse, and in the siege and overthrow of cities.[5] Herodotus,

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[2] Herod. vii. 211, ix. 62. Note especially the passage—Λήματι μέν νυν καὶ ῥώμῃ οὐχ ἐσσονες ἔσαν οἱ Πέρσαι, ἄνοπλοι δὲ ἐόντες καὶ πρὸς ἀνεπιστήμονες ἦσαν, καὶ οὐχ ὁμοῖοι τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι σοφίην· προσεξαΐσσοντες δὲ κατ' ἕνα καὶ δέκα καὶ πλεῦνές τε καὶ ἐλάσσονες συστρεφόμενοι, ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τοὺς Σπαρτιήτας, καὶ διεφθείροντο.

[3] Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 513, note [5], edition of 1862.

[4] Ἀλκίφρων λαός. Æschyl. *Pers.* 94. Compare Heraclid. Pont. ap. Athen. *Deipn.* xii. p. 512, A.

[5] *Æsch. Pers.* 104-110.

> Θεόθεν γὰρ κατὰ μοῖρ'
> ἐκράτησεν τὸ παλαι-
> ὸν, ἐπέσκηψε δὲ Πέρσαις
> πολέμους πυργοδαίκτους
> διέπειν, ἱπ-
> πιοχάρμας τε κλόνους,
> πολέων τ' ἀναστάσεις.

in a tone that is not very different, makes Xerxes, soon after his accession, represent himself as bound by the examples of his forefathers to engage his country in some great enterprise, and not suffer the military spirit of his people to decay through want of employment.[6] We shall find, when we come to consider the history of the empire, that, for eighty years, under four sovereigns, the course indicated by these two writers was, in fact, pursued—that war followed on war, expedition on expedition—the active energy of sovereign and people carrying them on, without rest or pause, in a career of conquest that has few parallels in the history of Oriental nations. In the subsequent period, this spirit is less marked; but, at all times, a certain vigour and activity has characterized the race, distinguishing it in a very marked way from the dreamy and listless Hindus upon the one hand, and the apathetic Turks upon the other.

The Persian love of truth was a favourite theme with the Greeks,[7] who were, perhaps, the warmer in their praises from a latent consciousness of their own deficiency in the virtue. According to Herodotus, the attention of educators was specially directed to the point, and each young Persian was taught by his preceptors three main things:—"To ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth."[8] We find that, in the Zendavesta, and more especially in its earliest and purest portions, truth is strenuously inculcated. Ahura-Mazda himself is "true," "the father of all truth,"[9] and his worshippers are bound to conform themselves to his image. Darius, in his inscriptions, protests frequently against "lies," which he seems to regard as the embodiment of all evil.[10] A love of *finesse* and intrigue is congenital to Orientals; and, in the later period of their sway, the Persians appear to have yielded to this natural inclination, and to have used freely in their struggle with the Greeks the weapons of cunning and deception; but, in the earlier period, a

[6] Herod. vii. 8.

[7] See, besides the passage of Herodotus quoted in the next note, Nic. Dam. Fr. 132; Strab. xv. 3, § 18; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 6, § 33; and Plat. *Alcib.* i. 122, A.

[8] Herod. i. 136. Παιδεύουσι τοὺς παῖδας τρία μοῦνα, ἱππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι.

[9] See above, vol. ii. p. 324. Conversely, "lying" was a leading characteristic of the *devas* or evil spirits (ibid. p. 331).

[10] *Beh. Inscr.* col. iv. pars. 4, 5, 6, 13.

different spirit prevailed; lying was then regarded as the most disgraceful act of which a man could possibly be guilty;[11] truth was both admired and practised; Persian kings, entrapped into a promise, stood to it firmly, however much they might wish it recalled;[12] foreign powers had never to complain that the terms of a treaty were departed from;[13] the Persians thus form an honourable exception to the ordinary Asiatic character, and for general truthfulness and a faithful performance of their engagements compare favourably with the Greeks and Romans.

The Persian, if we may trust Herodotus, was careful to avoid debt.[14] He had a keen sense of the difficulty with which a debtor escapes subterfuge and equivocation—forms, slightly disguised, of lying. To buy and sell wares in a market-place, to chaffer and haggle over prices, was distasteful to him, as apt to involve falsity and unfairness.[1] He was free and open in speech, bold in act, generous, warm-hearted, hospitable. His chiefs faults were an addiction to self-indulgence and luxury; a passionate *abandon* to the feeling of the hour, whatever that might happen to be; and a tameness and subservience in all his relations towards his prince, which seem to moderns almost incompatible with real self-respect and manliness.

The luxury of the Persians will be considered when we treat of their manners. In illustration of the two other weak points of their character, it may be observed that, in joy and in sorrow, they were alike immoderate; in the one transported beyond all reasonable bounds, and exhibiting their transports with entire unreserve and openness;[2] in the other proportionately depressed, and quite unrestrained in the expression of their anxiety or misery.[3] Æschylus' tragedy of the 'Persæ,' is, in this respect, true to nature, and represents with accuracy the real habits of the nation.[4] The Persian was a stranger to the dignified reserve

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[11] Herod. i. 138. Αἴσχιστον αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται.

[12] Ibid. ix. 109.

[13] The only charge of treachery made against the Persians in the earlier times is their treatment of the Barcæans (Herod. iv. 201). But even there we observe an effort to keep the *letter* of the treaty.

[14] Herod. i. 138.

[1] Herod. i. 153. Compare Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, § 3.

[2] Herod. viii. 99.

[3] Ibid. and ix. 24; Æschyl. *Pers.* 258-285, 547-585, 893-1055.

[4] Mr. Grote observes with much force and truth, that the exaggerated demon-

which has commonly been affected by the more civilised among Western nations. He laughed and wept, shouted and shrieked, with the unrestraint of a child, who is not ashamed to lay bare his inmost feelings to the eyes of those about him. Lively and excitable, he loved to give vent to every passion that stirred his heart, and cared not how many witnessed his lamentations or his rejoicings.

The feeling of the Persian towards his king is one of which moderns can with difficulty form a conception. In Persia the monarch was so much the State, that patriotism itself was, as it were, swallowed up in loyalty; and an absolute unquestioning submission, not only to the deliberate will, but to the merest caprice of the sovereign, was, by habit and education, so engrained into the nature of the people that a contrary spirit scarcely ever manifested itself. In war the safety of the sovereign was the first thought, and the principal care of all.[5] The tales told of the self-devotion of individuals to secure the preservation of the monarch[6] may not be true, but they indicate faithfully the actual tone of men's sentiments about the value of the royal person. If the king suffered, all was lost; if the king escaped, the greatest calamities seemed light, and could be endured with patience.[7] Uncomplaining acquiescence in all the decisions of the monarch—cheerful submission to his will, whatever it might chance to be—characterized the conduct of the Persians in time of peace. It was here that their loyalty degenerated into parasitical tameness, and became a defect instead of a virtue. The voice of remonstrance, of rebuke, of warning, was unheard at the court; and tyranny was allowed to indulge unchecked in the wildest caprices and extravagances. The father, whose innocent son was shot before his eyes by the

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strations of grief, ascribed to Xerxes and Atossa, in the *Persæ* of Æschylus, have been wrongly blamed by critics, since they are quite "in the manner of Orientals of that day." (*History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 501, note [3], edition of 1862.)

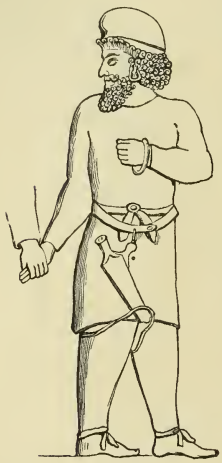
[5] Herod. vii. 8; viii. 99, 102.

[6] See Herod. viii. 118, 119, and the author's comment on the passage in his *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 292, note [5], 2nd edition.

[7] Compare the sentiment of Artemisia—Ἦν τὰ ἐναντία τῆς Μαρδονίου γνώμης γένηται, οὐδεμία συμφορὴ μεγάλη ἔσται, σέο τε περιεόντος καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πρηγμάτων περὶ οἶκον τὸν σόν.—Herod. viii. 102.

king in pure wantonness, instead of raising an indignant protest against the crime, felicitated him on the excellence of his archery.[8] Unfortunates, bastinadoed by the royal orders, declared themselves delighted, because his majesty had condescended to recollect them.[9] A tone of sycophancy and servility was thus engendered, which, sapping self-respect, tended fatally to lower and corrupt the entire character of the people.

In considering the manners and customs of the Persians, it will be convenient to follow the order already observed in treating of Assyria and Media—that is to say, to treat, in the first instance, of their warlike, and subsequently of their peaceful usages. On the latter the monuments throw considerable light; on the former, the information which they supply is comparatively scanty.



Persian foot-soldier in the ordinary costume (Persepolis).

The Persians, like the Medes,[10] regarded chariots with disfavour, and composed their armies almost entirely of foot and horse. The ordinary dress of the footman was, in the earlier times, a tunic with long sleeves,[11] made of leather,[12] and fitting rather tightly to the frame, which it covered from the neck to the knee.[13] Under this was worn a pair of trousers,[14] also of leather, and tolerably tight-fitting, especially at the ankles, where they met a sort of high shoe, or low boot. The head was protected by a loose round cap,[15]

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[8] Herod. iii. 35.

[9] Nic. Dam. Fr. 132. Ἐὰν δέ τινα προστάξῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς μαστιγῶσαι, εὐχαριστεῖ, ὡς ἀγαθοῦ τυχὼν ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἐμνήσθη ὁ βασιλεύς.

[10] See above, vol. ii. p. 312, note [7].

[11] Εἶχον περὶ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτούς.—Herod. vii. 61.

[12] Ibid. i. 71. In the description of the Persian equipment which Herodotus gives in his seventh book (ch. 61), he adds that the tunics were "embroidered," or "of many colours" (ποικίλους). The predominant hue, according to Xenophon, was scarlet (*Cyrop.* vii. 1, § 2).

[13] See the above woodcut, and compare the Persepolitan sculptures, *passim*.

[14] Ἀναξυρίδες.—Herod. i. 71; v. 49; vii. 61.

[15] Περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι εἶχον πίλους ἀπαγέας.—Herod. vii. 61.

apparently of felt, which projected a little in front and rose considerably above the top of the head. Round the waist was worn a double girdle or belt,[16] from which depended a short sword.

The offensive arms of the foot-man were, a sword, a spear, and a bow. The sword, which was called by the Persians *akinaces*,[17] appears to have been a short straight weapon,[18] suited for stabbing rather than for cutting, and, in fact, not

Persian stabbing a bull.

very much better than a dagger. It was carried in a sheath,[19] and was worn suspended from the girdle on the right side.[20] From the Persepolitan sculptures it would seem not to have hung freely, but to have been attached to the right thigh by a thong which passed round the knee. The handle was short, and generally unprotected by a guard; but, in some

[16] Ζώνη.—Herod. vii. 61.

[17] So Herodotus (vii. 54). Compare Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xx. 8, § 10. Polemo (*Epitaph. in Callimach.*), and Horace (*Od.* i. 27, 5) call the weapon—perhaps not incorrectly—Median.

[18] On the shortness of the Persian sword see Josephus (l. s. c.), who calls it ξιφίδιον. Note also that Herodotus in one place (vii. 61) terms it a dagger (ἐγχειρίδιον). The sculptures give it a length of about 15 or 16 inches.

[19] Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iii. 3. The sculptures also prove this.

[20] Herod. vii. 61.

specimens, we see a simple cross-bar between the hilt and the blade.

The spear carried by the Persian foot-man was also short,[21]

Persian foot-soldiers (Persepolis).

or, at any rate, much shorter than the Greek. To judge by the representations of guardsmen on the Persepolitan sculptures, it was from six to six and a half or seven feet in length. The Grecian spear was sometimes as much as twenty-one feet.[22] The Persian weapon had a short head, which appears to have been flattish, and which was strengthened by a bar or ridge down the middle.[23] The shaft, which was of cornel wood,[24] tapered gradually from bottom to top, and was ornamented at its lower extremity with a ball,[25] sometimes carved into the shape of an apple or a pomegranate.[26]

Persian guardsman, carrying a bow and quiver (Persepolis).

The Persian bow, according to

[21] Αἰχμὴ βραχέα. Herod. v. 49. Comp. vii. 61.

[22] See Polybius, xviii. 12; Ælian, *Tact.* § 14. This length, which was that of the *Sarissa*, or Macedonian spear, was no doubt extraordinary, but a length of 10 or 12 feet would seem to have been common.

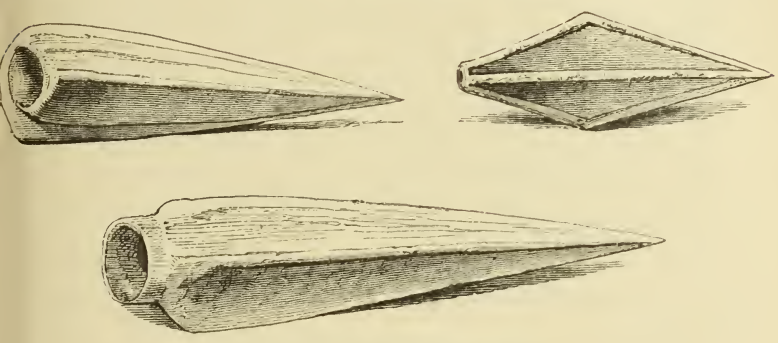
[23] Compare the representation in vol. ii. p. 314.

[24] Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 1, § 2.

[25] See the Persian sculptures, *passim*.

[26] Herod. vii. 41; Heraclid. Cum. Fr. 1.

Herodotus and Xenophon,[1] was of unusual size. According to the sculptures,[2] it was rather short, certainly not exceeding four feet. It seems to have been carried strung, either on the left shoulder, with the arm passed through it, or in a bow-case slung at the left side.[3] It was considerably bent in the middle, and had the ends slightly turned back. The arrows, which were of reed,[4] tipped with metal, and feathered,[5] were carried in a



Persian spear-head and arrow-heads.

quiver, which hung at the back near the left shoulder. To judge from the sculptures their length must have been about two feet and a half. The arrow-heads, which were either of bronze or iron, seem to have been of various shapes,[6] the most common closely resembling the arrow-heads of the Assyrians.[7]

Other offensive weapons carried occasionally by the Persian foot-men were, a battle-axe, a sling, and a knife. The battle-axe, which appears in the sculptures only in one or two instances, is declared to have been a common Persian weapon

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[1] Herod. vii. 61; Xen. *Anab.* iii. 4, § 17. The latter passage is important, and shows at any rate that the bows of the Persians were larger and more powerful than those used by the Cretans.

[2] See the preceding page; and compare vol. ii. p. 313.

[3] See the upper woodcut, p. 174.

[4] Herod. vii. 61. Ὀϊστοὺς εἶχον καλαμίνους.

[5] The feathering is seen very clearly in the Behistun tablet, where the notched ends of the arrows protrude from the quiver, which is borne by one of Darius's attendants. (*As. Soc. Journal*, vol. x. pl. 2; infra, p. 210.)

[6] The above representation of Persian arrow-heads is taken from Morier, who thus figures the specimens which he obtained in the neighbourhood of Persepolis. (See Morier, *Second Journey*, pp. 87, 88.)

[7] Compare vol. i. pp. 454, 455.

by Xenophon,[8] who, upon such a point, would seem to be trustworthy. The use of the sling by the Persian light-armed is quite certain. It is mentioned by Curtius and Strabo,[9] no less than by Xenophon; and the last-named writer speaks with full knowledge on the subject, for he witnessed the effect of the weapon in the hands of Persian slingers during his return with the Ten Thousand.[10] The only missiles which the Persian slingers threw were stones; they did not, like the Rhodians, make use of small lumps of lead.[11]

Persian soldier with battle-axe.

The knife (*κοπὶς* or *μάχαιρα*) seems also to have been a Persian weapon. Its blade appears to have been slightly curved, like that of a pruning-hook.[12] It was worn in a sheath,[13] and was probably thrust into the belt or girdle, like the similar weapon, half knife, half dagger, of a modern Persian.

The ordinary defence of the Persian against the weapons of his enemy was a shield of wicker-work,[14] which covered him almost from head to foot,[15] and which probably differed little from the wattled shield of the Assyrians.[16] This he commonly planted on the ground, supporting it, perhaps, with a crutch, while he shot his arrows from behind it.[17] Occasionally, he added to this defence the protection of a coat of mail,[18] com-

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[8] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 23.

[9] Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iv. 14; Strab. xv. 3, § 18.

[10] Xen. *Anab.* iii. 3, § 6; 4, § 16.

[11] Ibid. 3, § 17.

[12] Compare Xen. *Cyrop.* l. s. c.; *Anab.* i. 8, § 7; Strab. xv. 3, § 19; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* i. 15. There is some doubt, however, as to the true character of the *κοπὶς*. Mr. Grote regards it as a "scimitar" (*Hist. of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 315, ed. of 1862). Drs. Scott and Liddell consider it to have been "a broad curved knife, similar to our *bill*." (*Lexicon*, ad. voc.) This latter view seems preferable, since it agrees with the definition of Q. Curtius. ("Copidas vocant gladios leniter curvatos, *falcibus similes*." *Hist. Alex.* viii. 14.)

[13] Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, § 9.

[14] *Γέρρον*. See Herod. vii. 61; ix. 61; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 23; *Anab.* i. 8, § 9; Strab. xv. 3, § 19, &c.

[15] Suidas defines the *γέρρον* as *ξυλίνη καὶ ποδήρης ἀσπίς* (ad voc. *γερροφόροι*). At Persepolis some of the Royal guards are represented with shields of this character. (See the woodcut on p. 177.)

[16] Compare vol. i. pp. 432 and 445.

[17] Herod. ix. 61. A crutch was certainly used in Egypt. (Sir G. Wilkinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 65, note [6], 2nd edition.)

[18] Herod. vii. 61. This protection

posed either of scale armour,[19] or of quilted linen,[20] like the corselets of the Egyptians. Armour of the former kind was almost impenetrable, since the scales were of metal—iron, bronze, or sometimes gold—and overlapped one another like those of a fish.[21]

"Gerrhum," or large wicker shield (Persepolis).

The Persian cavalry was armed, in the early times of the monarchy, almost exactly in the same manner as their infantry.[22] Afterwards, however, a considerable change seems to have been made. In the time of the younger Cyrus cavalry-soldiers were very fully protected. They wore helmets on their heads, coats of mail about their bodies, and greaves on their legs.[23] Their chief offensive arms seem, then, to have been the short sword, the javelin, and the knife.[24] It is probable that they were without shields,[25] being sufficiently defended by their armour, which (as we have seen) was almost complete.

The javelin of the horseman, which was his special weapon, was a short strong spear or pike, with a shaft of cornel-wood,[26] and an iron point. It was common for him to carry two such

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was worn sometimes inside, sometimes outside the tunic. (Compare Herod. ix. 22 with Xen. *Anab.* i. 8. § 3.) It was not universal in the Persian army even in the time of Xerxes. (Herod. viii. 113.)

[19] Herod. vii. 61; Strab. l. s. c.

[20] Herod. i. 135. Compare ii. 182, and iii. 47.

[21] Λεπίδος ὕψιν ἰχθυοειδέος.—Herod. i. 61. The common material was iron (ibid.) or bronze (Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 1, § 2). Gold was of rare occurrence (Herod. ix. 22).

[22] Herod. vii. 84. The only difference was that the horsemen wore sometimes bronze or iron helmets.

[23] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 6.

[24] Ibid. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 22; *Anab.* i. 8, §§ 3, 7, 28. Compare Arrian's account of the battle of the Granicus (*Exp. Alex.* i. 15), where the javelin (παλτόν) and the knife (κοπίς) are still the main weapons.

[25] They cannot have used the γέρρον, which is the only Persian shield mentioned by ancient writers. The Parthian cavalry seem occasionally to have worn a round shield. (Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. ii. pl. 62.) It is unfortunate that no representation of a Persian cavalry soldier has come down to us.

[26] Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 1, § 2.

weapons,[27] one of which he used as a missile, while he retained the other in order to employ it in hand-to-hand combat with the enemy.[28] It was a stout manageable weapon, and though no match for the longer and equally strong spear of the Macedonian cavalry,[29] was preferred by Xenophon to the long weak reed-lance commonly carried by horse-soldiers in his day.[30]

It was the practice of the later Persians to protect with armour, not only the horseman but the horse. They selected for the service large and powerful animals, chiefly of the Nisæan breed,[1] and cased them almost wholly in mail.[2] The head was guarded by a frontlet, and the neck and chest by a breast-piece, the sides and flanks had their own special covering (*παραπλευρίδια*), and cuisses defended the thighs. These defences were not merely, like those of the later Assyrian heavy cavalry,[3] of felt or leather, but consisted, like the cuirasses worn by the riders, of some such material covered with metal scales.[4] The weight which the horse had to sustain was thus very great, and the movements of the cavalry force were, in consequence, slow and hesitating.[5] Flight was difficult; and, in a retreat, the weaker animals were apt to sink under their burthens, and to be trampled to death by the stronger ones.[6]

There can be no doubt that, besides these heavy horsemen, the Persians employed, even in the latest times, and much more in the earlier, a light and agile cavalry force. Such were the troops which, under Tissaphernes, harassed the Ten Thousand during their retreat; and such, it may be conjectured, was

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[27] Compare Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 3—Κῦρος . . . τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε—with Xen. *Equestr.* xii. 12—τὰ κρανέϊνα δύο παλτὰ μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦμεν. Note in both cases the use of the article as indicative of the ordinary practice.

[28] That this was the object of having two is evident from Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, § 9; *Equestr.* l. s. c.; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* i. 15, &c.

[29] Arrian, l. s. c. Ἐπλεονέκτουν ἤδη οἱ σὺν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ, καὶ ὅτι ξυστοῖς κρανείνοις πρὸς παλτὰ ἐμάχοντο.

[30] Xen. *Equestr.* l. s. c.

[1] Herod. vi. 40; Strab. xi. 13, § 7; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* vii. 13.

[2] Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 1, § 2; viii. 8, § 22; *Anab.* i. 8, § 6; Q. Curt. iii. 11, p. 43; Heliodor. *Æthiop.* ix. pp. 431-433.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 427.

[4] Q. Curt. l. s. c. "Equi pariter equitesque Persarum *seriè laminarum* graves." Compare iv. 9, p. 79.

[5] "Agmen ægre moliebantur."—Q. Curt. iii. 11.

[6] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 11.

really at all times the great body of their cavalry. The education of the Persian, as we shall see hereafter,[7] was directed to the formation of those habits of quickness and agility in the mounting and managing of horses, which have a military value only as furnishing a good training for the light-cavalry service; and the tendency of the race has at all times been, not to those forms of military organization which are efficient by means of solidity and strength, but to those lighter, more varied, and more elastic branches which compensate for a want of solidity by increased activity, readiness, and ease of movement.

Though the Persians did not set any great store by chariots, as an arm of the military service,[8] they nevertheless made occasional use of them. Not only were their kings and princes, when they commanded their troops in person, accustomed to direct their movements, both on the march and even in action, from the elevation of a war-chariot,[9] but, now and then, in great battles, a considerable force of them was brought into the field,[10] and important consequences were expected from their employment.[11] The wheels of the war-chariots were armed with scythes;[12] and these, when the chariot was set in motion, were regarded as calculated to inflict great damage on the ranks of opponents. Such hopes seem, however, to have been generally disappointed.[13] As every chariot was drawn by at least two horses, and contained at least two persons, the charioteer and the warrior, a large mark was offered by each to

[7] Infra, ch. v.

[8] No chariots were brought against the Greeks, either by Darius or by Xerxes. None fought at the Granicus, none at Issus. The only occasions upon which we hear of their use by the Persians are the two great battles of Cunaxa and Arbela.

[9] Æschyl. *Pers.* 86; Herod. vii. 40, 100; Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 16; 8, § 3; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 11; iii. 15; Diod. Sic. xvii. 34; Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iii. 11; iv. 14 ad fin.—"*Patrio more* curru vehor."

[10] The number of chariots at Cunaxa is not stated. At Arbela they amounted to 200, according to Diodorus (xvii. 53), Q. Curtius (iv. 12), and Arrian (iii. 11).

[11] Arrian, iii. 13; Q. Curt. iv. 9 (p. 79), 14 (p. 97).

[12] Different accounts are given of the mode of arming (Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 10; Q. Curt. iv. 9; Diod. Sic. xvii. 53); and of course it is not unlikely that the mode varied at different periods. The scythes seem to have been attached, in the earlier times, to the axles, in the latter to both the axles and the yoke. None, however, of the accounts given is quite clear.

[13] Neither at Cunaxa nor at Arbela did the chariots do any important service. (See Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 20, and Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 13.)

the missiles of the light troops who were commonly stationed to receive them; and, as practically it was found that a single wound to either horse or man threw the whole equipage into confusion, the charge of a scythed chariot was commonly checked before it reached the line of battle of the enemy. Where this was not the case, the danger was escaped by opening the ranks and letting the chariots pass through them to the

Persian chariot (from Persepolis).

rear, a good account being speedily given of any adventurer who thus isolated himself from the support of his own party.

The Persian war-chariot was, probably, somewhat loftier than the Assyrian.[1] The wheels appear to have been from three to four feet in diameter; and the body rose above them to a height from the ground of nearly five feet. The person of the warrior was thus protected up to his middle[2] by the curved board which enclosed the chariot on three sides.[3] The axle-tree is said to have been broad, since breadth afforded a security

[1] That is to say, it was loftier than the early Assyrian chariot. It must have been about the same height as the chariot used by the later Assyrian kings. (See above, vol. i. pp. 411-413.)

[2] Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 1, § 29. Τὸν δίφρον τοῖς ἡνιόχοις ἐποίησεν, ὥσπερ πύργον, ἰσχυρῶν ξύλων· ὕψος δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀγκώνων.

[3] The back of the chariot was sometimes, it would seem, closed with doors. (Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 4, § 10.) But it may be doubted if this was a common arrangement.

against being overturned,[4] and the whole construction to have been strong and solid. The wheels had twelve spokes, which radiated from a nave of unusual size.[5] The felloes were narrower than the Assyrian, but were still composed like them of two or three distinct layers of wood. The tires were probably of metal, and were indented like the edge of a saw.

No great ornamentation of the chariot appears to have been attempted. The body was occasionally patterned with a chequer-work,[6] which may be compared with a style common in Assyria,[7] and the spokes of the wheels were sometimes of great elegance,[8] but the general character of the workmanship was massive and plain. The pole was short and terminated with a simple curve. From the evidence of the monuments it would seem that chariots were drawn by two horses only;[9] but the classical writers assure us that the ordinary practice was to have teams of four.[10] The harness used was exceedingly simple, consisting of a yoke, a belly-band, a narrow collar, a headstall, a bit, and reins. When the charioteer left his seat the reins could be attached to a loop or bar which projected from the front of the chariot-board.

Chariots were constructed to contain two, or, perhaps, in some instances, three persons. These consisted of the warrior, his charioteer, who stood beside him, and an attendant, whose place was behind, and whose business it was to open and shut the chariot-doors.[11] The charioteer wore a visor and a coat of mail, exposing nothing to the enemy but his eyes.[12]

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[4] Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 1, § 29.

[5] The Persepolitan sculptures give four examples of chariots, each of which has wheels with twelve spokes, according to the representations of M. Flandin. (*Voyage en Perse*, "Planches Anciennes," tom. ii. pls. 95, 105, and 110.) Ker Porter, who is followed in the woodcut on p. 180, gives a wheel with eleven spokes only (*Travels*, vol. i. pl. 41); but it may be suspected that he has miscopied his original.

[6] Flandin, tom. ii. pl. 110.

[7] See above, vol. i. pp. 294 and 413.

[8] See the woodcut, p. 180.

[9] Two is the number represented in each of the four examples at Persepolis. It is also the common number on coins, where, however, we see three in a few instances. (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. lxii. figs. 11 and 12; Mionnet, *Description des Médailles*, supplément, tom. viii. p. 427; Gesenius, *Monumenta Phœniciæ*, tab. xxxvi. fig. G.)

[10] Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 1, § 28; Q. Curt. iv. 9; Diod. Sic. xvii. 53, § 2.

[11] Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 4, § 10. An Assyrian chariot very commonly contains a third person. (See above, vol. i. p. 411).

[12] Τοὺς ἡνιόχους ἐθωράκισε [Κῦρος] πάντα, πλὴν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

The later Persians made use also of elephants in battle, but to a very small extent,[13] and without any results worth mentioning.

The chief points of Persian tactics were the following:—The army was organized into three distinct services, those of the chariots, the horse, and the foot. In drawing up the line of battle, it was usual, where chariots were employed, to place them in the first rank, in front of the rest of the army.[14] Behind the chariots were stationed the horse and the foot; the former generally massed upon the wings;[15] the latter placed in the middle, drawn up according to nations,[16] in a number of oblong squares,[17] which touched, or nearly touched, one another. The bravest and best armed troops were placed in front; the ranks towards the rear being occupied by those of inferior quality.[18] The depth of the ranks was usually very great,[19] since Oriental troops cannot be trusted to maintain a firm front unless they are strongly supported from behind. No attempt, however, seems to have been made at forming a second line of battle in the rear of the first, nor does there even seem to have been any organized system of reserves. When the battle began the chariots were first launched against the enemy,[20] whose ranks it was hoped they would confuse, or, at any rate, disturb. After this the main line advanced to the attack, but without any inclination to come at once to close quarters.

(Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 1, § 29.) A Parthian thus protected is represented in one of the sculptures of the Arsacidæ. (Flandin, "Planches Anciennes," tom. i. pl. 8).

[13] Fifteen elephants are mentioned among the forces of the last Persian king at Arbela. (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8.) Nothing, however, is heard of them in the battle.

[14] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 10; Arr. *Ep. Alex.* iii. 11; Diod. Sic. xvii. 58, § 2; Q. Curt. iv. 15.

[15] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 9; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* ii. 8, sub fin.; iii. 11.

[16] Herod. vii. 81; ix. 31; Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 9; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 11; Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iv. 12.

[17] Ἐν παλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο. Xen. *Anab.* l. s. c.

[18] Arr. *Exp. Alex.* ii. 9; Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 3, § 24.

[19] Mr. Grote calculates that the depth of the Persian phalanx at Issus was from 16 to 26. (*Hist. of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 346, note [4].) The depth at Marathon must have been about 16. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iii. p. 430, 2nd ed.)

[20] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, §§ 19, 20; Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iv. 15. The remarks of Mr. Grote on this point (*Hist. of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 382, note [2]) are deserving of attention.

Planting their shields firmly on the ground in front of them,[21] the Persian heavy-armed shot flight after flight of arrows against their foe, while the slingers and other light-armed in the rear sent clouds of missiles over the heads of their friends into the adverse ranks beyond them. It was usually the enemy which brought this phase of the battle to an end, by pressing onward and closing with the Persian main line in a hand-to-hand combat. Here the struggle was commonly brief—a very few minutes often decided the engagement.[22] If the Persian line of battle was forced or broken, all was immediately regarded as lost—flight and rout followed. The cavalry, from its position on the wings, might attempt, by desperate charges on the flanks of the advancing foe, to stay his progress and restore the fortune of the day, but such efforts were usually unavailing. Its line of battle once broken, a Persian army lost heart; its commander commonly set the example of flight, and there was a general rush of all arms from the battle-field.

For success the Persians trusted mainly to their numbers, which enabled them, in some cases, to renew an attack time after time with fresh troops,[23] in others to outflank and surround their adversary.[24] Their best troops were undoubtedly their cavalry, both heavy and light. The heavy, armed in the old times with bows,[25] and in the later with the javelin[26] (*παλτόν*), highly distinguished itself on many important occasions.[27] The weight of its charge must have been great; its offensive weapons were good;[28] and its armour made it almost invulnerable to ordinary weapons. The light cavalry was celebrated for the quickness and dexterity of its manœuvres.[29] It had the

[21] Herod. ix. 61. This probably marks the usual practice, though it is not elsewhere noticed. The unwillingness of the Persians, however, to come to close quarters is very apparent in the accounts which we have of almost all their engagements. (See Xen. *Anab.* iii. 4, §§ 14, 25; *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 22; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* ii. 10, sub init. &c.)

[22] Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. viii. pp. 348 and 384.

[23] As at Thermopylæ (Herod. vii. 210-218).

[24] As at Cunaxa (Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 23).

[25] Herod. vii. 84; Æsch. *Pers.* 26—*τοξοδάμαντές τ' ἠδ' ἱππυβάται.*

[26] See above, p. 177, note [24].

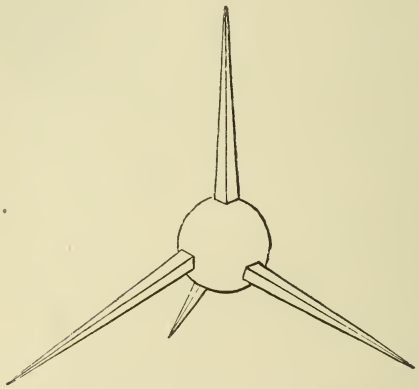
[27] Herod. ix. 20; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* i. 15; ii. 11; iii. 15.

[28] Xenophon regarded the javelin (*παλτόν*) and the bill (*μάχαιρα* or *κυπίς*) as the best weapons for cavalry (*Equestr.* §§ 11, 12).

[29] Ἐξελιγμοῖς τῶν ἵππων ἐχρῶντο. Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 15. Ἱππεῖς μαλὰ

loose organization of modern Bashi-Bazouks or Cossacks; it hung in clouds on the enemy—assailed, retreated, rallied, re-advanced—fled, and even in flight was formidable, since each rider was trained to discharge his arrows backwards with a sure aim against the pursuing foe.[30] The famous skill of the Parthians in their horse-combats[31] was inherited from their Persian predecessors, who seem to have invented the practice which the later people carried to perfection.

Though mainly depending for success on their numbers, the Persians did not wholly despise the use of contrivance and stratagem. At Arbela, Darius Codomannus had spiked balls strewn over the ground where he expected the Greek cavalry to make its attacks;[1] and, at Sardis, Cyrus obtained his victory over the Lydian horse by frightening them with the grotesque and unfamiliar camel.[2] Other instances[3] will readily occur to the reader, whereby it appears that the art of war was studied, and ingenuity allowed its due place in military matters, by this people, who showed a fair share of Oriental subtlety in the devices which they employed against their enemies.



"Tribulus," or spiked ball (after Caylus).

It is doubtful whether we are to include among these devices the use of military engines. On the one hand, we have several distinct statements by the author of the 'Cyropædia,' to the effect that engines were well known to the Persians;[4] on the

ἐλαφροὶ καὶ εὔζωνοι. Xen. *Anab.* iii. 3, § 6. Compare Æschyl. *Pers.* 109.

[30] Xen. *Anab.* iii. 3, § 10.

[31] See Virg. *Georg.* iii. 31: Hor. *Od.* i. 19, 11; ii. 13, 16; Plut. *Vit. Crass.* c. 24; Justin. xli. 2; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 35, &c.

[1] See Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iv. 13. Compare Polyæn. *Strat.* iv. 3, 17.

[2] Herod. i. 80.

[3] Compare Herod. i. 191, 211; iii. 156-158; iv. 135, &c.

[4] Xen. *Cyrop.* vi. 1, §§ 53, 54; 3, § 8; vii. 1, § 39, &c.

other, we remark an entire absence from the works of other ancient writers of any notice that they actually employed them, either in their battles or their sieges. The silence of Scripture,[5] of Herodotus, of the Inscriptions, of Quintus Curtius, of Arrian, may fairly be regarded as outweighing the unsupported authority of the romance-writer, Xenophon; and, though it would be rash to decide that such things as siege-towers, battering-rams, and *balistæ*—all of which are found to have been in constant use under the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies[6]—were wholly discarded by, or unknown to their successors in the government of Asia, yet a wise criticism will conclude that they were, at any rate, unfamiliar to the Persians, rarely and sparingly (if at all) employed by them, other methods of accomplishing the ends whereto they served having more approved themselves to this ingenious people. In ordinary sieges it would seem that they trusted to the bank or mound,[7] while sometimes they drove mines under the walls, and sought in this way to effect a breach.[8] Where the place attacked was of great strength, they had recourse in general either to stratagem or to blockade.[9] Occasionally they employed the destructive force of fire,[10] and, no doubt, they often succeeded by the common method of escalade. On the whole, it must certainly be said that they were successful in their sieges, exhibiting in their conduct of them courage, activity, and considerable fertility of resource.

A Persian army was usually, though not always,[11] placed under a single commander. This commander was the monarch, if he was present; if not, it was a Persian, or a Mede,[12] nominated

[5] Considering the frequent references which there are to the use of siege-towers and rams by the Assyrians and Babylonians (Is. xxix. 3; 2 K. xxv. 1; Jer. lii. 4; Ezek. iv. 2; xxi. 22; xxvi. 8, 9), it is most remarkable that we have nothing in Scripture to connect these contrivances with the Medes or Persians. Note particularly the absence of any reference to them from the long prophecies concerning the fall of Babylon in Jer. l. and li.

[6] See vol. i. pp. 470-473; and above, p. 11.

[7] See Herod. i. 162. Αἴρεε τὰς πόλεις χώμασι.

[8] Ibid. iv. 200. Ὀρύσσοντες ὀρυγματα ὑπόγαια φέροντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. Compare vi. 18.

[9] Ibid. i. 191; iii. 13, 151; Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 5.

[10] As at Athens (Herod. viii. 52).

[11] Two commanders are found, Herod. v. 123, and vi. 94.

[12] Instances of Median commanders-in-chief under the Persian rule are Mazares (Herod. i. 156), Harpagus (ib. 162), Tachamaspates (*Beh. Inscr.* col. ii. par. 14), Intaphres (ib. col. iii. par. 14), and Datis (Herod. vi. 94).

by him. Under the commander-in-chief were a number of general officers, heads of corps or divisions, of whom we find, in one instance, as many as nine.[13] Next in rank to these were the chiefs of the various ethnic contingents composing the army, who were, probably, in general the satraps of the different provinces.[14] Thus far appointments were held directly from the crown; but beyond this the system was changed. The ethnic or satrapial commanders appointed the officers next below themselves, the captains over a thousand, and (if their contingent was large enough to admit it) the captains over ten thousand; who, again, nominated their subordinates, commanders of a hundred, and commanders of ten.[15] Thus, in the main, a decimal scale prevailed. The lowest rank of officers commanded each ten men, the next lowest a hundred, the next to that a thousand, the next ten thousand. The officer over ten thousand was sometimes a divisional chief;[16] sometimes he was subject to the commander of an ethnic contingent, who was himself under the orders of the head of a division. Altogether there were six ranks of officers exclusive of the commander-in-chief.

The proper position of the commander-in-chief was considered to be the centre of the line of battle.[17] He was regarded as safer there than he would have been on either wing; and it was seen that, from such a position, his orders would be most rapidly conveyed to all parts of the battle-field.[18] It was not, however, thought to be honourable that he should keep aloof from the fight, or avoid risking his own person.[19] On the contrary, he was expected to take an active part in the combat, and, therefore, though his place was not exactly in the very foremost ranks, it was *towards* the front, and the result followed that he was often exposed to imminent danger. The consequences of this arrangement were frequently disastrous in the extreme,[20] the

[13] Herod. vii. 82, 83, 88.

[14] Compare Herod. vii. 8, § 4, and vii. 19, with Arr. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8.

[15] Herod. vii. 81.

[16] As Hydarnes, the commander of the "Immortals" in the army of Xerxes. Herod. vii. 83.

[17] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, §§ 21-23; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 8, ad fin; iii. 11.

[18] Xen. *Anab.* l. s. c.

[19] Plutarch, *Vit. Artax.* c. 8.

[20] The cases of Mardonius at Platæa

death or flight of the commander producing universal panic, stopping the further issue of any general order, and thus paralyzing the whole army.

The numbers of a Persian army, though no doubt exaggerated by the Greeks, must have been very great, amounting, probably, on occasions to more than a million of combatants.[21] Troops were drawn from the entire empire, and were marshalled in the field according to nations,[22] each tribe accoutred in its own fashion. Here were seen the gilded breastplates[23] and scarlet kilts[24] of the Persians and Medes; there the woollen shirt of the Arab,[25] the leathern jerkin of the Berber,[26] or the cotton dress of the native of Hindustan.[27] Swart savage Ethiops from the Upper Nile, adorned with a war-paint of white and red, and scantily clad with the skins of leopards or lions, fought in one place with huge clubs, arrows tipped with stone, and spears terminating in the horn of an antelope.[28] In another, Scyths, with their loose spangled trousers[29] and their tall pointed caps,[30] dealt death around from their unerring blows; while near them Assyrians, helmeted, and wearing corselets of quilted linen, wielded the tough spear, or the still more formidable iron mace.[31] Rude weapons like cane bows, unfeathered arrows, and stakes hardened at one end in the fire,[32] were seen side by side with keen swords and daggers of the best steel, the finished productions of the workshops of Phœnicia and Greece. Here the bronze helmet was surmounted with the ears and horns of an ox;[33] here it was superseded by a fox-skin,[34] a leathern or wooden skull-cap,[35] or a head-dress fashioned out of a horse's scalp.[36]

Herod. ix. 63), of the younger Cyrus at Cunaxa (Xen. *Anab.* i. 9, § 31), and of Darius Codomannus, first at Issus (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* ii. 11) and then at Arbela (ib. iii. 14), may be cited as instances.

[21] See Herod. vii. 186, with the author's note on the passage (*Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 127-129, 2nd edition), and compare Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8.

[22] Herod. vii. 61-81; Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, 9; Arrian. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 11; Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iv. 12, &c.

[23] Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 1, § 2. Τὰ ὅπλα κέχριστο τῷ χρυσοειδεῖ χρώματι.

[24] Ibid. Χιτῶσι φοινικοῖς. Compare Herod. ix. 22.

[25] Herod. vii. 69.

[26] Ibid. 71. [27] Ibid. 65.

[28] Ibid. 79.

[29] See above, vol. ii. p. 224. Compare the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iii. pp. 34, 35.

[30] Herod. vii. 64. [31] Ibid. ch. 63.

[32] Ibid. chs. 65, 67, 71, 74, &c.

[33] Ibid. ch. 76. [34] Ibid. ch. 75.

[35] Ibid. chs. 72, 78, 79; Xen. *Anab.* v. 4, § 13.

[36] Herod. vii. 70.

Besides horses and mules, elephants,[37] camels,[38] and wild asses[39] diversified the scene, and rendered it still more strange and wonderful to the eye of a European. One large body of cavalry was accustomed to enter the field apparently unarmed; besides the dagger, which the Oriental never lays aside, they had nothing but a long leathern thong. They used this, however, just as the lasso is used by the natives of Brazil, and the wretch at whom they aimed their deadly noose had small chance of escape.[1]

The Persians, like the Assyrians,[2] usually avoided fighting during the winter, and marched out their armies against the enemy in early spring.[3] With the great hosts which they moved a fixed order of march was most necessary; and we find evidence of so much attention being paid to this point that confusion and disorder seem scarcely ever to have arisen. When the march lay within their own country, it was usual to send on the baggage and the sumpter-beasts in advance,[4] after which came about half the troops moving slowly in a long and continuous column along the appointed line of route. At this point a considerable break occurred, in order that all might be clear for the most important part of the army, which was now to follow. A guard, consisting of a thousand horse and a thousand foot, picked men of the Persian people, prepared the way for what was most holy in the eyes of the nation—the emblems of their religion, and their king. The former consisted of sacred horses and cars, perhaps, in the later times, of silver altars also, bearing the perpetual and heaven-kindled fire,[5] which was a special object of Persian religious regard, and which the superstition of the people viewed as a sort of palladium, sure to bring the blessings of heaven upon their arms. Behind the sacred emblems followed the Great King himself, mounted on a car drawn by Nisæan steeds,[6] and perhaps pro-

[37] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8.

[38] Herod. i. 80; vii. 83, 87; Q. Curt. iii. 3.

[39] Herod. vii. 86.

[1] Ibid. 85.

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 463.

[3] Ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι. Herod. vi. 43; vii. 37. Compare Herod. i. 190.

[4] Herod. vii. 40. I regard this account, which is followed through nearly all the remainder of the paragraph, as indicating the usual Persian practice. Of course there would be numerous small differences between one expedition and another.

[5] See Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iii. 3, pp. 26, 27.

[6] Herod. vii. 40.

tected on either side by a select band of his relatives.[7] Behind the royal chariot came a second guard, consisting, like the first, of a thousand foot and a thousand horse. Then followed ten thousand picked foot, probably the famous "Immortals;"[8] then came a body of ten thousand picked Persian horsemen. After these a space of four hundred yards (nearly a quarter of a mile) was left vacant; then marched, in a second continuous column, the remainder of the host.

On entering an enemy's country, or drawing near a hostile force in their own, certain alterations of these dispositions became necessary and were speedily effected. The baggage-train was withdrawn, and instead of moving before the army, followed at some little distance in the rear.[9] Horsemen were thrown out in front, to feel for the enemy and notify his arrival.[10] Sometimes, if the host was large, a division of the troops was made, and several *corps d'armée* advanced against the foe simultaneously by distinct routes.[11] When this took place, the commander-in-chief was careful to accompany the central force,[12] so as to find himself in his proper position if he was suddenly compelled to give battle.

Night movements were seldom attempted by the Persians. They marched from sunrise[13] to sunset,[14] halting, probably, during the mid-day heat. In their most rapid marches they seldom accomplished more than from twenty to twenty-five miles in the day;[15] and, when this rate was attempted for any continuance, it was necessary to rest the men at intervals for as much as three days at a time.[16] The great drag upon rapi-

[7] Q. Curt. l. s. c. "Dextra lævaque regem ducenti ferme nobilissimi propinquorum comitabantur."

[8] Compare Herod. vii. 41 with 83.

[9] Q. Curt. iii. 3, p. 28.

[10] Xen. *Anab.* i. 7, § 11; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 8.

[11] Herod. vii. 121.

[12] Ibid. Compare ch. 124.

[13] Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iii. 3. "Patrio more Persarum traditum est, orto sole demum procedere."

[14] Xen. *Anab.* iii. 4, § 34.

[15] The power of movement which a Persian army possessed is best seen by the account which Xenophon gives of the proceedings of the younger Cyrus, from the time that he finally threw off the mask to that when he had reason to suspect the near presence of his enemy—in other words, from Thapsacus to Pylæ. During this period, when it was his object to advance as rapidly as possible, the rate of journeying averaged six and a half parasangs (about 22½ miles) a day. (See Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, 19; 5, §§ 1 and 5.)

[16] On the journey from Thapsacus to

dity of movement was the baggage-train, which consisted ordinarily of a vast multitude of camels, horses, asses, mules, oxen, &c., in part carrying burthens upon their backs, in part harnessed to carts laden with provisions, tents, and other necessaries.[17] The train also frequently comprised a number of litters,[18] in which the wives or female companions of the chief men were luxuriously conveyed, amid a crowd of eunuchs [19] and attendants, and with all the cumbrous paraphernalia of female wardrobes.[20] Roads, it must be remembered, did not exist; rivers were not bridged, except occasionally by boats;[21] the army marched on the natural ground along an established line of route which no art had prepared for the passage of man or beast. Portions of the route would often be soft and muddy; the carts and litters would become immoveable, their wheels sinking into the mire up to the axles; all the efforts of the teams would be unavailing; it must have been imperative to halt the main line, and employ the soldiers in the release of the vehicles, which had to be lifted and carried forward till the ground was sufficiently firm to bear them.[22] When a river crossed the line of route a ford had to be sought, boats procured, or rafts extemporised. The Persians were skilful in the passage of streams, to which they became accustomed in their first campaigns under Cyrus;[23] but the march was necessarily retarded by these and similar obstacles, and we cannot be surprised that the average rate of movement was slow.

As evening approached the Persians sought a suitable place for their camp. An open plain was preferred for the purpose, and the vicinity of water was a necessity.[24] If an enemy was

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Pylæ, performed in twenty-seven marching days, Cyrus was compelled to halt his army twice—each time for three days. (*Anab.* i. 4, § 19; 5, § 4.)

[17] Herod. i. 80—Σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι. iii. 153—σιτοφόροι ἡμιόνοι. iv. 129—ὄνοι καὶ ἡμιόνοι. vii. 83—σῖτα . . . . κάμηλοί τε καὶ ὑποζύγια ἦγον. On the use of carts, see the passage of Xenophon quoted in note [22].

[18] Herod. vii. 83; Q. Curt. iii. 3, p. 28.

[19] Herod. vii. 187; Q. Curt. iii. 12, p. 45.

[20] Πλῆθος πολυδαπάνου παρασκευῆς καὶ γυναικείου κόσμου. Diod. Sic. xvii. 35, § 4.

[21] Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 5.

[22] See the graphic description of Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 5, §§ 7, 8).

[23] Herod. i. 190, 208.

[24] Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, § 7. The vicinity of fodder for the horses was also greatly desired.

thought to be at hand a ditch was rapidly dug, and the earth thrown up inside;[25] or, if the soil was sandy, sacks were filled with it, and the camp was protected with sand-bags.[26] Immediately within the rampart were placed the *gerrhophori*, or Persians armed with large wicker shields.[27] The rest of the soldiers had severally their appointed places, the position assigned to the commander-in-chief being the centre.[28] All the army had tents,[29] which were pitched so as to face the east.[30] The horses of the cavalry were tethered and hobbled in front of the tents of their owners.[31]

The Persians disliked encamping near to their enemy.[32] They preferred an interval of seven or eight miles, which they regarded as a considerable security against a surprise. As their most important arm was the cavalry, and as it was impossible for the cavalry to unfasten and unhobble their steeds, to equip them properly, to arm themselves, and then to mount in a short space of time, when darkness and confusion reigned around, a night attack on the part of an enterprising enemy would have been most perilous to a Persian army. Hence the precaution which they observed against its occurrence—a precaution which was seldom or never omitted[1] where they felt any respect for their foe, and which seems to have been effective, since we do not hear of their suffering any disaster of the kind which they so greatly feared.

The Persians do not seem to have possessed any special corps of pioneers. When the nature of the country was such as to require the felling of timber or the removal of brushwood, the army was halted, and the work was assigned to a certain number of the regular soldiers.[2] For the construction of bridges, however, in important places, and for other works on

[25] Xen. *Cyrop.* iii. 3, § 26. Sometimes the Persians defended their camp not only with a ditch and mound, but also with a stockade. (See Herod. ix. 15, 65.) To such a rampart they gave the further protection of towers (ib. ix. 70).

[26] Vegetius, iii. 10.

[27] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 5, § 11. This arrangement is so probable that it may be accepted on the mere authority of the *Cyropædia*.

[28] Ibid. § 8.

[29] Ibid. § 2.

[30] Ibid. § 3.

[31] Xen. *Anab.* iii. 4, § 35; *Cyrop.* iii. 3, § 27.

[32] Xen. *Anab.* iii. 4, § 34.

[1] Xen. *Anab.* l. s. c. Οὔ ποτε μεῖον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἑξήκοντα σταδίων.

[2] Herod. vii. 131.

a grand scale intended to facilitate an expedition, preparations were made beforehand, the tasks being intrusted either to skilled workmen,[3] or to the crews of ships,[4] if they were tolerably easy of performance.

Commissariat arrangements were generally made by the Persians on a large scale, and with the best possible results. An ample baggage-train conveyed corn sufficient to supply the host during some months;[5] and, in cases where scarcity was apprehended, further precautions were taken. Ships laden with corn accompanied the expedition as closely as possible,[6] and supplemented any deficiency that might arise from a failure on the part of the land transport department. Sometimes, too, magazines[7] were established at convenient points along the intended line of march previously to the setting forth of the army, and stores were thus accumulated at places where it was probable they would be found of most service.

Requisitions for supplies were also made upon the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which lay the route of the army. Whenever the host rested for a night at a place of any consequence, the inhabitants seem to have been required to furnish sufficient bread for a meal to each man,[8] and, in addition, to provide a banquet for the king[9] (or general) and his suite, which was always very numerous. Such requisitions, often intolerably burthensome to those upon whom they were laid,[10] must have tended greatly to relieve the strain upon their own resources, which the sustentation of such enormous hosts as the Persian kings were in the habit of moving, cannot have failed to produce in many cases.

The effectiveness of these various arrangements for the provisioning of troops upon a march was such that Persian armies were rarely, if ever, in any difficulty with respect to their subsist-

[3] Herod. iv. 83, 85, 89; vii. 24, 36.
[4] Ibid. 21, 23.
[5] See above, p. 190, note [17].
[6] Herod. iv. 97; vi. 44; vii. 186, 191.
[7] Ibid. 25. [8] Ibid. 119.
[9] Ibid. chs. 118-120. The provision included, besides meats of various kinds, poultry and water-fowl, a complete service for the table, including much gold and silver plate, which was all carried away by the guests at the end of the meal.
[10] The cost of a banquet is said to have been 400 silver talents, or nearly 100,000*l.*! (Herod. vii. 118.)

ence. Once only in the entire course of their history do we hear of the Persian forces suffering to any considerable extent from a want of supplies. According to Herodotus, Cambyses, when he invaded Ethiopia, neglected the ordinary precautions, and brought his army into such straits that his men began to eat each other.[11] This caused the total failure of his expedition, and the loss of a great proportion of the troops employed in it. There is, however, reason to suspect that, even in this case, the loss and difficulty which occurred have been much exaggerated.[12]

The Persians readily gave quarter to the enemy who asked it, and generally treated their prisoners of war with much kindness. Personages of importance, as monarchs or princes, either preserved their titles and their liberty, with even a certain nominal authority,[13] or received appanages in other parts of the Persian territory,[14] or, finally, were retained about the court as friends and table-companions of the Great King.[15] Those of less rank were commonly given lands and houses in some province remote from their own country, and thenceforth held the same position as the great mass of the subject races.[16] Exchanges of prisoners do not seem to have been thought of. In a few cases, persons, whom we should regard as prisoners of war, experienced some severities, but probably only when they were viewed by the Persians, not as fair enemies, but as rebels.[17] Rebels were, of course, liable to any punishment which the king might think it right to inflict upon them, and there were occasions after a revolt when sentences of extreme rigour were passed upon the persons considered to have been most in fault.

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[11] Herod. iii. 25.

[12] See the chapter on the "History" of the Persian Empire.

[13] See Herod. iii. 13. Compare Thucyd. i. 128-130.

[14] Beros. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 11, § 5; Abyden. ap. eund. i. 10, § 3; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 4, ad fin.

[15] As Crœsus. (Herod. i. 153, 207; iii. 36.)

[16] Herod. v. 17; vi. 119; Strab. xvi. 25; Q. Curt. iv. 12, p. 89.

[17] As the Thebans taken prisoners at Thermopylæ (Herod. vii. 233). The Persians would regard these persons as rebels, since Thebes had formally submitted itself to the Persian yoke by giving "earth and water." (Ibid. vii. 132.) The Greek captives who met Alexander after Arbela, some of whom had been branded and others mutilated (Diod. Sic. xvii. 69, §§ 3 and 4; Q. Curt. v. 5, p. 123), *may* have been Greeks of Asia convicted of some act of rebellion.

According to Herodotus, three thousand Babylonians were crucified by order of Darius, to punish their revolt from him;[18] and, though this is probably an exaggeration, it is certain that sometimes, where an example was thought to be required, the Persians put to death, not only the leader of a rebellion, but a number of his chief adherents.[19] Crucifixion, or, at any rate, impalement of some sort, was in such cases the ordinary punishment.[20] Sometimes, before a rebel was executed, he was kept for a while chained at the king's door, in order that there might be no doubt of his capture.[21]

Among the minor punishments of rebellion were branding,[22] and removal of the rebels *en masse* from their own country to some remote locality.[23] In this latter case, they were merely treated in the same way as ordinary prisoners of war. In the former, they probably became royal slaves attached to the household of the monarch.

Though the Persians were not themselves a nautical people, they were quite aware of the great importance of a navy, and spared no pains to provide themselves with an efficient one. The conquests of Phœnicia, Cyprus, Egypt, and the Greek islands were undertaken, it is probable, mainly with this object; and these parts of the empire were always valued chiefly as possessing skilled seamen, vessels, and dockyards, from which the great king could draw an almost inexhaustible supply of war-ships and transports. Persia at times had the complete command of the Mediterranean Sea,[24] and bore undisputed sway in the Levant during almost the whole period of her existence as an empire.[25]

The war-ship preferred by the best naval powers during

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[18] Herod. iii. 159.

[19] See the *Behistun Inscription*, col. ii. par. 13, § 8; col. iii. par. 8, § 2; par. 11, § 5; par. 14, § 10. Compare Herod. iii. 15 with iii. 28, ad fin.; and see also iv. 202.

[20] *Behist. Inscrip.* col. ii. par. 13, § 7; par. 14, § 16; col. iii. par. 8, § 2; par. 14, § 10.

[21] Ibid. col. ii. par. 13, § 5; par. 14, § 14.

[22] Herod. vii. 233.

[23] Ibid. iv. 204; vi. 20; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 9; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 48.

[24] As from B.C. 525 to B.C. 480; and again from B.C. 354 to B.C. 332.

[25] From the battle of the Eurymedon (B.C. 466) to the "peace of Callias" (B.C. 449) the Levant or Eastern Mediterranean was in the power of Athens. By the "peace of Callias" Persia recovered possession of it.

the whole period of the Persian rule was the trireme, or decked galley impelled by rowers sitting in three tiers, or banks, one above another. This vessel, the invention of the Corinthians,[1] had been generally adopted by the nations bordering on the Mediterranean[2] in the interval between B.C. 700 and B.C. 525, when, by the reduction of Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, the Persians obtained the command of the sea. Notwithstanding the invention of quadriremes by the Carthaginians before B.C. 400, and of quinqueremes by Dionysius the Elder soon after, the trireme stood its ground, and from first to last the Persian fleets were mainly composed of this class of vessels.[3]

The trireme was a vessel of a considerable size, and was capable of accommodating two hundred and thirty persons.[4] Of these, two hundred constituted the crew, while the remaining thirty were men-at-arms, corresponding to our own "marines." By far the greater number of the crew consisted of the rowers, who probably formed at least nine-tenths of the whole, or one hundred and eighty out of the two hundred.[5] The rowers sat, not on benches running right across the vessel, but on small seats attached to its side.[6] They were arranged, as before stated, in three tiers, not, however, directly one over the head of another, but obliquely, each at once above and behind his fellow. Each rower had the sole management of a single oar, which he worked through a hole pierced in the side of the vessel. To prevent his oar from slipping he had a leathern strap,[7] which he twisted round it, and fastened to the thole, probably by

[1] Thucyd. i. 13.

[2] The Corcyræans and the Sicilian Greeks made the trireme their chief ship of war about B.C. 490. (Thuc. i. 14.) The Egyptians had fleets of them considerably earlier. (Herod. ii. 159.) The Ionian Greeks had adopted them before B.C. 500. (Herod. vi. 8.) When Xerxes collected his naval force against Greece, the trireme was the ordinary war-ship, not only of the Egyptians and the Asiatic Greeks, but also of the Phœnicians, the Cyprians, the Cilicians, the Pamphylians, the Lycians, and the Carians. (Herod. vii. 89-93.)

[3] Herod. vi. 95; vii. 89, 97; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* ii. 2.

[4] Herod. vii. 184.

[5] The exact proportion of the rowers to the rest of the crew is uncertain. It seems, however, probable that both the bireme and the trireme grew out of the triaconter—the bireme being twice the triaconter's length and height, and thus employing 120 rowers, while the trireme, keeping the length of the bireme, added a tier to the height, the rowers being thus raised to 180.

[6] Böckh, *Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates*, pp. 103, et seqq.

[7] Τροπὸς or τροπωτήρ. Thucyd. ii. 93. Compare Æschyl. *Pers.* 377: ναυβάτης τ' ἀνὴρ ἑτροποῦτο κώπην σκαλμὸν ἀμφ' εὐήρετμον.

means of a button. The remainder of the crew comprised the captain, the steersman, the petty officers, and the sailors proper, or those whose office it was to trim the sails and look to the rigging. The trireme of Persian times had, in all cases, a mast, and at least one sail, which was of a square shape, hung across the mast by means of a yard or spar,[8] like the "square-sail" of a modern vessel. The rudder was composed of two broad-bladed oars, one on either side of the stern, united however by a cross-bar, and managed by a single steersman. The central part of a trireme was always decked, and on this deck, which was generally level with the bulwarks, stood and fought the men-at-arms, whose business it was to engage the similar force of the enemy.

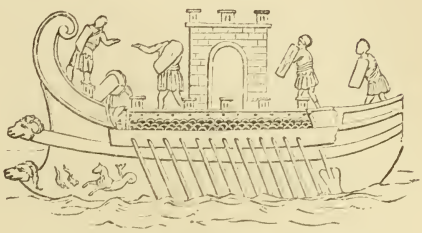
The weapon of the trireme, with which she was intended chiefly to attack her foe, was the ἔμβολος, or beak. This consisted of a projection from the prow of the ship, either above or below the water-line, strongly shod with a casing of iron, and terminating either in the head of an animal, or in one or more sharp points. A trireme was expected, like a modern "ram," to use this implement against the sides of her adversary's vessels, so as to crush them in and cause the vessels to sink. Driven by the full force of her oars, which impelled her almost at the rate of a modern steamer,[9] she was nearly certain, if she struck her adversary full, to send ship and men to the bottom. She might also, it is true, greatly damage herself; but, to preclude this, it was customary to make the whole prow of a trireme exceedingly strong, and, more particularly, to support it with beams at the side (ἐπωτίδες), which tended to prevent the timbers from starting.

Beak of Persian War-galley (enlarged from a coin).

[8] The representations of Phœnician vessels in the Assyrian sculptures agree in this respect with those of their own triremes left us by the Greeks. The sails are, however, in the Assyrian sculptures generally represented as closely reefed. (See above, vol. i. p. 550.)

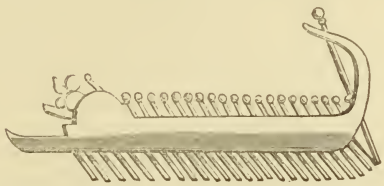
[9] Schmitz, in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 785, 2nd edition.

Besides triremes, which constituted the bulk of the Persian navy, there were contained in their fleet various other classes of vessels, as triaconters, penteconters, cercuri, and others.[10] Triaconters were long, sharp-keeled ships, shaped very much like a trireme, rowed by thirty rowers, who sat all upon a level, like the rowers in modern boats, fifteen on either side of the vessel.



Greek triaconter, after Montfaucon.

Penteconters were very similar, the only difference being in the number of the oars and oarsmen. Both these classes of vessels seem to have been frequently without sails.[11] Cercuri, were light boats, very long and swift. They are said to have been invented by the Cyprians,[12] and were always peculiar to Asia.[13]



Persian penteconter (enlarged from a coin).

The transports of the Persians were either for the conveyance of horses or of food. Horse-transports (*ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα*) were large clumsy vessels, constructed expressly for the service whereon they were used,[14] possessing probably a special apparatus for the embarkation and disembarkation of the animals which they were built to carry. Corn-transports (*πλοῖα σιταγωγά*) seem to have been of a somewhat lighter character. Probably, they varied very considerably in their size and burthen, including huge and heavy merchantmen (*ναῦς στρογγύλαι*) on the one hand, and a much lighter and smaller craft (*ἄκατοι*) on the other.[15]

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[10] Herod. vii. 97.

[11] This appears especially from such representations as those given in the text.

[12] Plin. *H. N.* vii. 56.

[13] "Cercurus navis est *Asiana* prægrandis." (Non. Marc. p. 533.)

[14] Herod. vi. 48.

[15] In one place (vii. 16), Herodotus calls the corn-ships in the fleet of Xerxes σιταγωγοὶ ἄκατοι.

The Persians used their ships of war, not only for naval engagements, but also for the conveyance of troops and the construction of bridges. Accustomed to pass the great streams which intersect Western Asia by bridges of boats, which were permanently established wherever an unfordable river crossed any of the regular routes connecting the provinces with the capital,[16] the Persians, when they proceeded to carry their arms from Asia into Europe, conceived the idea of bridging the interval between the continents, which did not much exceed the width of one of the Mesopotamian streams,[17] by constructions similar in principle and general character to those wherewith long use had made them familiar in their own country. Ranging a number of vessels side by side, at no great distance one from another, parallel with the course of the stream, which ran down the straits, anchoring each vessel stem and stern to keep it in place, and then laying upon these supports a long wooden platform, they made a floating bridge of considerable strength, reaching from the Asiatic to the European coast, on which not only men, but horses, camels, chariots, and laden carts passed over safely from the one continent to the other.[18] Only, as the water which they had to cross was not a river, but an arm of the real salt sea, and might, therefore, in case of a storm, show a might and fury far beyond a river's power, they thought it necessary to employ, in lieu of boats, the strongest ships which they possessed, namely, triremes and penteconters,[1] as best capable of withstanding the force of an angry sea. Bridges of this kind were intended sometimes for temporary, sometimes for permament constructions.[2] In the latter case, great care and much engineering skill was lavished on their erection. The shore cables, which united the ships

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[16] Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 5; 4, § 18; ii. 4, §§ 13 and 24.

[17] The width of the Dardanelles is about a mile. That of the Bosphorus is less, probably under three-quarters of a mile. The width of the Euphrates is sometimes as much as 700 yards, or nearly half a mile.

[18] See Herod. vii. 36. Compare iv. 87, 88; and see also Æschyl. *Pers.* 65-73.

[1] Herod. vii. 36.

[2] The bridge of Darius over the Bosphorus was broken up as soon as his troops had crossed it (Herod. iv. 89). That of Xerxes over the Hellespont was left standing in order that the army might return into Asia by it (ibid. viii. 108, 117).

together, and sustained the actual bridge or platform, were made of most carefully selected materials, and must have been of enormous strength ;[3] the ships were placed in close proximity one to another; and by the substitution of a double for a single line—of two bridges, in fact, for one—the solidity of the work was very largely augmented. Yet, rare as was the skill shown, solid and compact as were the causeways thus thrown by human art over the sea, they were found inadequate to the end desired. The great work of Xerxes, far the most elaborate of its class, failed to withstand the fury of the elements even for a single year; the bridge, constructed in one autumn, was utterly swept away in the next ;[4] and the army which had crossed into Europe by its aid had to embark as it best could and return on board ship to Asia.

As the furnishing of the Persian fleet was left wholly to the subject nations of the empire, so was its manning intrusted to them almost entirely. Phœnicians, Syrians, Egyptians, Cypriots, Cilicians, Lycians, Pamphylians, Carians, Greeks, equipped in the several costumes of their countries,[5] served side by side in their respective contingents of ships, thereby giving the fleet nearly the same motley appearance which was presented by the army.[6] In one respect alone did the navy exhibit superior uniformity to the sister service—the *epibatæ*, or "marines," who formed the whole fighting force of the fleet while it kept the sea, was a nearly homogeneous body, consisting of three races only (two of which were closely allied), namely, Persians, Medes, and Sacæ.[7] Every ship had thirty such men on board, all, it is probable, uniformly armed, and all animated by one and the same spirit. To this force the Persians must have owed it mainly that their great fleets were not mere congeries of mutually repellant atoms, but were capable of acting against an enemy with a fair amount of combination and singleness of purpose.

[3] Herod. vii. 36.
[4] Ibid. viii. 117.
[5] Ibid. vii. 89-95.
[6] On this appearance, see above, pp. 187, 188.
[7] Herod. vii. 184. On the quasi-identity of the Medes and Persians, see above, p. 164, and compare vol. ii. pp. 306, 307.

When a fleet accompanied a land army upon an expedition, it was usually placed under the same commander.[8] This commander, however, was not expected to adventure himself on board, much less to take the direction of a sea-fight. He intrusted the fleet to an officer, or officers,[9] whom he nominated, and was content himself with the conduct of operations ashore. Occasionally the land and sea forces were assigned to distinct commanders of co-ordinate authority—an arrangement which led, naturally, to misunderstanding and quarrel.[10]

The tactics of a Persian fleet seem to have been of the simplest kind. Confident in their numbers, until experience had taught them the fallaciousness of such a ground of hope, they were chiefly anxious that their enemy should not escape. To prevent this, they endeavoured to surround the ships opposed to them, advancing their line in a crescent form, so as to enclose their adversary's wings,[11] or even detaching squadrons to cut off his retreat.[12] They formed their line several ships deep,[13] and, when the hour of battle came, advanced directly at their best speed against the enemy, endeavouring to run down his vessels by sheer force,[14] and never showing any acquaintance with or predilection for manœuvres. Met by a skilful antagonist, who avoided or successfully withstood this first onset, they were apt through their very numbers to be thrown into disorder; the first line would become entangled with the second, the second with the third, and inextricable confusion would be the result.[15] Confusion placed them at the mercy of their antagonist, who, retaining complete command over his own vessels, was able to strike theirs in vulnerable parts, and, in a short time, to cover the sea with shattered and sinking wrecks. The loss to the Persians in men, as well as in material, was then sure to be very

[8] Herod. iii. 13; iv. 89; vi. 43, &c.

[9] Xerxes was the real commander of the fleet which accompanied his expedition against Greece; but he gave the actual direction of it to four officers. (Herod. vii. 97.)

[10] See Herod. iv. 167 and 203.

[11] Ibid. viii. 16.

[12] Ibid. 7; Æsch. *Pers.* 370.

[13] Herod. viii. 89. Æschylus says the line was three ships deep at Salamis (*Pers.* 368).

[14] See the graphic descriptions of Herodotus (viii. 15 and 84-90). Compare Æschyl. *Pers.* 410-415.

[15] Herod. viii. 16, 89; Æsch. *Pers.* 415-418.

great; for their sailors seldom knew how to swim,[16] and were consequently drowned, even when the shore was but a few yards distant.

When, from deficiency in their numbers, or distrust of their own nautical skill in comparison with that of their enemy, the commanders of a Persian fleet wished to avoid an engagement, a plan sometimes adopted was to run the ships ashore upon a smooth soft beach, and, after drawing them together, to surround them with such a rampart as could be hastily made,[17] and defend this rampart with the sailors. The crews of the Persian vessels were always more or less completely armed,[18] in order that, if occasion arose, they might act as soldiers ashore, and were thus quite capable of fighting effectively behind a rampart. They might count, too, under such circumstances, upon assistance from such of their own land forces as might happen to be in the neighbourhood, who would be sure to come with all speed to their aid, and might be expected to prove a sure protection.

The subject nations who furnished the Persians with their fleet were, in the earlier times, the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, the Cypriots, the Cilicians, the Syrians of Palestine, the Pamphylians, the Lycians, the Carians, and the Greeks of Asia Minor and the islands.[19] The Greeks seemed to have furnished the largest number of ships; the Phœnicians the next largest; then the Egyptians; after them the Cypriots; then the Cilicians; then the Carians; next the Lycians; while the Pamphylians furnished the least.[20] The best ships and the best sailors were the Phœnicians, especially those of Sidon.[21] In later times, ships were drawn either from Phœnicia alone, or from Phœnicia, Cilicia, and Cyprus.[22]

The limits assigned to the present work forbid the further

[16] Herod. vi. 44, sub fin.; viii. 89.
[17] Ibid. ix. 97.
[18] Ibid. vii. 89-95.
[19] Ibid. loc. cit.
[20] In the fleet of Xerxes the united Greek contingents made up a grand total of 307 ships. The Phœnicians, together with the Syrians of Palestine, furnished 300, the Egyptians 200, the Cypriots 150, the Cilicians 100, the Carians 70, the Lycians 50, and the Pamphylians 30. (Herod. loc. cit.)
[21] Ibid. vii. 96. Compare chs. 44 and 100.
[22] Phœnicians only are mentioned in Thucyd. i. 110; viii. 46, 81, 87, 109; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4; Arrian, *Exp. Al.* ii. 2; Phœnicians and Cilicians in Thucyd. i. 112; Phœnicians, Cilicians, and Cypriots in Diod. Sic. xi. 60, § 5.

prosecution of this branch of our inquiry, and require us now to pass on from the considerations of the Persian usages in war, to that of their manners and customs, their habits and proceedings, in time of peace. And here it will once more be convenient to follow a division of the subject with which the reader is familiar,[1] and to treat first of the public life of the King and Court, and next of the private life of the people.

The Persian king held the same rank and position in the eyes of his subjects which the great monarch of Western Asia, whoever he might be, had always occupied from time immemorial.[2] He was their lord and master, absolute disposer of their lives, liberties, and property; the sole fountain of law and right, incapable himself of doing wrong, irresponsible, irresistible —a sort of God upon earth; one whose favour was happiness, at whose frown men trembled, before whom all bowed themselves down with the lowest and humblest obeisance.

To a personage so exalted, a state and pomp of the utmost magnificence was befitting. The king's ordinary dress in time of peace was the long flowing "Median garment," or *candys*,[3]— made in his case (it is probable) of richest silk,[4]—which, with its ample folds, its wide hanging sleeves, and its close fit about the neck and chest, gave dignity to almost any figure,[5] and excellently set off the noble presence of an Achæmenian prince. The royal robe was either of purple throughout,[6] or sometimes of purple embroidered with gold.[7] It descended below the ankles,

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 484-589; vol. ii. pp. 312 321.

[2] Compare above, vol. i. p. 484.

[3] The identity of the *candys* with the "Median robe" is not universally admitted (Brisson, *De Regno Persico*, i. pp. 46-50); but it seems to be almost certain. The *candys* was the usual outer garment, both in peace and war (Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, § 8; *Cyrop.* viii. 3, § 10), and is assigned by Xenophon to all the horse immediately after he has mentioned the general adoption by the Persian nobles of the στολὴ Μηδική. That it was the ordinary Median outer garment in the opinion of Xenophon appears from *Cyrop.* i. 3, § 2.

[4] Procop. *De Bell. Pers.* i. 20, p. 106, C. Compare above, vol. ii. p. 316, notes [3] and [4].

[5] Xenophon says of Cyrus: Στολὴν εἵλετο τὴν Μηδικήν . . . αὕτη γὰρ αὐτῷ συγκρύπτειν ἐδόκει, εἴ τίς τι ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐνδεὲς ἔχοι, καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μεγίστους ἐπιδεικνύναι τοὺς φορούντας. *Cyrop.* viii. 1, § 40.

[6] Ὁλοπόρφυρον. Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 3, § 13.

[7] Χλαῖναν ἀλουργῆ τε καὶ χρυσοπαστον. Themist. *Orat.* xxiv. p. 306. "Vestem auream purpureamque." Justin. xii. 3. "Pallam auro distinctam." Q. Curt. iii. 3, p. 27. According to the last, the robe of Darius Codomannus had a golden embroidery representing hawks fighting one another with their bills.

resting on the foot even when the monarch was seated.[8] A broad girdle confined it at the waist. Under it was worn a tunic[9] or shirt, which reached from the neck to the knee,[10] and had tight

King seated on his throne (Persepolis).

fitting sleeves that covered the arm to the wrist.[11] The tunic was purple in colour, like the *candys*, or robe, but striped or mixed with white.[12] The lower limbs were encased in trousers

Philostratus (*Imag.* ii. 32) makes the embroidery consist of the forms of monsters. According to Plutarch (*Vit. Artaxerxis*, c. 24), the entire dress of a Persian king was worth 12,000 talents (2,925,000*l.*).

[8] See the above woodcut.

[9] On this tunic, see Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3, § 2; viii. 3, § 13; *Anab.* i. 5, § 8; Diod. Sic. xvii. 77, § 5; Strab. xv. 3, § 19. The passage of Diodorus is important, as clearly showing that the *candys* was not this tunic.

[10] Strab. l. s. c.

[11] Χιτὼν χειριδωτός. Strab. l. s. c. In one figure at Persepolis the sleeve appears below that of the *candys*, tightly fitting the wrist. (See Ker Porter, vol. i. pl. 37.)

[12] Χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν μεσόλευκον. Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 3, § 13. Χιτῶνα διάλευκον. Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.* c. 51; Diod. Sic. l. s. c. Compare Q. Curt. iii. 3: "Purpureæ tunicæ medium album intextum erat."

of a crimson hue.[13] On his feet the king wore shoes like those of the Medes,[14] long and taper at the toe, buttoned in front, and reaching very high up the instep: their colour was deep yellow or saffron.[15]

Thus far the monarch's costume, though richer in material than the dress of the Persian nobles, and in some points different in colour, was on the whole remarkably like that of the upper class of his subjects. It was, however, most important that his dress should possess some distinguishing feature, and that that feature should be one of very marked prominency. In an absolute monarchy the king must be unmistakable, at almost any distance, and in almost any light. Consequences of the gravest kind may follow from any mistake of the royal identity; and it is therefore essential to the comfort both of prince and subject that some very conspicuous badge shall mark and notify the monarch's presence. Accordingly, it appears that the Persian ruler was to be known by his head-dress, which was peculiar alike in shape and in colour, and was calculated to catch the eye in both respects. It bore the name of *kitaris* or *kidaris*,[16] and was a tall stiff cap,[17] slightly swelling as it ascended, flat at

Head of Persian king (Persepolis).

[13] Ἀναξυρίδες ὑσγινοβαφεῖς. Xen. *Cyrop.* l. s. c.

[14] See the woodcut, p. 203, and compare vol. ii. p. 315.

[15] Æsch. *Pers.* 661. Κροκόβαπτος εὔμαρις.

[16] Κίδαρις is the form used by Philo (*Vit. Moys.* iii. p. 155), Arrian (*Exp. Alex.* iv. 7), Curtius (*Hist. Alex.* iii. 3, p. 27), Hesychius (ad voc.), and others. Κίταρις is preferred by Plutarch (*Vit. Artax.* c. 28). Strabo (xi. 12, § 9) and Pollux (vii. § 58) give both forms. The word was probably taken by the Greeks from the Semitic form כֻּתָּר (used Esth. i. 11; ii. 17), which seems to have been intended to represent the Persian *khshatram*, "corona, imperium"—the common word for "crown" or "kingdom" in the Inscriptions — whence *khshatrapa*, "satrap," literally "crown-protector."

[17] See the above woodcut, which represents the head-dress always assigned to the Persian kings at Persepolis. The same type may be traced on some of the

Head of Persian king (from a daric).

Darics, where the fillet, or "diadem" proper, is occasionally very conspicuous.

top, and terminating in a ring or circle which projected beyond the lines of the sides. Round it, probably near the bottom, was worn a fillet or band—the *diadem* proper—which was blue, spotted with white.[18]

As the other Persians wore either simple fillets round their heads, or soft, rounded, and comparatively low caps, with no band round them,[19] the king's head-dress, which would tower above theirs and attract attention by its colour, could readily be distinguished even in the most crowded Court.

It has been asserted that the *kidaris*, or tiara of the Persian kings, was "commonly adorned with gold and jewellery;"[20] and this may possibly have been the case, but there is no evidence that it was so.[21] Its material was probably either cloth or felt,[22] and it was always of a bright colour,[23] though not (apparently) always of the same colour. Its distinguishing features were its height, its stiffness, and the blue and white fillet which encircled it.[24]

Among other certain indications of the royal presence may be mentioned the golden sceptre,[25] and the parasol. The sceptre,

[18] Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iii. 3. "Cærulea fascia albo distincta." On the relation of the "diadem" to the *kidaris*, or royal tiara, see Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 3, § 13, and Dio Cass. xxxvi. 35.

[19] See the representations, supra, pp. 172, 173, and infra, pp. 224, 233. On the marked difference between the *kidaris* and the ordinary *tiara* of the Persians, see Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 3, § 13; *Anab.* ii. 5, § 23; Aristoph. *Av.* 461, 462, &c.

[20] Yates, in Dr. Smith's *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiquities*, p. 1130 (2nd. edit.), ad voc. Tiara.

[21] The only authority quoted by Mr. Yates is Æsch. *Pers.* 668, where the Persian *kidaris* is termed βασιλείου τιάρας φάλαρον. But, whatever may be here the exact meaning of φάλαρον, I am at a loss to see how either gold or jewels can be implied in it.

[22] The *kidaris* is called a πῖλος by Pollux (vii. 13), Hesychius (ad voc.), and Suidas (ad voc.), and a πῖλος was properly of felt. Some writers of low authority speak of a linen *kidaris*. (Apoc. Esdras, book i. ch. iii.; Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xi. 4.)

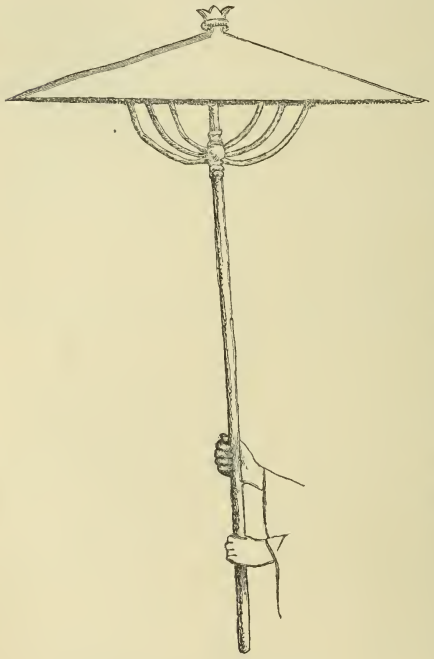
[23] Themist. *Orat.* xxiv. p. 306.

[24] On the Persian cylinders the monarch is frequently represented as wearing a head-dress like that of the Medes (supra, vol. ii. pp. 316, 317). See the woodcut, No. 1. There is also sometimes assigned him a crown, not very unlike a modern one. See the woodcut, No. 2.

Heads of Persian kings (from cylinders).

[25] The curious custom connected with the golden sceptre, which is mentioned in Esth. iv. 11, v. 2, and viii. 4, will be referred to later in this chapter.

which is seen frequently in the king's hands,[26] was a plain rod, about five feet in length, ornamented with a ball, or apple, at its upper end, and at its lower tapering nearly to a point. The king held it in his right hand, grasping it near, but not at, the thick end, and rested the thin end on the ground in his front. When he walked, he planted it upright before him, as a spearman would plant his spear. When he sate, he sloped it outwards, still, however, touching the ground with its point.



Royal parasol (Persepolis).

The parasol, which has always been in the East a mark of dignity, seems in Persia, as in Assyria,[27] to have been confined, either by law or usage, to the king. The Persian implement resembled the later Assyrian, except that it was not tasseled, and had no curtain or flap. It had the same tent-like shape, the same long thick stem, and the same ornament at the top. It only differed in being somewhat shallower, and in having the supports, which kept it open, curved instead of straight. It was held over the king's head on state occasions by an attendant who walked immediately behind him.[28]

The throne of the monarch was an elevated seat, with a high

[26] See the woodcut (p. 203), and compare Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pls. 48, 49, 50; and Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, "Planches Anciennes," tom. iii. pls. 146, 151, 155, and 156. Xenophon mentions the golden sceptre (*Cyrop.* viii. 7, § 13), but gives no description of it.

[27] See above, vol. i. p. 495.

[28] Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pl. 48. Compare Plutarch, *Vit. Them.* c. 16.

back, but without arms, cushioned, and ornamented with a fringe, and with mouldings or carvings along the back and legs. The ornamentation consisted chiefly of balls and broad rings, and contained little that was artistic or elaborate. The legs, however, terminated in lions' feet, resting upon half balls, which were ribbed or fluted. The sides of the chair below the seat appear to have been panneled, like the thrones of the Assyrians,[29] but were not adorned with any carving. The seat of the throne was very high from the ground, and without a rest the legs would have dangled.[30] A footstool consequently was provided, which was plain, like the throne, but was supported on legs terminating in the feet of bulls. Thus the lion and the bull, so frequent in the symbolism of the East,[1] were here again brought together, being represented as the supports of the throne.[2]

With respect to the material whereof the throne was composed, there can be no doubt that it was something splendid and costly. Late writers describe it as made of pure gold;[3] but, as we hear of its having silver feet,[4] we may presume that parts at least were of the less precious metal.[5] Ivory is not said to have been used in its composition. We may, perhaps, conjecture, that the frame of the throne was wood, and that this was overlaid with plates of gold or silver, whereby the whole of the woodwork was concealed from view, and an appearance of solid metal presented.

The person of the king was adorned with golden ornaments. He had ear-rings of gold in his ears, often inlaid with jewels;[6]

[29] Supra, vol. i. pp. 393, 394.

[30] This feature, which was inherited from Assyria (supra, vol. i. p. 395), is noticed by some of the ancient writers. (Diod. Sic. xvii. 66, § 3; Q. Curt. v. 2, p. 115.)

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 288, 289; vol. ii. pp. 21-24. Compare 1 Kings, vii. 29, for the Hebrew, and the author's *Herodotus* (vol. i. pp. 566, 567, 2nd edit.) for the Lydian use of the same imagery.

[2] Solomon's throne was supported on either side by the complete figure of a lion (1 K. x. 19.)

[3] Athen. *Deipn.* p. 514, C; Philostrat. *Imag.* ii. 32; Tzetz. *Chiliad.* i. 32.

[4] Demosth. *Adv. Timocr.* 741, 7; Suidas ad voc. ἀργυρόπους.

[5] The throne of Cyrus the younger, which was probably an imitation of the royal throne, is expressly said to have been in part gold, and in part silver. (ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν. Xen. *Hell.* i. 5, § 3.)

[6] Golden ear-rings, with precious stones set in them (ἐνώτια χρυσοῦ τε καὶ λίθων κολλητά), were found in the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ (Arr. *Exp. Alex.*

he wore golden bracelets upon his wrists;[7] and he had a chain or collar of gold about his neck.[8] In his girdle, which was also of gold, he carried a short sword, the sheath of which was formed of a single precious stone.[9] The monuments, unfortunately, throw little light on the character or workmanship of these portions of the royal costume. We may gather from them, perhaps, that the bracelets had a large jewel set in their centre,[10] and that the collars were of twisted work, worn loosely around the neck.[11] The sword seems to have differed little from that of the ordinary Persians. It had a short straight blade, a mere cross-bar for a guard, and a handle almost devoid of ornament. This plainness was compensated, if we may trust Curtius, by the magnificence of the sheath, which was, perhaps, of jaspar, agate, or lapis lazuli.[12]

King wearing a bracelet and earrings. (Nakhsh-i-Rustam.)

Royal sword (Persepolis).

The officers in most close attendance on the monarch's person were, in war, his charioteer, his stool-bearer, his bow-bearer, and his quiver-bearer; in peace, his parasol-bearer, and his fan-bearer, who was also privileged to carry what has been termed "the royal pocket-handkerchief."[13]

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vi. 29), where they no doubt represented a part of the royal costume. The sculptured representations of the Persian kings have seldom any ear-rings visible. Where they have the ornament is of the simplest character. (See the above woodcut.)

[7] Ψέλια (Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3, § 2; Herod. iii. 20). These are frequently to be seen in the sculptures. (Ker Porter, vol. i. pl. 17; vol. ii. pl. 60; Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, "Planches Anciennes," pls. 164, 167, 178.)

[8] Στρεπτοί (Xen. *Cyrop.* l. s. c.; Herod. l. s. c.; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* l. s. c.).

[9] Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iii. 3, p. 27.

[10] This appears by the Behistun sculpture. (Ker Porter, vol. ii. pl. 60; *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. x. pl. 2).

[11] In the sculptures the king wears no collar. Collars, however, of the sort above described, are common on the necks of the courtiers. (Ker Porter, vol. i. pls. 37 to 43.) An example has been given in a former volume. (See above, vol. ii. p. 317.)

[12] On the large size of these stones in ancient Persia, see above, ch. ii. p. 162.

[13] Ker Porter, vol. i. p. 656. The cloth, however, which this attendant carried, was probably rather a napkin or a towel than a handkerchief.

The royal charioteer is seemingly unarmed.[14] His head is protected merely by a fillet. He sits in front of his master, and both his hands are fully occupied with the management of the reins. He has no whip, and seems to urge his horses forward simply by leaning forward himself, and slackening or shaking the reins over them. He was, no doubt, in every case a Persian of the highest rank,[15] such near proximity to the Royal person being a privilege to which none but the very noblest could aspire.

Persian king in his chariot (from a daric).

The office of the stool-bearer[16] was to assist the king as he mounted his chariot or dismounted from it. He carried a golden stool, and followed the royal chariot closely, in order that he might be at hand whenever his master felt disposed to alight. On a march, the king was wont to vary the manner of his travelling, exchanging, when the inclination took him, his chariot for a litter, and riding in that more luxurious vehicle till he was tired of it, after which he returned to his chariot for a space.[17] The services of the stool-bearer were thus in constant requisition, since it was deemed quite impossible that his Majesty could ascend or descend his somewhat lofty war-car without such aid.

The rank of the bow-bearer was probably nearly as great as that of the driver of the chariot.[18] He was privileged to stand immediately behind the monarch on grand occasions,[19] carrying in his left hand the weapon from which he derived his appel-

[14] Our representations of the royal charioteer are unsatisfactory on account of their minuteness, which may have caused the artist to omit details for want of room. They occur only on cylinders and coins.

[15] The charioteer of Xerxes was "Patiramphes, the son of Otanes" (Herod. vii. 40)—perhaps the son of that Otanes who was one of the chief conspirators against the Pseudo-Smerdis.

[16] Διφροφόρος. Athen. *Deipn.* xii. p. 514, A.

[17] Herod. vii. 41.

[18] The bow-bearer of Darius was "Gobryas the Patischorian," as we learn from an inscription in his honour on that monarch's tomb (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xii., Appendix, p. xix). There is no reason to doubt his identity with the conspirator, the father of the famous Mardonius.

[19] This is his position both at Nakhsh-i-Rustam and at Behistun. (See Ker Porter, vol. ii. pl. 60.)

lation. The quiver-bearer had the next place.[20] Both wore the Median costume—the *candys*, or flowing robe, the girdle, the high shoe, and the stiff fluted cap, or, perhaps, occasionally the simple fillet. Sometimes the two offices would seem to have been held by the same person, unless we are to attribute this appearance, where it occurs,[21] to the economy of the artist, who may have wished to save himself the trouble of drawing two separate figures.

The royal bow and quiver bearer (Behistun).

The parasol-bearer[22] was attired as the bow and quiver bearers, except that he was wholly unarmed, and had the fillet for his proper head-dress. Though not a military officer, he accompanied the monarch in his expeditions,[23] since in the midst of war there might be occasions of state when his presence would be convenient. The officer who bore the royal fan and handkerchief had generally the same costume; but sometimes his head was enveloped in a curious kind of cowl or muffler, which covered the whole of it except the forehead, the eyes, the nose, the mouth, and the upper portion of the cheeks.

Head-dress of an attendant (Persepolis).

The fan, or fly-chaser, had a long straight handle, ornamented with a

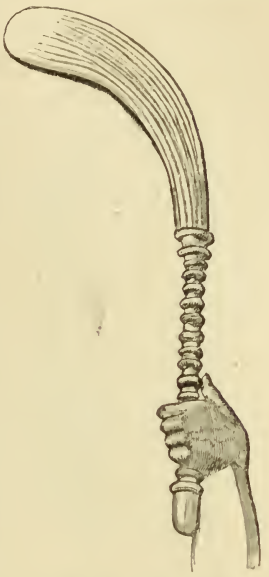
[20] The quiver-bearer of Darius, Aspachana by name, has a special inscription in his honour at Nakhsh-i-Rustam. He is represented by Herodotus as likewise one of the conspirators (Herod. iii. 70); but this seems to have been a mistake.

[21] *I. e.* at Behistun. (See the above woodcut.)

[22] The parasol-bearer is represented frequently at Persepolis, and uniformly in the same costume.

[23] Plutarch, *Vit. Themistocl.* c. 16.

sort of beading, which held a brush of [illegible]ne springy fibrous matter. The bearer, whose place was directly behind the monarch, held his implement, which bent forward gracefully, nearly at arm's length over his master's head.[24]



Persian fan or fly-chaser (Persepolis).

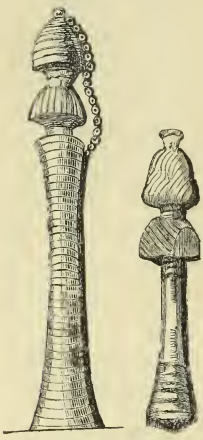
It would seem that occasionally the bearer of the handkerchief laid aside his fly-chaser, and assumed in lieu of it a small bottle containing perfumery. In a sculptured tablet at Persepolis, given by Ker Porter,[25] an attendant in the Median robe, with a fillet upon his head, who bears the handkerchief in the usual way in his left hand, carries in the palm of his right what seems to be a bottle, not unlike the scent-bottle of a modern lady. It has always been an Oriental custom to wash the hands before meals, and the rich commonly mix some perfumery or other with the water. We may presume that this was the practice at the Persian Court, and that the Great King therefore took care to have an officer, who should at all times be ready to provide his guests, or himself, with the scent which was most rare or most fashionable.

Royal scent-bottle (Persepolis).

The Persians seem to have been connoisseurs in scents. We are told that, when the royal tiara was not in wear, it was laid up carefully with a mixture of myrrh and *labyzus*, to give it an agreeable odour.[26] Unguents were thought to have been a Persian invention,[27] and at any rate were most abundantly used

[24] See the woodcut, supra, p. 203.
[25] *Travels*, vol. i. pl. 47.
[26] Athenæus, *Deipn.* xii. p. 514, A.
[27] Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 1 (§ 2). "Unguentum Persarum gentis esse debet."

by the upper classes of the nation.[28] The monarch applied to his own person an ointment composed of the fat of lions, palm wine, saffron, and the herb *helianthes*, which was considered to increase the beauty of the complexion.[29] He carried with him, even when he went to the wars, a case of choice unguents; and such a treasure fell into the hands of Alexander, with the rest of Darius's camp equipage, at Arbela.[30] It may be suspected that the "royal ointment" of the Parthian kings, composed of cinnamon, spikenard, myrrh, cassia, gum styrax, saffron, cardamum, wine, honey, and sixteen other ingredients,[31] was adopted from the Persians, who were far more likely than the rude Parthians to have invented so recondite a mixture. Nor were scents used only in this form by the ingenious people of whom we are speaking. Arabia was required to furnish annually to the Persian crown a thousand talents' weight of frankincense;[1] and there is reason to believe that this rare spice was largely employed about the Court, since the walls of Persepolis have several representations of censers, which are sometimes carried in the hand of an attendant,[2] while sometimes they stand on the ground, immediately in front of the Great King.[3]



Censers (Persepolis).

The box or vase in which the Persians commonly kept their unguents was of alabaster.[4] This stone, which abounded in the country,[5] was regarded as peculiarly suited for holding oint-

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[28] Plin. l. s. c.; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 20; Plat. *Alcib.* i. p. 122. Compare Esther, ii. 12; Herod. iii. 20, 22; and Parmen. ap. Athen. *Deipn.* xiii. p. 608, A.

[29] Plin. *N. H.* xxiv. 17 (§ 165).

[30] Ibid. xiii. 1, § 2.

[31] Ib. 2, § 18. "Constat myrobalano, costo, amomo, cinnamo, comaco, cardamomo, nardi spica, maro, murra, casia, styrace, ladano, opobalsamo, calamo juncoque Syriis, œnanthe, malobathro, serichato, cypro, aspalatho, panace, croco, cypiro, amaraco, loto, melle, vino."

[1] Herod. iii. 97, ad fin.

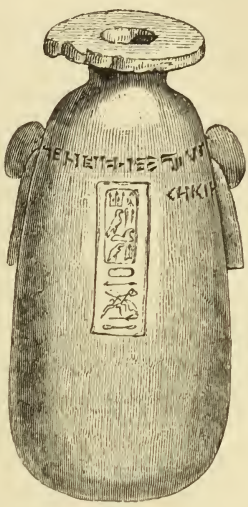
[2] See above, vol. ii. p. 315.

[3] Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pl. 49; Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, "Planches Anciennes," tom. iii. pl. 154. On the actual use of frankincense at the court, see Philostr. *Imag.* ii. 32.

[4] This may be concluded from Herod. iii. 20.

[5] Supra, p. 160.

ments, not only by the Persians, but also by the Egyptians,[6] the Greeks,[7] and (probably) the Assyrians.[8] The Egyptian variety of the stone seems to have been especially valued; and vases appear to have been manufactured in that country for the use of the Persian monarchs, which were transmitted to the Court, and became part of the toilet furniture of the palace.[9]



Vase of Caylus.

Among the officers of the Court, less closely attached to the person of the monarch than those above enumerated, may be mentioned the steward of the household;[10] the groom or master of the horse;[11] the chief eunuch, or keeper of the women;[12] the king's "eyes" and "ears,"[13] persons whose business it was to keep him informed on all matters of importance; his scribes or secretaries,[14] who wrote his letters and his edicts;[15] his messengers,[16] who went his errands; his ushers,[17] who introduced strangers to him;[17] his "tasters," who tried the various dishes set before him lest they should be poisoned;[18] his cup-

[6] Sir G. Wilkinson, in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 348, note [3], 2nd edition.

[7] Athen. *Deipn.* xv. p. 686, C; Alexis ap. eund. xv. p. 691, E; Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 882; Schol. ad Aristoph. *Acharn.* 986, &c.

[8] It is a reasonable conjecture that the alabaster vases found at Nimrud, inscribed with the name of Sargon, were "used for holding some ointment or cosmetic" (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 197).

[9] See Mr. Birch's paper in Mr. Newton's *Halicarnassus*, pp. 667-670; and compare the woodcut above.

[10] Μελεδωνὸς τῶν οἰκίων. Herod. iii. 61.

[11] Ἱπποκόμος. Ib. iii. 85, 88.

[12] Esther, ii. 3.

[13] These quaint titles are frequently mentioned by the Greeks, whose sense of the ridiculous was provoked by them. See Aristoph. *Acharn.* 92; Herod. i. 114; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 2, § 10; Æschyl. *Pers.* 960; Anon. *De Mundo*, c. 6; &c.

[14] Γραμματεῖς or γραμματισταί. Herod. vii. 100; viii. 90.

[15] Esther, iii. 12; viii. 9. The "Royal Scribes" were also, it is probable, the writers of the "book of records. (Ib. vi. 1.)

[16] Ἀγγελιαφόρος. (Anon. *De Mundo*, c. 6; Zon. iv. 2, p. 172, A.) Compare Herod. iii. 34, 77.

[17] Εσαγγελεῖς. Herod. iii. 84. The chief of these officers seems to have borne a title which the Greeks rendered by Chiliarch. (Ælian, *Hist. Var.* i. 21.)

[18] Ἐδέατροι. Phylarch. Fr. 43; Suidas ad voc.

bearers,[19] who handed him his wine, and tasted it; his chamberlains,[20] who assisted him to bed; and his musicians,[21] who amused him with song and harp. Besides these, the Court comprised various classes of guards, and also doorkeepers, huntsmen, grooms, cooks, and other domestic servants in great abundance,[22] together with a vast multitude of visitors and guests, princes, nobles, captives of rank, foreign refugees, ambassadors, travellers. We are assured that the king fed daily within the precincts of his palace as many as fifteen thousand persons,[23] and that the cost of each day's food was four hundred talents.[24] A thousand beasts were slaughtered for each repast, besides abundance of feathered game and poultry.[25] The beasts included not only sheep, goats, and oxen, but also stags, asses, horses, and camels.[26] Among the feathered delicacies were poultry, geese, and ostriches.[27]

The monarch himself rarely dined with his guests. For the most part he was served alone. Sometimes he admitted to his table the queen and two or three of his children.[28] Sometimes, at a "banquet of wine,"[29] a certain number of privileged boon-companions were received, who drank in the royal presence, not, however, of the same wine, nor on the same terms. The monarch reclined on a couch with golden feet, and sipped the rich wine of Helbon; the guests drank an inferior beverage,

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[19] Οἰνοχόοι. Herod. iii. 34; Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1, § 38; Nehem. i. 11.

[20] Κατακοιμισταί or κατευνασταί. Diod. Sic. xi. 69, § 1; Plut. *Apophthegm.* p. 173, D; *De Luc. Ignorant.* p. 780, C.

[21] Μούσουργοι. Parmen. ap. Athen. *Deipn.* xiii. p. 608, A; Suidas ad voc.

[22] Xen. *Hell.* l. s. c. Ἀπήγγειλε ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἀρτοκόπους μὲν καὶ ὀψοποιοὺς καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ θυρωροὺς παμπληθεῖς ἔχοι. Compare the picture drawn in the eighth book of the *Cyropædia*, which, though we can place small dependence on its details, is probably correct enough in its general features. See also Parmen. ap. Athen. *Deipn.* l. s. c.

[23] Ctesias ap. Athen. *Deipn.* iv. p. 146, C; Dino ap. eund.

[24] This is probably a mere reproduction of the statement of Herodotus, that 400 talents was the estimated value of the banquet given to Xerxes by the Thasians (vii. 118). It must be an enormous over-estimate of the cost, or even of the value, of a day's consumption of food at the Persian court, since it would make that item of expense alone exceed thirty-five millions of our money annually.

[25] Heraclid. Cum. ap. Athen. *Deipn.* iv. p. 145, F.

[26] Ibid. With this list of animals eaten by the Persians, compare Herod. i. 133.

[27] Athen. *Deipn.* iv. p. 145, A.

[28] Ibid. The Queen-Mother also shared these private repasts (Plut. *Vit. Artaxerxis*, c. 5); and some monarchs admitted to them their brothers (ibid.).

[29] Esther, v. 6.

seated upon the floor.[30] At a great banquet, it was usual to divide the guests into two classes. Those of lower degree were entertained in an outer court or chamber to which the public had access, while such as were of higher rank entered the private apartments, and drew near to the King. Here they were feasted in a chamber opposite to the king's chamber, which had a curtain drawn across the door, concealing him from their gaze, but not so thick as to hide them from their entertainer.[1] Occasionally, on some very special occasion, as, perhaps, on the Royal birthday,[2] or other great festival, the king presided openly at the banquet,[3] drinking and discoursing with his lords, and allowing the light of his countenance to shine freely upon a large number of guests, whom, on these occasions, he treated as if they were of the same flesh and blood with himself. Couches of gold and silver were spread for all,[4] and "royal wine in abundance" was served to them in golden goblets.[5] On these, and, indeed, on all occasions, the guests, if they liked, carried away any portion of the food set before them which they did not consume at the time, conveying it to their homes, where it served to support their families.[6]

The architecture of the royal palace will be discussed in another chapter; but a few words may be said in this place with respect to its furniture and general appearance. The pillared courts and halls of the vast edifices which the Achæmenian monarchs raised at Susa and Persepolis would have had a somewhat bare and cold aspect, if it had not been for their internal fittings. The floors were paved with stones of various hues, blue, white, black, and red,[7] arranged doubtless into patterns, and besides were covered in places with carpeting.[8] The spaces between the pillars were filled with magnificent hangings, white, green, and violet, which were "fastened with cords of fine linen (?) and purple to silver rings and pillars of

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[30] Athenæus, l. s. c.

[1] Ibid. l. s. c.

[2] On this festival, see Herod. ix. 110, and compare i. 133.

[3] Athenæus, l. s. c.; Esther, i. 5-21.

[4] Esther, i. 6.

[5] Ibid. ver. 7.

[6] Athenæus, l. s. c.

[7] Esther, i. 6.

[8] Athenæus tells us that carpets from the looms of Sardis (ψιλοταπίδες Σαρδιανοί) were spread in some of the courts for the king to walk on. (*Deipn.* xii. p. 514, C.)

marble,"[9] screening the guests from sight, while they did not too much exclude the balmy summer breeze. The walls of the apartments were covered with plates of gold.[10] All the furniture was rich and costly. The golden throne of the monarch stood under an embroidered canopy or awning supported by four pillars of gold inlaid with precious stones.[11] Couches resplendent with silver and gold filled the rooms.[12] The private chamber of the monarch was adorned with a number of objects, not only rich and splendid, but valuable as productions of high art. Here, impending over the royal bed, was the golden vine, the work of Theodore of Samos, where the grapes were imitated by means of precious stones, each of enormous value.[13] Here, probably, was the golden plane-tree, a worthy companion to the vine,[14] though an uncourtly Greek declared it was too small to shade a grasshopper.[15] Here, finally, was a bowl of solid gold, another work of the great Samian metallurgist, more precious for its artistic workmanship, than even for its material.[16]

Nothing has hitherto been said of the Royal harem or seraglio, which, however, as a feature of the Court always important, and ultimately preponderating over all others, claims a share of our attention. In the early times, it would appear that the Persian kings were content with three or four wives[1] and a moderate number of concubines. Of the wives there was always one who held the most exalted place, to whom alone appertained the title of "Queen," and who was regarded as "wife" in a different sense from the others. Such was Atossa to Darius Hystaspis, Amestris to Xerxes, Statira to Darius

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[9] Esther, i. 7.

[10] Æschyl. *Pers.* 161; Philostrat. *Imag.* ii. 32.

[11] Chares Mytilen. ap. Athen. *Deipn.* l. s. c.; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 37.

[12] Esther, i. 6.

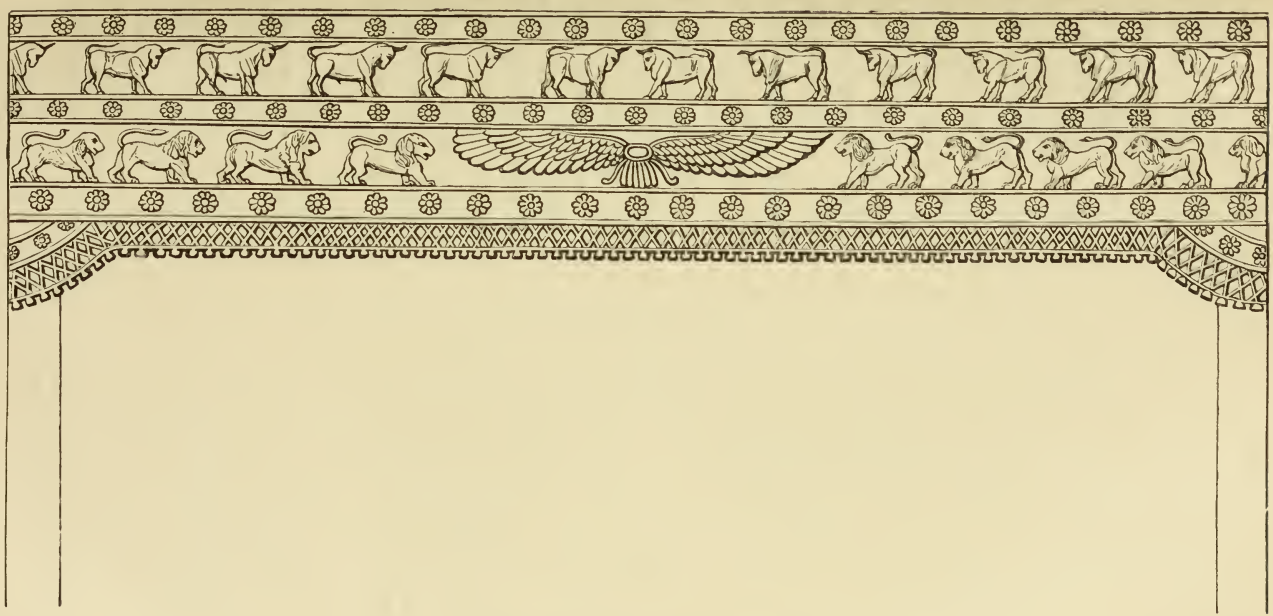
[13] A description of the golden vine was given by Amyntas (Athen. *Deipn.* xii. p. 514, F), and another, still more minute, by Phylarchus (ibid. p. 539, D). The vine itself is mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 27) as a present from Pythius the Lydian to Darius Hystaspis. It is said to have been the work of Theodore by Himerius (*Ecl.* xxxi. 8).

[14] They are generally mentioned together (Herod. l. s. c.; Phylarch. ap. Athen. l. s. c.; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 10; Tzetz. *Chiliad.* i. 32; &c.).

[15] Antioch. ap. Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1, § 38.

[16] Amyntas ap. Athen. *Deipn.* xii. p. 515, A.

[1] Four is the number of wives assigned to Darius Hystaspis by Herodotus (iii. 88). Three wives only of Cambyses are mentioned (ib. 31, ad fin., and 68). He may, however, have had more.



Canopy of Persian throne (Persepolis)

Codomannus. Such, too, were Vashti and Esther to the prince, whoever he was, whose deeds are recorded in Scripture under the name of Ahasuerus.[2] The chief wife, or Queen-Consort, was privileged to wear on her head a royal tiara or crown.[3] She was the acknowledged head of the female apartments or Gynæceum, and the concubines recognised her dignity by actual prostration.[4] On great occasions, when the king entertained the male part of the Court, she feasted all the females in her own part of the palace.[5] She had a large revenue of her own, assigned her, not so much by the will of her husband, as by an established law or custom.[6] Her dress was splendid,[7] and she was able to indulge freely that love of ornament of which few Oriental women are devoid. Though legally subject to her husband as much as the meanest of his slaves,[8] she could venture on liberties which would have been fatal to almost any one else,[9] and often, by her influence over the monarch, possessed a very considerable share of power.[10]

The status of the other wives was very inferior to this; and it is difficult to see how such persons were really in a position much superior to that of the concubines. As daughters of the chief nobles—for the king could only choose a wife within a narrow circle[11]—they had, of course, a rank and dignity independent of that acquired by marriage; but otherwise they must have been almost on a par with those fair inmates of the Gynæceum who had no claim even to the name of consort. Each wife had probably a suite of apartments to herself, and a certain number of attendants—eunuchs, and tirewomen—at her

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[2] Esther, i. 11; ii. 17.

[3] Ibid. Compare Plut. *Vit. Lucull.* c. 18.

[4] Dino ap. Athen. *Deipn.* xiii. p. 556, B.

[5] Esther, i. 9.

[6] Herod. ii. 98; Plat. *Alcib.* i. 123, B; Athen. *Deipn.* i. p. 33, F.

[7] Ælian. *Hist. Var.* xii. 1; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* ii. 12.

[8] Athen. xiii. p. 556, B; Esther, iv. 16.

[9] As intruding on him when not summoned (Esther, v. 1), inviting him to a banquet (ib. v. 4), using his guards to inflict punishments (Herod. ix. 112), &c.

[10] Herodotus says of one Queen-Consort: ἡ γὰρ Ἄτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος (vii. 3, ad fin.). On the actual influence of such persons, see Herod. ix. 111; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 5, 49, 50, 53.

[11] Herod. iii. 84. *By law* the king could only marry into six families besides his own. He could of course break through this law if he pleased. But generally the kings seem to have observed it.

disposal; but the inferior wives saw little of the king, being only summoned each in their turn to share his apartment,[12] and had none of the privileges which made the position of chief wife so important.

The concubines seem to have occupied a distinct part of the Gynæceum, called "the second house of the women."[13] They were in the special charge of one of the eunuchs,[14] and were no doubt kept under strict surveillance. The Empire was continually searched for beautiful damsels to fill the harem,[15] a constant succession being required, as none shared the royal couch more than once, unless she attracted the monarch's regard very particularly.[16] In the later times of the Empire, the number of the concubines became enormous, amounting (according to one authority[17]) to three hundred and twenty-nine, (according to another[18]) to three hundred and sixty. They accompanied the king both in his wars[19] and in his hunting expeditions.[20] It was a part of their duty to sing and play for the royal delectation; and this task, according to one author,[21] they had to perform during the whole of each night. It is a more probable statement that they entertained the king and queen with music while they dined, one of them leading, and the others singing and playing in concert.[22]

The Gynæceum—in the Susa palace, at any rate—was a building distinct from the general edifice, separated from the "king's house" by a court.[23] It was itself composed of at least three sets of apartments—viz. apartments for the virgins who had not yet gone in to the king, apartments for the concubines, and apartments for the Queen-Consort and the other wives.

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[12] Herod. iii. 69.

[13] Esther, ii. 14. The "first house" must have been that where the virgins were kept before admission to the king s presence. (See Esther, ii. 9.)

[14] Ibid. ii. 8.

[15] Ibid. ii. 2-4; Herod. vi. 32; Max. Tyr. *Serm.* xxxiv. 4; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 1, p. 148.

[16] Esther, ii. 14.

[17] Parmen. ap. Ath. *Deipn.* xiii. p. 608, A.

[18] Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iii. 3, p. 28.

[19] See the passages above quoted from Q. Curtius and Athenæus. The statement of Curtius might be thought a mere rhetorical flourish; but the letter of Parmenio has the air of a dry statistical document.

[20] Athen. *Deipn.* xii. p. 514, C.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Heraclid. Cum. ap. eund. iv. p. 145, E.

[23] Esther, v. 1. Compare the position of the harem at Khorsabad. (Supra, vol. i. p. 297.)

These different portions were under the supervision of different persons. Two eunuchs of distinction had the charge respectively of the "first" and of the "second house of the women."[24] The Queen-Consort was, at any rate nominally, paramount in the third,[25] her authority extending over all its inmates, male and female.

Sometimes there was in the Gynæceum a personage even more exalted than any which have as yet been mentioned. The mother of the reigning prince, if she outlived his father, held a position at the Court of her son beyond that even of his Chief Wife. She kept the ensigns of royalty which she had worn during the reign of her husband;[26] and wielded, as Queen-Mother, a far weightier and more domineering authority than she had ever exercised as Queen-Consort.[27] The habits of reverence and obedience, in which the boy had been reared retained commonly their power over the man; and the monarch who in public ruled despotically over millions of men, succumbed, within the walls of the seraglio, to the yoke of a woman, whose influence he was too weak to throw off. The Queen-Mother had her seat at the royal table whenever the king dined with his wife; and, while the wife sate below, she sate above the monarch.[28] She had a suite of eunuchs distinct from those of her son.[29] Ample revenues were secured to her, and were completely at her disposal.[30] She practically exercised—though she could not perhaps legally claim—a power of life and death.[31] She screened offenders from punishment, procuring for them the royal pardon,[32] or sheltering them in her own apartments;[33]

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[24] See Esther, ch. ii. Compare verses 8 and 14.

[25] This seems to be the meaning of Plato's statement (*Alcib.* i. p. 121, C,) that the Queen of the Persians was "unwatched." The eunuchs were under, not over, her. (Compare Esther, iv. 5.)

[26] This seems distinctly implied in Alexander's message to Statira and Sysigambis (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* ii. 12): *τὴν θεράπειαν αὐταῖς ξυγχωρεῖ τὴν βασιλικὴν, καὶ τὸν ἄλλον κόσμον, καὶ καλεῖσθαι βασιλίσσας.*

[27] On the power of the Queen-Mother see Herod. vii. 114; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 8, 42, 43, &c.; Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 14, 17, 19, &c.

[28] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 5.

[29] Ibid. c. 17.

[30] Plutarch argues that Cyrus the younger could not have wanted for money when he commenced his rebellion, since Parysatis would have supplied him amply from her own resources. (Ibid. c. 4.)

[31] Herod. l. s. c.; Plut. *Artax.* c. 14.

[32] Xen. *Anab.* i. 1, § 3; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 40.

[33] Plut. *Artax.* c. 19.

and she poisoned, or openly executed, those who provoked her jealousy or resentment.[33]

The service of the harem, so far as it could not be fitly performed by women, was committed to eunuchs. Each legitimate wife—as well as the Queen-Mother—had a number of these unfortunates among her attendants; and the king entrusted the house of the concubines, and also that of the virgins,[35] to the same class of persons. His own attendants seem likewise to have been chiefly eunuchs.[36] In the later times, the eunuchs acquired a vast political authority, and appear to have then filled all the chief offices of state. They were the king's advisers in the palace,[37] and his generals in the field.[38] They superintended the education of the young princes,[39] and found it easy to make them their tools. The plots and conspiracies, the executions and assassinations, which disfigure the later portion of the Persian annals, may be traced chiefly to their intrigues and ambition. But the early Persian annals are free from these horrors; and it is clear that the power of the eunuchs was, during this period, kept within narrow bounds. We hear little of them in authentic history till the reign of Xerxes.[1] It is remarkable that the Persepolitan sculptures, abounding as they do in representations of Court life, of the officers and attendants who approached at all closely to the person of the monarch, contain not a single figure of a eunuch in their entire range.[2] We may gather from this that there was at any rate a marked difference between the Assyrian and the early Persian Court in the position which eunuchs occupied at them respectively: we should not, however, be justified in going further,

[34] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 42, 43, 59, 61; Plut. *Artax.* c. 14, 17, 19, &c.

[35] The word translated "chamberlain" in our version of Esther (i. 10, 12; ii. 3, 14, &c.) is סָרִיס, which properly means "a eunuch."

[36] Esther, i. 10; ii. 21; vi. 14; vii. 9; Ctes. *Pers.* § 14; &c.

[37] Ibid. §§ 20, 29, 39, 45, 49, &c.

[38] Ibid. §§ 27, 50.

[39] Plat. *Alcib.* i. p. 121, D.

[1] I cannot accept as authentic the accounts of Ctesias (*Exc. Pers.* §§ 5-13), which place all the Persian kings upon a par, and extend to the times of Cyrus and Cambyses the disorders prevalent in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon. The silence of Herodotus outweighs with me the assertions of the later writer.

[2] The Assyrian sculptures, it will be remembered, abound with representations of eunuchs, who evidently fill many of the highest positions about the court. (Supra, vol. i. pp. 493, 496-499, &c.)

and questioning altogether the employment of eunuchs by the Persian monarchs during the early period, since their absence from the sculptures may be accounted for on other grounds.

It is peculiarly noticeable in the Persian sculptures and inscriptions that they carry to excess that reserve which Orientals have always maintained with regard to women. The inscriptions are wholly devoid of all reference to the softer sex, and the sculptures give us no representation of a female. In Persia, at the present day, it is regarded as a gross indecorum to ask a man after his wife; and anciently it would seem that the whole sex fell under a law of *taboo*, which required that, whatever the real power and influence of women, all public mention of them, as well as all representations of the female form, should be avoided. If this were so, it must of course still more have been the rule that the women—or, at any rate, those of the upper classes—should not be publicly seen. Hence the indignant refusal of Vashti to obey the command of King Ahasuerus to show herself to his Court.[3] Hence, too, the law which made it a capital offence to address or touch one of the royal concubines, or even to pass their litters upon the road.[4] The litters of women were always curtained; and when the Queen Statira rode in hers with the curtains drawn, it was a novelty which attracted general attention, as a relaxation of the ordinary etiquette, though only females were allowed to come near her.[5] Married women might not even see their nearest male relatives, as their fathers and brothers:[6] the unmarried had, it is probable, a little more liberty.

As the employment of eunuchs at the Persian Court was mainly in the harem, and in offices connected therewith, it is no wonder that they shared, to some extent, in the law of *taboo*,

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[3] Esther, i. 12.

[4] Plutarch, *Vit. Artax.* c. 27. Compare Diod. Sic. xi. 56, § 7.

[5] Plut. *Artax.* c. 5.

[6] This is evident from the story of Phædima's communications with her father Otanes (Herod. iii. 68, 69), which had to be transacted by messengers. Mordecai's personal communication with Esther (Esther, ii. 11, 32; viii. 7) is to be accounted for by the fact of his being a eunuch. (See Dr. Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, vol. ii. p. 420.)

which forbade the representation of women. Their proper place was in the female courts and apartments, or in close attendance upon the litters, when members of the seraglio travelled, or took the air—not in the throne-room, or the antechambers, or the outer courts of the palace, which alone furnished the scenes regarded as suitable for representation.

Of right, the position at the Persian Court immediately below that of the king belonged to the members of certain privileged families. Besides the royal family itself—or clan of the Achæmenidæ—there were six great houses which had a rank superior to that of all the other grandees. According to Herodotus these houses derived their special dignity from the accident that their heads had been fellow-conspirators with Darius Hystaspis;[7] but there is reason to suspect that the rank of the families was precedent to the conspiracy in question, certain families conspiring because they were great, and not becoming great because they conspired. At any rate, from the time of Darius I., there seem to have been seven great families, including that of the Achæmenidæ, whose chiefs had the privilege of free communication with the monarch, and from which he was legally bound to choose his legitimate wives. The chiefs appear to have been known as "the Seven Princes," or "the Seven Counsellors," of the king.[8] They sate next to him at public festivals;[9] they were privileged to tender him their advice, whenever they pleased;[10] they recommended important measures of state, and were, in part, responsible for them;[11] they could demand admission to the monarch's presence at any time, unless he were in the female apartments; they had precedence on all great occasions of ceremony, and enjoyed a rank altogether independent of office. Sometimes—perhaps most commonly—they held office; but they rather conferred a lustre on the position which they consented to fill, than derived any additional splendour from it.

It does not appear that the chiefs of the seven great families

[7] Herod. iii. 84.

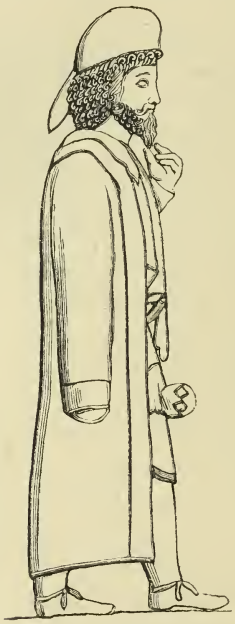
[8] Esther, i. 14: "The seven princes of Persia and Media, which saw the king's face." Ezr. vii. 14: "The king, and his seven counsellors."

[9] Esther, l. s. c.

[10] Herod. iii. 84, 118.

[11] Ezra, l. s. c.; Esther, i. 16-21.

had any peculiar insignia. Officers of the Court, on the contrary, seem to have always carried, as badges marking their position, either wands about three feet in length, or an ornament resembling a lotus blossom [12] which is sometimes seen in the hands of the monarch himself.[13] Such officers wore, at



Persian sleeved cloak (Persepolis).

Front view of the same, showing strings (ibid.).

their pleasure, either the long Median robe and the fluted cap, or the close-fitting Persian tunic and trousers, with the loose felt *κυρβασία* or *πῖλος*. All had girdles, in which sometimes a dagger was placed; and all had collars of gold about their necks, and ear-rings of gold in their ears.[14] The Median robes were of various colours—scarlet, purple, crimson, dark grey,

[12] See the representations of Ker Porter. (*Travels*, vol. i. pls. 38-43.)

[13] Ibid. pls. 48-50. Compare the woodcut, supra, p. 203.

[14] These particulars are gathered mainly from the sculptures. The material of the ear-rings and collars is derived from the accounts given by the Greeks of the ordinary Persian ornaments. (Herod. ix. 80; Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 27; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6; &c.)

&c.[15] Over the Persian tunic a sleeved cloak, or great coat, reaching to the ancles, was sometimes worn;[16] this garment was fastened by strings in front, and descended loosely from the shoulders, no use being commonly made of the sleeves, which hung empty at the wearer's side.

An elaborate Court ceremonial was the natural accompaniment of the ideas with respect to royalty embodied in the Persian system. Excepting the "Seven Princes," no one could approach the royal person unless introduced by a Court usher.[17] Prostration—the attitude of worship—was required of all as they entered the presence.[1] The hands of the persons introduced had to be hidden in their sleeves, so long as their audience lasted.[2] In crossing the Palace Courts it was necessary to abstain carefully from touching the carpet which was laid for the king to walk on.[3] Coming into the king's presence unsummoned was a capital crime, punished by the attendants with instant death, unless the monarch himself, as a sign that he pardoned the intrusion, held out towards the culprit the golden sceptre which he bore in his hands.[4] It was also a capital offence to sit down, even unknowingly, upon the royal throne;[5] and it was a grave misdemeanor to wear one of the king's cast-off dresses.[6] Etiquette was almost as severe on the monarch himself as on his subjects. He was required to live chiefly in seclusion;[7] to eat his meals, for the most part, alone;[8] never to go on foot beyond the palace walls;[9] never to revoke an order once given, however much he might regret it;[10] never to draw back from a promise, whatever ill

[15] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 3, § 3.

[16] See Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pl. 37.

[17] Herod. iii. 77, 84, 118.

[1] Herod. vii. 136; Justin, vi. 2; Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 22; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* i. 21.

[2] This was probably the real custom which Xenophon represents as a law requiring *all* persons to keep their hands covered by their sleeves in the king's presence (*Cyrop.* viii. 3, § 10). It is certain from the sculptures that the king's ordinary attendants were not required to keep their hands covered.

[3] Athen. *Deipn.* xii. p. 514, C.

[4] Esther, iv. 11; Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xi. 6.

[5] Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* viii. 4, § 17; Val. Max. v. 1; Frontin. *Strateg.* iv. 6, § 3. Compare Herod. vii. 16, § 1.

[6] This is implied in the story of Tiribazus, as told by Plutarch. (*Vit. Artax.* c. 5.)

[7] Justin. i. 9; Anon. *De Mundo*, c. 6 (p. 637).

[8] Heraclid. Cum. ap. Ath. *Deipn.* iv. p. 145.

[9] Athen. *Deipn.* xii. p. 514, C.

[10] Dan. vi. 15; Esther, viii. 11.

results he might anticipate from its performance.[11] To maintain the quasi-divine character which attached to him it was necessary that he should seem infallible, immutable, and wholly free from the weakness of repentance.

As some compensation for the restrictions laid upon him, the Persian king had the sole enjoyment of certain luxuries. The wheat of Assos was sent to the Court to furnish him with bread, and the vines of Helbon were cultivated for the special purpose of supplying him with wine.[12] Water was conveyed to Susa for his use from distant streams regarded as specially sweet and pure;[13] and in his expeditions he was accompanied by a train of wagons, which were laden with silver flasks, filled from the clear stream of the Choaspes.[14] The oasis of Ammon contributed the salt with which he seasoned his food.[15] All the delicacies that the Empire anywhere produced were accumulated on his board, for the supply of which each province was proud to send its best and choicest products.

The chief amusements in which the Great King indulged were hunting and playing at dice. Darius Hystaspis, who followed the chase with such ardour as on one occasion to dislocate his ancle in the pursuit of a wild beast,[16] had himself represented on his signet-cylinder as engaged in a lion-hunt.[17] From this representation, we learn that the Persian monarchs, like the Assyrian, pursued the king of beasts in their chariots, and generally despatched him by means of arrows. Seated in a light car, and attended by a single unarmed charioteer, they invaded the haunts of these fiercest of brutes, rousing them from their lairs—probably with Indian hounds[18]—and chasing them at full speed if they fled, or, if they faced the danger, attacking them with arrows or with the javelin. Occasionally

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[11] Herod. ix. 109.

[12] Strab. xv. 3, § 22.

[13] As from the Nile (Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 37; Athen. *Deipn.* ii. p. 67, B) and the Danube (Plut. l. s. c.).

[14] Herod. i. 188; Ctes. *Pers.* Fr. 49.

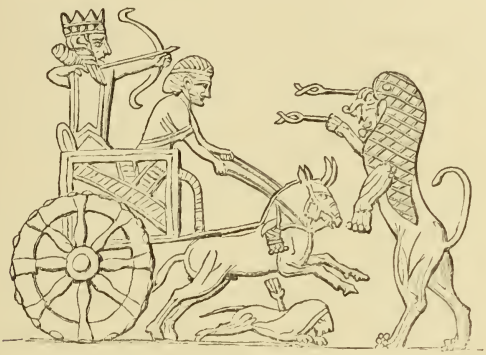
[15] Dino ap. Athen. *Deipn.* ii. p. 67, B.

[16] Herod. iii. 129. According to Strabo, Darius claimed the merit of being a first-rate hunter in the epitaph which he had inscribed upon his tomb (xv. 3, § 8): but the epitaph itself does not bear out the statement.

[17] This signet cylinder, the chief part of which is represented on the next page, has a trilingual inscription upon it, which reads—"Darius, the Great King."

[18] See Herod. i. 192; Ctes. *Ind.* § 5.

the monarch might indulge in this sport alone; but generally he was (it seems) accompanied by some of his courtiers,[19] who shared the pleasures of the chase with him on the condition that they never ventured to let fly their weapons before he had discharged his.[20] If they disregarded this rule they were liable to capital punishment, and might esteem themselves fortunate if they escaped with exile.[21]



Persian king hunting the lion (from the signet-cylinder of Darius Hystaspis).

Besides lions, the Persian monarch chased, it is probable, stags, antelopes, wild asses, wild boars, bears, wild sheep, and leopards. These animals all abounded in the neighbourhood of the royal palaces, and they are enumerated by Xenophon among the beasts hunted by Cyrus.[22] The mode of chasing the wild ass was for the horsemen to scatter themselves over the plain, and to pursue the animal in turns, one taking up the chase when the horse of another was exhausted.[23] The speed of the creature is so great that no horse with a rider on his back can long keep pace with him; and thus relays were necessary to tire him

Persian king killing an antelope (from a cylinder).

[19] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 40; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, § 9.

[20] Ctes. l. s. c. Artaxerxes Longimanus is said to have allowed his companions in the chase to neglect the observance of this law. (Plut. *Apophth.* p. 173, D.)

[21] As Megabyzus did. (Ctes. l. s. c.)

[22] Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 4, § 7.

[23] Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, § 2.

out, and enable the hunters to bring him within the range of their weapons.

When game was scarce in the open country, or when the kings were too indolent to seek it in its native haunts, they indulged their inclination for sport by chasing the animals which they kept in their own "paradises."[24] These were walled enclosures of a large size, well wooded, and watered with sparkling streams, in which were bred or kept wild beasts of various kinds, chiefly of the more harmless sorts, as stags, antelopes, and wild sheep. These the kings pursued, and shot with arrows, or brought down with the javelin;[25] but the sport was regarded as tame, and not to be compared with hunting in the open field.

Within the palace the Persian monarchs are said to have amused themselves with dice. They played, it is probable, chiefly with their near relatives, as their wives, or the Queen-Mother. The stakes, as was to be expected, ran high, as much as a thousand darics (nearly 1100*l.*) being sometimes set on a single throw. Occasionally they played for the persons of their slaves, eunuchs, and others, who, when lost, became the absolute property of the winner.[26]

Another favourite royal amusement was carving or planing wood. According to Ælian, the Persian king, when he took a journey, always employed himself, as he sat in his carriage, in this way;[27] and Ctesias speaks of the occupation as pursued also within the walls of the palace.[28] Manual work of this kind has often been the refuge of those rulers who, sated with pleasure and devoid of literary tastes, have found time hang heavy upon their hands.

In literature a Persian king seems rarely to have taken any pleasure at all.[29] Occasionally, to beguile the weary hours, a monarch may have had the "Book of the Chronicles of the

[24] On these "paradises" see Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3, § 14; 4, §§ 5, 11; *Anab.* i. 2, § 7; *Hellen.* i. 4, § 15; *Œcon.* iv. 13, 21.

[25] The javelin seems to have been the favourite weapon (Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 4, §§ 8-10, 15).

[26] Plutarch, *Vit. Artax.* c. 17.

[27] Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xiv. 12.

[28] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 12, ad fin.

[29] Seneca calls the Persian kings "barbaros, quos nulla eruditio, nullus literarum cultus, instruxerat." (*De Ira*, iii. 7.)

Kings of Persia and Media" read before him;[1] but the kings themselves never opened a book,[2] or studied any branch of science or learning. The letters, edicts, and, probably even the inscriptions, of the monarch were the composition of the Court scribes,[3] who took their orders from the king or his ministers, and clothed them in their own language. They did not even call upon their master to sign his name to a parchment; his seal, on which his name was engraved,[4] sufficiently authenticated all proclamations and edicts.[5]

Among the more serious occupations of the monarch were the holding of councils,[6] the reviewing of troops,[7] the hearing of complaints,[8] and the granting or refusing of redress, the assignment of rewards,[9] perhaps, in some cases, the trying of causes,[10] and, above all, the general direction of the civil administration and government of the Empire.[11] An energetic king probably took care to hear all the reports which were sent up to the Court by the various officials employed in the actual government of the numerous provinces, as well as those sent in by the persons who from time to time inspected, on the part of the Crown, the condition of this or that satrapy. Having heard and considered these reports, and perhaps taken advice upon them, such a monarch would give clear directions as to the answers to be sent, which would be embodied in despatches by his secretaries, and then read over to him, before he affixed his seal to them. The concerns of an Empire so vast as that of Persia would have given ample employment for the greater part of the day to any monarch who was determined not only to reign, but to govern. Among the Persian sovereigns there seem to have been a few

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[1] Esther, vi. 1.

[2] It is open to doubt whether a Persian monarch could ordinarily either read or write. Neither Plato (*Alcib.* i. pp. 121, 122) nor Xenophon (*Cyrop.* i. 3, 4) mention letters in the accounts which they give of the education of a Persian prince.

[3] Esther, iii. 12; viii. 9.

[4] This appears from the signet-cylinder of Darius, of which mention has been already made. (Supra, p. 226.)

[5] See Esther, viii. 8; Herod. iii. 128.

[6] Herod. vii. 8-11, 13.

[7] Xen. *Œconom.* iv. 6.

[8] Herod. v. 25; vii. 194.

[9] Ibid. iii. 140; Xen. *Œcon.* iv. 15; Esther, vi. 3-11.

[10] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xi. 3. Usually, no doubt, the hearing of causes was delegated to the "Royal Judges" (*βασιλεῖοι δικασταί*). See the passages quoted in note [8].

[11] Xen. *Œconom.* iv. 4-12.

who had sufficient energy and self-denial to devote themselves habitually to the serious duties of their office. Generally, however, the cares of government were devolved upon some favourite adviser, a relative, or a eunuch, who was entrusted by the monarch with the entire conduct of affairs, in order that he might give himself up to sensual pleasures, to the sports of the field, or to light and frivolous amusements.

The passion for building, which we have found so strong in Assyria and Babylonia, possessed, but in a minor degree, a certain number of the Persian monarchs. The simplicity of their worship giving little scope for architectural grandeur in the buildings devoted to religion,[12] they concentrated their main efforts upon the construction of palaces and tombs. The architectural character of these works will be considered in a later chapter.[13] It is sufficient to note here that a good deal of the time and attention of many monarchs was directed to these objects; and particularly it is interesting to remark, that, notwithstanding their worldly greatness, and the flattering voices of their subjects, which were continually bidding them "live for ever,"[14] the Persian kings were quite aware of the frail tenure by which man holds his life, and, while they were still in vigorous health, constructed their own tombs.[15]

It was an important principle of the Magian religion, that the body should not after death be allowed to mingle with, and so pollute, any one of the four elements.[16] Either from a regard for this superstition, or from the mere instinctive desire to preserve the lifeless clay as long as possible, the Persians entombed their kings in the following way. The body was placed in a golden coffin, which was covered with a close-fitting lid,[17] and deposited either in a massive building erected to serve

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[12] Herodotus denies that the Persians had any temples at all (Herod. i. 131); but reasons will hereafter be shown for rejecting this statement. (See below, ch. vi.)

[13] Infra, ch. v.

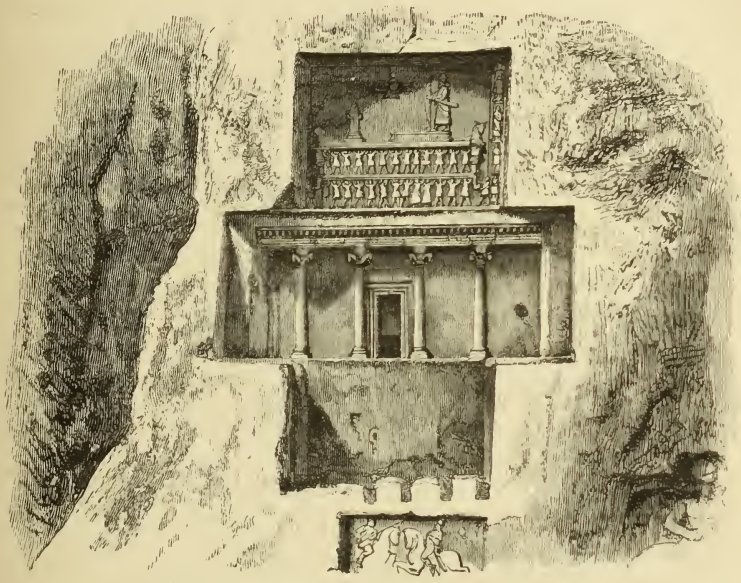
[14] Nehem. ii. 3; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* i. 32.

[15] We are expressly told that Darius Hystaspis constructed his own sepulchre while his father and mother were still living (Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 15).

[16] See above, vol. ii. pp. 349, 350.

[17] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vi. 29; Strab. xv. 3, § 7. We only *know* that this was the mode of entombment practised in the case of Cyrus. But it seems probable that the later kings would be entombed with at least equal magnifi-

at once as a tomb and a monument,[18] or in a chamber cut out of some great mass of solid rock, at a considerable elevation above its base.[19] In either case, the entrance into the tomb was carefully closed, after the body had been deposited in it, by a block or blocks of stone.[20] Inside the tomb were placed, together



Tomb of a Persian king (from a photograph).

with the coffin, a number of objects, designed apparently for the king's use in the other world, as rich cloaks and tunics, trousers, purple robes, collars of gold, ear-rings of gold set with gems, daggers, carpets, goblets, and hangings.[21] Generally the tomb

cence. And coffins of the kind described might easily have rested in the stone niches, or cells, which are found in the rock-tombs. (See Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 523.)

[18] See the description of the tomb of Cyrus, infra, ch. v.

[19] This fashion seems to have been observed by all the kings later than Cyrus.

[20] This was evidently the case with the rock-tombs, where the holes which received the fastenings of the blocks are still visible. (Ker Porter, l. s. c.) It may be suspected that it was also the case with the tomb of Cyrus, and that when Aristobulus blocked up the doorway of that tomb with stone and plaster (Arrian, l. s. c.), he was but restoring it to its primitive condition.

[21] Aristobul. ap. Arrian. l. s. c.; Strab. xv. 3, § 7.

was ornamented with sculptures, and sometimes, though rarely,[22] it had an inscription (or inscriptions) upon it, containing the name and titles of the monarch whose remains reposed within. If the tomb were a building, and not rock-hewn, the ground in the vicinity was formed into a park or garden, which was planted with all manner of trees.[23] Within the park, at some little distance from the tomb, was a house, which formed the residence of a body of priests, who watched over the safety of the sepulchre.[24]

The Greeks seem to have believed that divine honours were sometimes paid to a monarch after his decease;[25] but the spirit of the Persian religion was so entirely opposed to any such observance, that it is most probable the Greeks were mistaken. Observing that sacrifices were offered once a month in the vicinity of some of the royal tombs, they assumed that the object of the cult was the monarch himself, whereas it was no doubt really addressed either to Ormazd or to Mithras. The Persians cannot rightly be accused of the worship of dead men, a superstition from which both the Zoroastrian and the Magian systems were entirely free.

From this account of the Persian monarchs and their Court, we may now turn to a subject which moderns regard as one of much greater interest—the general condition, manners, and customs of the Persian people. Our information on these points is unfortunately far less full than on the subject which we have been recently discussing, but still it is perhaps sufficient to give us a tolerably complete notion of the real character of the nation.

The Persians, according to Herodotus,[26] were divided into ten

[22] Out of eight royal tombs which have been discovered, only one has at present any inscription. This is the tomb of Darius Hystaspis, which has a long inscription, and two shorter ones, engraved on the external face of the rock. According to the historians of Alexander, the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ had an inscription, when first seen by the Greeks (Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 69; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* vi. 29; Strab. l. s. c.); but of this no traces exist at present. No inscriptions have as yet been found inside a tomb.

[23] Aristobul. ap. Arrian. l. s. c.

[24] Ibid. Even the rock-tombs, though so difficult of access, were guarded, as appears from Ctesias. (*Exc. Pers.* § 19.)

[25] Aristobulus stated that the Magi at Pasargadæ sacrificed a horse once a month to Cyrus. (Arrian, l. s. c.) Strabo, better acquainted with Magian customs, avoids a repetition of the statement.

[26] Herod. i. 125.

tribes, of which four were nomadic and three agricultural. The nomadic were the Dai, the Mardi, the Dropici, and the Sagartii; the agricultural were the Panthialæi, the Derusiæi, and the Germanii, or Carmanians. What the occupation of the other three tribes was Herodotus does not state; but, as one of them —the Pasargadæ—was evidently the ruling class, consisting, therefore (it is probable), of land-*owners*, who did not themselves till the soil, we may perhaps assume that all three occupied this position, standing in Persia somewhat as the three tribes of Dorians stood to the other Greeks in the Peloponnese. If this were the case, the population would have been really divided broadly into the two classes of settled and nomade,[1] whereof the former class was subdivided into those who were the lords of the soil, and those who cultivated it, either as farmers or as labourers, under them.

Ordinary Persian costume.

The ordinary dress of the poorer class, whether agricultural or nomade, was probably the tunic and trousers of leather which have been already mentioned as the true national costume of the people.[2] The costume was completed by a loose felt cap upon the head, a strap or belt round the waist, and a pair of high shoes upon the feet, tied in front with a string. In later times a linen or muslin rag replaced the felt cap,[3] and the tunic was lengthened so as to reach halfway between the knee and the ankle.[4]

The richer classes seem generally to have adopted the Median costume which was so prevalent at the Court. They wore long

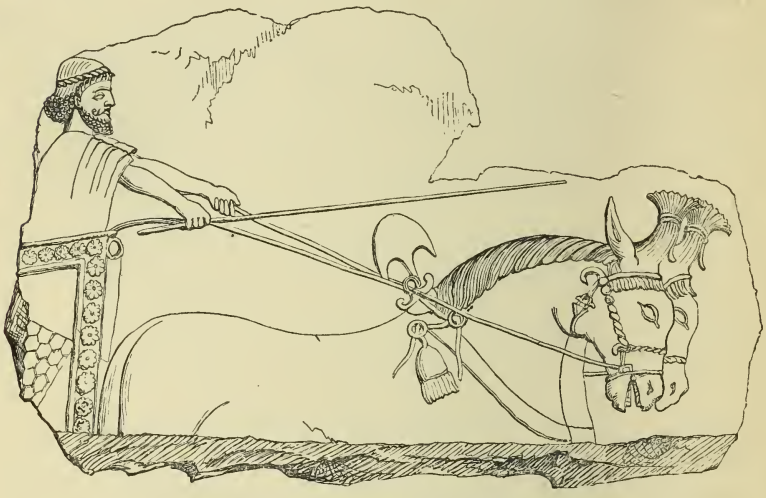
[1] Great part of Persia is only suited for nomades; and the Ilyat population of the present day holds the same position in the country which belonged in ancient times to the Mardi, Dropici, &c.

[2] See above, p. 172, and compare Herod. i. 71.

[3] Strab. xv. 3, § 19. Ῥάκος σινδόνιον τι.

[4] Ibid. Χιτὼν ἕως μεσοκνημίου.

purple or flowered robes[5] with loose hanging sleeves, flowered tunics reaching to the knee, also sleeved,[6] embroidered trousers,[7] tiaras,[8] and shoes of a more elegant shape than the ordinary Persian.[9] Nor was this the whole of their dress. Under their trousers they wore drawers, under their tunics shirts, on their hands gloves,[10] and under their shoes socks or stockings[11]—



Fragment of two-horse chariot (from Persepolis).

luxuries these, one and all, little known in the ancient world. The Persians were also, like most Orientals, extremely fond of ornaments. Men of rank carried, almost as a matter of course, massive chains or collars of gold about their necks, and bracelets of gold upon their arms.[12] The sheaths and handles of their

[5] Strab. l. s. c. Ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν ἀνθινόν. Compare the πορφυροῦς κάνδυς of Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 5, § 8).

[6] Strab. l. s. c.

[7] Xen. l. s. c. Ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας.

[8] Τιᾶραι παραπλήσιαι ταῖς τῶν Μάωον. The tiara intended is probably the high fluted cap which accompanies the Median robe at Persepolis. (Supra, p. 174.)

[9] See vol. ii. p. 316.

[10] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 18. Χειρίδας ἐμβάσεις καὶ δακτυλήθρας—"thick gloves and finger-sheaths." To the Greeks this seemed the extreme of effeminacy; but we can well imagine that such protection was necessary in the intensely cold winters of the high plains and mountains. (Supra, p. 136.)

[11] Drawers (two pairs), shirts, and socks are probably intended by Strabo where he speaks of ἀναξυρὶς τριπλῆ . . . χιτὼν διπλοῦς, ὁ ὑπενδύτης λευκός . . . . and ὑπόδημα κοῖλον διπλοῦν (xv. 3, § 19).

[12] Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3, § 2; *Anab.* i. 5, § 8; 8, § 29.

swords and daggers were generally of gold,[13] sometimes, perhaps, studded with gems. Many of them wore ear-rings.[14] Great expense was lavished on the trappings of the horses which they rode or drove; the bridle, or at least the bit, was often of solid gold,[15] and the rest of the equipment was costly. Among the gems which were especially affected, the pearl held the first place. Besides being set in the ordinary way, it was bored and strung, in order that it might be used for necklaces, bracelets, and anklets.[16] Even children had sometimes golden ornaments, which were preferred when the gold was of a reddish colour.[17]

Very costly and rich too was the furniture of the better class of houses. The tables were plated or inlaid with silver and gold. Splendid couches,[18] spread with gorgeous coverlets, invited the inmates to repose at their ease; and, the better to ensure their comfort, the legs of the couches were made to rest upon carpets, which were sufficiently elastic to act as a sort of spring, rendering the couches softer and more luxurious than they would otherwise have been.[19] Gold and silver plate, especially in the shape of drinking-cups,[20] was largely displayed in all the wealthy mansions, each household priding itself on the show which it could make of the precious metals.

In respect of eating and drinking, the Persians, even of th better sort, were in the earlier times noted for their temperan and sobriety. Their ordinary food was wheaten bread, barley cakes, and meat simply roasted or boiled, which they season with salt and with bruised cress-seed, a substitute for mustard

[13] Herod. ix. 80; Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 29.

[14] The common use of ear-rings among the officers of the Persian court is proved by the Persepolitan sculptures.

[15] Herod. ix. 80; Dionys. *Perieg.* l. 1060; Q. Curt. iii. 13. From the woodcut (p. 234), we may see how other parts of the bridle might have been of gold. The twisted portions have all the appearance of metal.

[16] Chares Mytil. ap. Athen. *Deipn.* iii. p. 93, D.

[17] Strab. xv. 3, § 18.

[18] Herodotus (ix. 80, 81) speaks of κλίνας ἐπιχρύσοις καὶ ἐπαργύρους, and again of κλ. χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας ἐστρωμένας, and τραπέζας χρυσέας καὶ ἀργυρέας, as found among the plunder of the Persian camp at Platea. These, as being the mere camp equipage, would certainly not be more splendid than the furniture left at home.

[19] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 16.

[20] Ἐκπώματα. See Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 18; Herod. ix. 80; Strab. xv. 3, § 19.

[21] Compare Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, §§ 8, 11, with Strab. xv. 3, § 18. The romance-writer has omitted the meat and the salt.

The sole drink in which they indulged was water.[22] Moreover, it was their habit to take one meal only each day.[23] The poorer kind of people were contented with even a simpler diet, supporting themselves, to a great extent, on the natural products of the soil, as dates, figs, wild pears, acorns, and the fruit of the terebinth-tree.[24] But these abstemious habits were soon laid aside, and replaced by luxury and self-indulgence, when the success of their arms had put it in their power to have the full and free gratification of all their desires and propensities. Then, although the custom of having but one meal in the day was kept up, the character of the custom was entirely altered by beginning the meal early and making it last till night.[25] Not many sorts of meat were placed on the board, unless the occasion was a grand one; but course after course of the lighter kinds of food flowed on in an almost endless succession, intervals of some length being allowed between the courses to enable the guests to recover their appetites.[26] Instead of water, wine became the usual beverage;[27] each man prided himself on the quantity he could drink; and the natural result followed, that most banquets terminated in general intoxication. Drunkenness even came to be a sort of institution. Once a year, at the feast of Mithras, the King of Persia, according to Duris, was bound to be drunk.[28] A general practice arose of deliberating on all important affairs under the influence of wine, and that, in every household, when a family crisis impended, intoxication was a duty.[29]

The Persians ate, not only the meats which we are in the habit of consuming, but also the flesh of goats, horses, asses,

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[22] Herod. i. 80; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, § 8; Strab. l. s. c.

[23] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 9.

[24] Nicolas of Damascus makes the Medes call the Persians in contempt τερμινθοφάγους (Fr. 66; p. 404). Strabo (l. s. c.) mentions acorns and wild pears among the articles of food on which boys were brought up. Ælian (*Var. Hist.* i. 31) says the poorer class lived on milk, dates, cheese, and wild fruits. The custom of a king's partaking at his coronation of a cake of figs, some of the fruit of the terebinth-tree, and a cup of acidulated milk (Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 3), was probably a memorial of the time when these things formed the food of the nation.

[25] Xen. *Cyrop.* l. s. c.

[26] Herod. i. 133.

[27] Ibid.; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 10.

[28] Fr. 13.

[29] Herod. i. 133, ad fin.; Strab. xv. 3, § 20.

and camels.[30] The hump of the last-named animal is considered, even at the present day, a delicacy in many parts of the East; but in ancient Persia it would seem that the entire animal was regarded as fairly palatable. The horse and ass, which no one would touch in modern Persia, were thought, apparently, quite as good eating as the ox; and goats, which were far commoner than sheep, appeared, it is probable, oftener at table. The dietary of a grand house was further varied by the admission into it of poultry and game—the game including wild boars,[31] stags,[32] antelopes, bustards,[33] and probably partridges; the poultry consisting of geese and chickens.[34] Oysters and other fish were used largely as food by the inhabitants of the coast-region.[35]

Grades of society were strongly marked among the Persians; and the etiquette of the Court travelled down to the lowest ranks of the people. Well-known rules determined how each man was to salute his equal, his inferior, or his superior; and the observance of these rules was universal. Inferiors on meeting a decided superior prostrated themselves on the ground; equals kissed each other on the lips; persons nearly but not quite equal kissed each other's cheeks.[1] The usual Oriental rules prevailed as to the intercourse of the sexes. Wives lived in strict seclusion within the walls of the Gynæceum,[2] or went abroad in litters, seeing no males except their sons, their husbands, and their husbands' eunuchs. Concubines had somewhat more freedom, appearing sometimes at banquets, when they danced, sang, and played to amuse the guests of their master.[3]

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[30] Herod. l. s. c.; Heraclid. Cum. ap. Athen. *Deipn.* iv. p. 145, F.

[31] Strab. xv. 3, § 18.

[32] Heraclid. Cum. ap. Ath. *Deipn.* l. s. c.

[33] Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, § 3.

[34] Heraclid. Cum. l. s. c.

[35] Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* xxix. 14; xxxviii. 3; xxxix. 5.

[1] Herod. i. 134. Strabo's account (xv. 3, § 20) is slightly different. According to him, when the two who met were nearly but not quite equal, the inferior offered his cheek and the superior kissed it.

[2] The passage in Herodotus which seems to contradict this (v. 18) is not his own statement, but one which he puts into the mouths of certain Persians, who had a motive for wishing it to be believed that Persian wives had greater liberty. On the real seclusion in which such persons lived, see Brisson, *De Regno Pers.* ii. pp. 273-276.

[3] Heracl. Cum. ap. Athen. *Deipn.* iv. p. 145; Plut. *Sympos.* i. 1; Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xi. 6.

The Persian was allowed to marry several wives, and might maintain in addition as many concubines as he thought proper.[4] Most of the richer class had a multitude of each, since every Persian prided himself on the number of his sons,[5] and it is even said that an annual prize was given by the monarch to the Persian who could show most sons living.[6] The concubines were not unfrequently Greeks, if we may judge by the case of the younger Cyrus, who took two Greek concubines with him when he made his expedition against his brother.[7] It would seem that wives did not ordinarily accompany their husbands, when these went on military expeditions, but that concubines were taken to the wars by most Persians of consideration.[8] Every such person had a litter at her disposal,[9] and a number of female attendants,[10] whose business it was to wait upon her and execute her orders.

All the best authorities are agreed that great pains were taken by the Persians—or, at any rate, by those of the leading clans—in the education of their sons.[11] During the first five years of his life the boy remained wholly with the women, and was scarcely, if at all, seen by his father.[12] After that time his training commenced. He was expected to rise before dawn, and to appear at a certain spot, where he was exercised with other boys of his age in running, slinging stones, shooting with the bow, and throwing the javelin.[13] At seven he was taught to ride, and soon afterwards he was allowed to begin to hunt.[14]

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[4] Herod. i. 135; Strab. xv. 3, § 17.

[5] Herod. i. 136. On the continuance of this feeling in modern times, see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. note ad loc.

[6] Herod. l. s. c.; Strab. l. s. c.

[7] Xen. *Anab.* i. 10, §§ 2, 3; Ath. *Deipn.* xiii. p. 576, D. Compare Herod. ix. 76, where another Persian has a Greek concubine; and see also Ælian (*Var. Hist.* xii. 1), where *four* Greek concubines of the younger Cyrus are mentioned.

[8] That wives were left at home—at any rate in the earlier times—appears from the *Persæ* of Æschylus (ll. 63, 125, 135-141, &c.). That concubines were taken to the wars is certain from Herod. vii. 83; ix. 76; Xen. *Anab.* l. s. c.; Max. Tyr. *Serm.* xiv. sub fin.; Athen. *Deipn.* xiii. p. 608, A; &c. Wives accompanied the army in the later period of the monarchy. (See Q. Curt. iii. 3 and 13.)

[9] Herod. vii. 86; Diod. Sic. xvii. 35, § 5.

[10] Herod. ix. 76.

[11] Herodotus, Plato, and Strabo agree, as to the main facts, with Xenophon. In the account of the education given in the text, a small part only rests upon the unsupported authority of the Athenian romancer.

[12] Herod. i. 136. Strabo fixes the limit at four years instead of five (xv. 3, § 17).

[13] Herod. l. s. c.; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, § 8; Strab. xv. 3, § 18.

[14] Plat. *Alcib.* i. p. 121, E.

The riding included, not only the ordinary management of the horse, but the power of jumping on and off his back when he was at speed, and of shooting with the bow and throwing the javelin with unerring aim, while the horse was still at full gallop. The hunting was conducted by state-officers, who aimed at forming by its means in the youths committed to their charge all the qualities needed in war.[15] The boys were made to bear extremes of heat and cold, to perform long marches, to cross rivers without wetting their weapons, to sleep in the open air at night, to be content with a single meal in two days, and to support themselves occasionally on the wild products of the country, acorns, wild pears, and the fruit of the terebinth-tree.[16] On days when there was no hunting they passed their mornings in athletic exercises, and contests with the bow or the javelin, after which they dined simply on the plain food mentioned above as that of the men in the early times, and then employed themselves during the afternoon in occupations regarded as not illiberal—for instance, in the pursuits of agriculture, planting, digging for roots, and the like, or in the construction of arms and hunting implements, such as nets and springes.[17] Hardy and temperate habits being secured by this training, the point of morals on which their preceptors mainly insisted was the rigid observance of truth.[18] Of intellectual education they had but little. It seems to have been no part of the regular training of a Persian youth that he should learn to read. He was given religious notions and a certain amount of moral knowledge by means of legendary poems, in which the deeds of gods and heroes were set before him by his teachers, who recited or sung them in his presence, and afterwards required him to repeat what he had heard, or, at any rate, to give some account of it.[19] This education continued for fifteen years, commencing when

[15] Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, § 10; viii. 8, § 12.
[16] Strab. l. s. c.; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, § 11.
[17] Strab. l. s. c. Compare Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 14.
[18] Herod. l. s. c. and i. 138; Plat. *Alcib.* i. p. 122, A; Strab. l. s. c. Compare Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 6, § 33.
[19] Strab. l. s. c. Compare Dino ap. Ath. *Deipn.* xiv. p. 633, D.

the boy was five, and terminating when he reached the age of twenty.[20]

The effect of this training was to render the Persian an excel-

Persian chasing the antelope (from a gem).

lent soldier and a most accomplished horseman. Accustomed from early boyhood to pass the greater part of every day in the saddle, he never felt so much at home as when mounted upon a prancing steed. On horseback he pursued the stag, the boar, the antelope, even occasionally the bear or the lion,[21] and shot his arrows, or slung his stones, or hurled his javelin at them with deadly aim, never pausing for a moment in his career. Only when the brute turned on his pursuers, and stood at bay, or charged them in its furious despair, they would sometimes descend

Persian killing a wild boar (from a cylinder).

[20] Herod. i. 136. Strabo prolongs the period of education to the 24th, and Xenophon to the 26th year.

[21] The chase of the stag, wild-boar, and antelope are represented on cylinders (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xlii. fig. 1, and pl. liii. fig. 8); that of the boar is also mentioned by Strabo. For the chase of the bear and the lion, see Xen. *Anab.* i. 9, § 6, and Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 40.

from their coursers, and receive the attack, or deal the *coup de grâce* on foot, using for the purpose a short but strong hunting-spear. The chase was the principal delight of the upper class of Persians, so long as the ancient manners were kept up, and continued an occupation in which the bolder spirits loved to indulge [22] long after decline had set in, and the advance of luxury had changed, to a great extent, the character of the nation.

At fifteen years of age the Persian was considered to have attained to manhood, and was enrolled in the ranks of the army, continuing liable to military service from that time till he reached the age of fifty.[23] Those of the highest rank became the body-guard of the king, and these formed the garrison of the capital. They were a force of not less than fourteen or fifteen thousand men.[24] Others, though liable to military service, did not adopt arms as their profession, but attached themselves to the Court and looked to civil employment, as satraps, secretaries, attendants, ushers, judges, inspectors, messengers. A portion, no doubt, remained in the country districts, and there followed those agricultural pursuits which the Zoroastrian religion regarded as in the highest degree honourable.[25] But the bulk of the nation must, from the time of the great conquests, have passed their lives mainly, like the Roman legionaries under the Empire, in garrison duty in the provinces. The entire population of Persia Proper can scarcely have exceeded two millions.[26] Not more than one-fourth of this number would be males between the ages of fifteen and fifty. This body of 500,000 men, besides supplying the official class at the Court and throughout the provinces, and also furnishing to Persia Proper those who did the work of its cultivation, had to supply to the whole Empire those large and numerous garrisons on whose presence depended the maintenance of the Persian do-

[22] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 12; *Anab.* l. s. c.; Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 5.

[23] Strab. xv. 3, § 19.

[24] Herod. vii. 40, 41, 83.

[25] Supra, vol. ii. pp. 327, 337, 338. Compare Ælian, *Var. Hist.* i. 31.

[26] This is allowing a population of 20 to the square mile, which, considering the large amount of desert in the region, is as much as is at all probable. The population of modern Persia is said to be 18 to the square mile.

minion in every province that had been conquered. According to Herodotus, the single country of Egypt contained, in his day, a standing army of 120,000 Persians;[1] and, although this was no doubt an exceptional case, Egypt being more prone to revolt than any other satrapy,[2] yet there is abundant evidence that elsewhere, in almost every part of the Empire, large bodies of troops were regularly maintained; troops which are always characterized as "Persians."[3] We may suspect that under the name were included the kindred nation of the Medes, and perhaps some other Arian races, as the Hyrcanians[4] and the Bactrians, for it is difficult to conceive that such a country as Persia Proper could alone have kept up the military force which the Empire required for its preservation; but to whatever extent the standing army was supplemented from these sources, Persia must still have furnished the bulk of it; and the demands of this service must have absorbed, at the very least, one-third, if not one-half, of the adult male population.

For trade and commerce the Persians were wont to express extreme contempt.[5] The richer classes made it their boast that they neither bought nor sold,[6] being supplied (we must suppose) from their estates, and by their slaves and dependents, with all that they needed for the common purposes of life. Persians of the middle rank would condescend to buy, but considered it beneath them to sell; while only the very lowest and poorest were actual artisans and traders. Shops were banished from the more public parts of the towns;[7] and thus such commercial transactions as took place were veiled in what was regarded as a decent obscurity. The reason assigned for this low estimation of trade was, that shopping and bargaining involved the necessity of falsehood.[8]

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[1] Herod. iii. 91.

[2] Ibid. vii. 1, 7; Thucyd. i. 104, 109, 110; Diod. Sic. xv. 9, § 3; 42-44; 90-93; xvi. 40; &c.

[3] See particularly Herod. v. 101, 102, 108, 116-123; ix. 96; Diod. Sic. xi. 61, § 1; and Xen. *Hell.* i. 2, § 6.

[4] The close connection of the Hyrcanians with the Medes and Persians is apparent from Xen. *Cyrop.* iv. 2, § 8:—Καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἰδεῖν ἐστιν Ὑρκανίους καὶ πιστευομένους καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας, ὥσπερ καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων οἳ ἂν δοκῶσιν ἄξιοι εἶναι.

[5] Herod. i. 153; ii. 167.

[6] Strab. xv. 3, § 19. Οὔτε πωλοῦσιν οὔτ' ὠνοῦνται.

[7] Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, § 3.

[8] Herod. i. 153.

According to Quintus Curtius, the Persian ladies had the same objection to soil their hands with work that the men had to dirty theirs with commerce.[9] The labours of the loom, which no Grecian princess regarded as unbecoming her rank, were despised by all Persian women except the lowest;[10] and we may conclude that the same idle and frivolous gossip which resounds all day in the harems of modern Iran formed the main occupation of the Persian ladies in the time of the Empire.

With the general advance of luxury under Xerxes and his successors, of which something has been already said,[11] there were introduced into the Empire a number of customs of an effeminate and demoralising character. From the earliest times the Persians seem to have been very careful of their beards and hair, arranging the latter in a vast number of short crisp curls, and partly curling the former, partly training it to hang straight from the chin. After a while, not content with this degree of care for their personal appearance, they proceeded to improve it by wearing false hair in addition to the locks which nature had given them,[12] by the use of cosmetics to increase the delicacy of their complexions,[13] and by the application of a colouring matter to the upper and lower eyelids, for the purpose of giving to the eye an appearance of greater size and beauty.[14] They employed a special class of servants to perform these operations of the toilet, whom the Greeks called "adorners" (*κοσμητάς*).[15] Their furniture increased, not merely in splendour, but in softness; their floors were covered with carpets, their beds with numerous and delicate coverlets;[16] they could not sit upon the ground unless a cloth was first spread upon it;[17]

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[9] Q. Curt. *Vit. Alex.* iii.

[10] On the other hand, the Persian women sometimes affected manly amusements. Roxane, the daughter of Idernes, and half-sister of Teritucbmes, is noted as thoroughly well skilled in the use of the bow and the javelin. (*Τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν ἐμπειροτάτη.* Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 54.)

[11] Supra, pp. 236, 237.

[12] Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 3, § 2. False beards and mustachios were also known to the Persians, and were assumed by eunuchs who wished to conceal their condition. (Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 53.)

[13] Xen. l. s. c. and viii. 8, § 20. Compare also Plin. *H. N.* xxiv. 17 (§ 165).

[14] Xen. i. 3, § 2.

[15] Ibid. viii. 8, § 20.

[16] Ibid. § 16; Æsch. *Pers.* 545. *Εὐνὰς ἁβροχίτωνας.*

[17] Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 1, § 30.

they would not mount a horse until he was so caparisoned that the seat on his back was softer even than their couches.[18] At the same time they largely augmented the number and variety of their viands and of their sauces,[19] always seeking after novel delicacies, and offering rewards to the inventors of "new pleasures."[20] A useless multitude of lazy menials was maintained in all rich households, each servant confining himself rigidly to a single duty, and porters, bread-makers, cooks, cup-bearers, water-bearers, waiters at table, chamberlains, "awakers," "adorners," all distinct from one another, crowded each noble mansion, helping forward the general demoralisation.[21] It was probably at this comparatively late period that certain foreign customs of a sadly lowering character were adopted by this plastic and impressible people, who learnt the vice of pæderasty from the Greeks,[22] and adopted from the Assyrians the worship of Beltis, with its accompaniment of religious prostitution.[23]

On the whole the Persians may seem to have enjoyed an existence free from care, and only too prosperous to result in the formation of a high and noble character. They were the foremost Asiatic people of their time, and were fully conscious of their pre-eminency. A small ruling class in a vast Empire, they enjoyed almost a monopoly of office, and were able gradually to draw to themselves much of the wealth of the provinces. Allowed the use of arms, and accustomed to lord it over the provincials, they themselves maintained their self-respect, and showed, even towards the close of their Empire, a spirit and an energy seldom exhibited by any but a free people. But there was nevertheless a dark side to the picture—a lurking danger which must have thrown a shadow over the lives of all the nobler and richer of the nation, unless they were utterly thoughtless. The irresponsible authority and cruel dispositions of the kings, joined to the recklessness with which they dele-

[18] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 19.
[19] Ibid. § 16.
[20] Athen. *Deipn.* iv. p. 144, F.
[21] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 20. Xenophon enumerates *θυρωροὺς, σιτοποιοὺς, ὀψοποιοὺς, οἰνοχοόυς, λουτροχόους, παρατιθέντας, ἀναιροῦντας, κατακοιμίζοντας, ἀνιστάντας*, and *κοσμητάς*.
[22] Herod. i. 136.
[23] Ibid. 131. Compare 199.

gated the power of life and death to their favourites, made it impossible for any person of eminence in the whole Empire to feel sure that he might not any day be seized and accused of a crime, or even without the form of an accusation be taken and put to death, after suffering the most excruciating tortures. To produce this result, it was enough to have failed through any cause whatever in the performance of a set task,[1] or to have offended, even by doing him too great a service,[2] the monarch or one of his favourites. Nay, it was enough to have provoked, through a relation or a connection, the anger or jealousy of one in favour at Court; for the caprice of an Oriental would sometimes pass over the real culprit and exact vengeance from one quite guiltless—even, it may be, unconscious—of the offence given.[3] Theoretically, the Persian was never to be put to death for a single crime;[4] or at least he was not to suffer until the king had formally considered the whole tenor of his life, and struck a balance between his good and his evil deeds to see which outweighed the other.[5] Practically, the monarch slew with his own hand any one whom he chose,[6] or, if he preferred it, ordered him to instant execution, without trial or inquiry.[7] His wife and his mother indulged themselves in the same pleasing liberty of slaughter, sometimes obtaining his tacit consent to their proceedings,[8] sometimes without consulting him.[9] It may be said that the sufferers could at no time be very many in number, and that therefore no very wide-spread alarm can have been commonly felt; but the horrible nature of many of the punishments, and the impossibility of conjecturing on whom they might next fall, must be set against their infrequency; and it must be remembered that an awful horror, from which no precautions can save a man, though it happen to few, is more terrible than a score of minor perils, against which it is possible to guard. Noble Persians

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[1] See Herod. vii. 35.
[2] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 59; Plut. *Nit. Artax.* c. 14, 15.
[3] Herod. ix. 108-112.
[4] Ib. i. 137.
[5] Ib. loc. cit. and vii. 194.
[6] Ib. iii. 35.
[7] Ib. iv. 84; vii. 90; ix. 113; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 46, 51, 52, &c.
[8] Herod. ix. 111, 112; Ctes. §§ 51, 59, &c.
[9] Plut. *Vit. Artaxerxis*, c. 14 and c. 16.

were liable to be beheaded, to be stoned to death,[10] to be suffocated with ashes,[11] to have their tongues torn out by the roots,[12] to be buried alive,[13] to be shot in mere wantonness,[14] to be flayed and then crucified,[15] to be buried all but the head,[16] and to perish by the lingering agony of "the boat."[17] If they escaped these modes of execution, they might be secretly poisoned,[18] or they might be exiled, or transported for life.[19] Their wives and daughters might be seized and horribly mutilated,[20] or buried alive,[21] or cut into a number of fragments.[22] With these perils constantly impending over their heads, the happiness of the nobles can scarcely have been more real than that of Damocles upon the throne of Dionysius.

In conclusion, we may notice as a blot upon the Persian character and system, the cruelty and barbarity which was exhibited, not only in these abnormal acts of tyranny and violence, but also in the regular and legal punishments which were assigned to crimes and offences. The criminal code, which —rightly enough—made death the penalty of murder, rape, treason, and rebellion, instead of stopping at this point, proceeded to visit with a like severity even such offences as deciding a cause wrongfully on account of a bribe,[23] intruding without permission on the king's privacy,[24] approaching near to one of his concubines,[25] seating oneself, even accidentally, on the throne,[26] and the like. The modes of execution were also, for the most part, unnecessarily cruel. Poisoners were punished by having their heads placed upon a broad stone, and then

[10] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 46, 51, &c.
[11] Ib. §§ 48, 52; Val. Max. ix. 2, § 7.
[12] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 57.
[13] Herod. vii. 114. [14] Ib. iii. 35.
[15] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 59. Compare Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 17.
[16] Herod. l. s. c.
[17] This punishment is almost too horrible to set before the reader. It consisted in placing the sufferer's body between two boats in such a way that only his head and hands projected at one end and his feet at the other, and keeping him in this position till he died miserably from the loathsome effects of the confinement. Persons might linger on under this punishment as much as seventeen days. (See Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 16, where all the details are given with quite revolting minuteness.)
[18] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 57, 61. Compare Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 19. On the prevalence of poisoning in Persia in the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon, see Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, § 14.
[19] Ctes. § 40. [20] Herod. ix. 112.
[21] Ctes. § 55. [22] Ibid. l. s. c.
[23] Herod. v. 25; vii. 194.
[24] Ibid. iii. 118, 119; Esther, iv. 11.
[25] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 27.
[26] Val. Max. xxvi. 16; Frontin. *Strat.* iv. 6.

having their faces crushed, and their brains beaten out by repeated blows with another stone.[27] Ravishers and rebels were put to death by crucifixion.[28] The horrible punishment of "the boat" seems to have been no individual tyrant's cruel conception, but a recognised and legal form of execution.[29] The same may be said also of burying alive.[30] Again, the Persian secondary punishments were for the most part exceedingly barbarous. Xenophon tells us, as a proof of the good government maintained by the younger Cyrus in his satrapy, that under his sway it was common to see along all the most frequented roads numbers of persons who had had their hands or feet cut off, or their eyes put out, as a punishment for thieving and rascality.[31] And other writers relate that similar mutilations were inflicted on rebels,[32] and even on prisoners of war.[33] It would seem, indeed, that mutilation and scourging[34] were the ordinary forms of secondary punishment used by the Persians, who employed imprisonment solely for the safe custody of an accused person between his arrest and his execution,[35] while they had recourse to transportation and exile only in the case of political offenders.[36]

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[27] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 19.

[28] Herod. iii. 159; iv. 43; *Beh. Ins.* col. ii. par. 14; col. iii. par. 8.

[29] See Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 16.

[30] Herod. vii. 114. Περσικὸν τὸ ζῶντας κατορύσσειν.

[31] Xen. *Anab.* i. 9, § 13.

[32] *Beh. Ins.* col. ii. pars. 13 and 14.

[33] Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* v. 5; Diod. Sic. xvii. 69, § 3.

[34] Nic. Dam. Fr. 132.

[35] Herod. iii. 119; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 42, 60; *Beh. Ins.* col. ii. pars. 13 and 14.

[36] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 40. The small islands in the Persian Gulf were the Persian penal settlements. (Ctes. l. s. c.; Herod. iii. 93.)

CHAPTER IV.

LANGUAGE AND WRITING.

Τῆς Περσίδος γλώσσης ὅσα ἠδύνατο.—THUCYD. i. 38.

IT has been intimated in the account of the Median Empire which was given in a former volume, that the language of the Persians, which was identical, or almost identical, with that of the Medes, belonged to the form of speech known to moderns as Indo-European.[1] The characteristics of that form of speech are a certain number of common, or at least widely spread, roots, a peculiar mode of inflecting, together with a resemblance in the inflections, and a similarity of syntax or construction. Of the old Persian language the known roots are, almost without exception, kindred forms to roots already familiar to the philologist through the Sanscrit, or the Zend, or both; while many are of that more general type of which we have spoken —forms common to all, or most, of the varieties of the Indo-European stock. To instance in a few very frequently recurring words—"father," is in old Persian (as in Sanscrit) *pitar*, which differs only in the vocalisation from the Zendic *patar*, the Greek *πατήρ*, and the Latin *pater*, and of which cognate forms are the Gothic *fadar*, the German *vater*, the English *father*, and the Erse *athair*. "Name" is in old Persian (as in both Zend and Sanscrit) *nâma*, for which we have in Greek *ὄνομα*, in Latin *nomen*, in German *nahme* or *name*, in English *name*. "Man" is *martiya*, for which we have in Greek *βρότος*, in Latin *mortalis*, in English *mortal*, in modern Persian, *merd*. "Horse" is *açpa*, the same as in Zend, with which may be compared the Sanscrit *açva*, the modern Persian *asp*, the Greek *ἵππ-ος*, the Welsh *osw*, and even the Latin *equus*.[2]

[1] See vol. ii. pp. 356-361.

[2] The dialectic form *ἵκκος* connects *equus* with *ἵππος*.

The following table (pp. 250, 251) exhibits a number of similar instances.

With respect to inflections, we may observe first, that the original masculine nominatival ending (as was long ago observed by Herodotus[3]) was *sh* or *s*—the same as in Latin and Greek;[4] and this ending is found whenever the final vowel of the root is *i* or *u;* as in *Kurush*, *Daryavush*, *Fravartish*, and the like. When, however, the final root-vowel happened to be *â*, the *s* was dropped, first, perhaps, passing into a breathing, and then becoming absorbed in the vowel.[5] Thus we have *Auramazdâ*, *Artakhshatrâ*, *khshatrapâ* (satrap), &c. Where the root ended in a consonant, the final consonant was sometimes dropped, and the preceding vowel sound elongated—as *brâtar*, nom. *brâtâ*, "brother;" *pitar*, nom. *pitâ*, "father;" *jatar*, nom. *jatâ*, "enemy;" *napat*, nom. *napâ*, "grandson;" while at other times the consonant was retained, either with or without the light *a;* e.g. *açpa*, "a horse," *martiya*, "a man," *kauf*, "a mountain," *daraug*, "a lie," &c. Feminine nominatives usually ended in *-â* long; a few had *-i* as their final vowel; and these seem to have taken the masculine nominatival sign *-sh;* e.g. *shiyatish*, "happiness."[6] Neuters appear to have ended only in *-am*, a form analogous to the Latin *-um* and Greek *-ον*; examples are *avahanam*, "dwelling;" *hamaranam*, "battle;" *vardanam*, "city, state."

Besides the nominative, the ancient Persians recognised five other cases. These were the genitive, the accusative, the vocative, the ablative, and the locative.[7] The dative was wanting, and its force was expressed through the genitive.

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[3] Herod. i. 139. Herodotus confines his remark on this subject to the Persian *names*. But it is only true of them in the same sense that it is true of all Persian *nouns*.

[4] The termination *s* has the same force in Sanscrit, Gothic, and Lithuanian (see Bopp's *Comparative Grammar*, vol. i. § 134). It represents probably the old pronoun of the third person singular masculine, *sa*, "he," "this."

[5] This mode of accounting for the omission of the sibilant in the case of masculine roots in *-â* is suggested by Spiegel (*Altpersische Keilinschriften*, p. 153) and seems worthy of acceptance.

[6] *Api*, "water," is perhaps an exception, since we find *api-shim parâbara*, "the water destroyed them," in the Behistun Inscription (col. i. par. 19); but even here it is possible that *api-shim* is an abbreviation of the fuller form *apish-shim*. (Sir H. Rawlinson in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. x. p. 214.)

[7] Some writers, as Spiegel, regard the

Old Persian.	*Sanscrit.*	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*German.*	*English.*	*Mod. Persian.*
Aj (to drive)	aj	az	ἄγ-ειν	ag-ere	...	to act.	
Api (water)	âp	ap	...	aqua (?)	aue	av (in Av-on)	âb.
Amiya (I am)	asmi	ahmi	εἰμί	sum	...	am	am.
Arika (hostile)	ari	...	ἔρις	rixa (?).			
Bad (to bind)	bandh	baṅd	...	...	binden	bind	bas-tan (band).
Bar (to carry)	bhri	bere	φέρειν	ferre	fuhren	bear	bur-dan.
Bu (to be)	bhu	bu	...	...	bin	be	bu-dan.
Bumi (earth)	bhumi	bumi	...	humus	...	...	bumi.
Brâtar (brother)	bhrâtar	brâtar	...	frater	bruder	brother	birader
Cha (and)	ka	ka	καί	que.			
Çta (to stand)	sthâ	çta	ἵστημι	sto	stehen	stand	ista-dan.
Dâ (to give)	dhâ	dâ	δίδωμι	da-re	...	...	da-dan.
Dâ (to know)	dâ, dô	dao	δάω	doc-eo (?)	...	...	dan-istan.
Darsh (to dare)	...	dars	θαρσ-εῖν	au-dere	dürfen	dare.	
Duvarâ (door)	dvara	dvara	θύρα	(fores) (?)	thüre	door	dar.
Duvitiya (second)	dvitîyâ	bitya	δεύτερος	duo	zweite	two	du.
Fratama (first)	prathamâ	frathema	πρῶτος	primus	frum's (Goth.)	first.	
Garma (warm)	...	gharemo	θερμός (?)	...	warm	warm	gherm.
Garb (to take)	gribh, grabh	gerev	ἁρπ-άζω	rapio	greifen	gripe	girif-tan.
Gausha (the ear)	...	gaosha	οὖς	auris, ausculto	ohr	ear	gush.
Gub (to speak)	gup	...	...	jubeo (?)	...	gab, gabble	guf-tan.
Had-ish (a seat)	...	ḥadhis	ἕδος κ. τ. λ.	sed-es	sitz	seat.	
Hama (together)	...	hama	ἁμά	cum	...	...	ham.
I (to go)	i	i	ἰέναι	i-re.			
Jan (to strike, kill)	han	zan, jan	θέν-ω	...	...	...	zan.
Jiv (to live)	jiv	jiv, jvo	ζάϝω	vivo	...	...	zis-tan.
Ka (who)	ka	ka	...	quis	hva (O. G.)	who	ki.
Khshanas (to know)	...	...	γινώσ-κω	gnos-co	kennen	know	shinâs.

Old Persian.	*Sanscrit.*	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*German.*	*English.*	*Mod. Persian.*
Mâm (me)	mâm	manm	ἐμέ, με	me	mich	me	man.
Man (to think)	man	man	μένος	mens	meinen	mean.	
Man (to wait)	...	mann	μένω	maneo	...	...	man-dan.
Mar (to die)	mri	mere	(βρότος)	morior	...	...	mur-dan.
Matar	mâtar	mâtar	μήτηρ	mater	mutter	mother	mader.
Mathista (greatest)	...	mazista	μείζων / μέγιστος	...	...	mightiest, most.	
Mâha (month)	mas	mâoǧha	μήν	mensis	monat	mouth	mah.
Nâha (nose)	nâsâ	naoǧha	...	nasus	nase	nose.	
Napat (grandson)	napât	napô	(ἀνεψιός)	nepos	neffe	nephew	nava.
Navama (ninth)	navamâ	nâuma	ἔννεϝα	novem	neun	nine	navam.
Nâvi (ship)	nâus	naviya	ναῦς	navis	nacho (O. G.)	...	nau.
Niya (not)	na, nih	naedha	νη-	ne-	ni-cht	nay, not	na.
Pad (foot, footstep)	pâda	padha	πόδ-α	ped-em	fuss	foot	pá.
Paça (after)	...	paç-kat	...	post	...	...	pas.
Pathi (path)	panthan	pâtha	πάτος	pons (?)	pfad	path.	
Raçta (right)	raj	raz	...	rectus	richtig	right	rast.
Shim (him)	...	hîm	ὅν	...	ihn	him	ash.
Tars (to fear)	tras	tereç	τρέ-ω	tre-mo	...	tremble	tars.
Tigra (an arrow, sharp)	tigma	tighra	...	...	degen (?)	dagger (?)	tir.
Taumâ (family)	tokma	taokhma	(τέκω)	stemma	stamm	stem	tukhm.
Thah (to say)	ças	çaǧh	...	...	sagen	say	sukhn (speech).
Tritiya (third)	tritiyâ	thritya	τρίτος	tertius	dritte	third.	
Tuvam (thou)	twam	tum	τύ, σύ	tu	du	thou	tu.
Vaj (to bring)	vah	vaz	...	veho.			
Vâ (or, enclit.)	vâ	vâ	...	ve	...	...	va.
Vayam (we)	vayam	vaêm	...	...	wir	we.	
U (good)	su	hu	εὖ	euge	...	...	khub.
Utâ (and)	utâ	utâ	...	et	und (?)	and (?)	

The genitive singular of nouns masculine in *ă* was formed ordinarily by the addition of *hya*, with which we may compare the Sanscrit *-sya* and the Greek *-οιο*.[8] Other masculine nouns formed the genitive by adding to the root *-a*,[9] which probably stood for *-ah*, the Old Persian equivalent of the Sanscrit genitival *-as*. Masculines in *-ish* and *-ush* made the genitive in *-aish* and *-aush*, as *Kur-ush*, *Kur-aush*; *Fravart-ish*, *Fravart-aish*. Feminines in *â* formed the genitive by adding *-yâ*, as *taumâ*, "a family," gen. *taumâyâ*; those in *-ish* changed *-ish* into *-iya*, as *bumish*, "the earth," gen. *bumiya*. The genitive of neuter nouns does not occur in the inscriptions.

The universal sign of the accusative singular was *-m*.[10] Nouns whose nominative ended in *-sh* made the accusative by changing *-sh* into *-m*. Nouns in *-â* or *-ă* took *-m* in addition. The closest analogy to this is furnished by the Latin; but we may compare also the Greek *-ν*, the German *-n* ("den, ihn"), and our own *-m* in "him," and "whom."

The vocative seems to have ended, as in Sanscrit, with the root-vowel of the word, which, if not already long, was elongated; e. g. *martiyă*, "man," voc. *martiyâ*, "O man."

The ablative is thought to have terminated originally in *-at*;[11] but the *t* fell away, and the regular sign of the case became the long *-â*. (Compare the Latin ablative of nouns in *-a* and *-as*.)

The ordinary sign of the locative (which in Sanscrit and Zend is *-i*) was in the Old Persian *-ya* or *-iya*. Masculine nouns in *-ă* took the full form *-iya*, as *Armina*, loc. *Armina-iya*. Feminines in *-â* took *-yâ*, as *Athurâ*, loc. *Athurâyâ*; *Arbirâ*, loc. *Arbirâyâ*. Feminines in *-i* took sometimes simply *-yâ*, as *api*, "water," loc. *apiyâ*; sometimes they changed *-i* into *-aiyâ*,

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cases as seven rather than six, adding to those named above an "instrumental" case. But there is really no such distinct case in Old Persian, where sometimes the genitive, sometimes the ablative has an instrumental meaning.

[8] Or *-ιο*, since Bopp is probably right in regarding the first *ο* of *οιο* as belonging to the root. (*Grammar*, vol. i. § 189.) Masculines in *-â* formed the genitive by adding *-ha*, as *Auramazdâ*, gen. *Auramazdâha*.

[9] As *pitar*, "father," gen. *pitrą*.

[10] So also in Zend and Sanscrit. In Lithuanian the *m* is replaced by *ñ*, in Gothic by *-na*. (See Bopp, § 149.)

[11] Spiegel, *Altpersische Keilinschriften*, p. 154.

as *Bakhtri*, loc. *Bakhtraiyâ; Harauvati*, loc. *Harauvataiyâ*. Themes in *-u* took *v* as the characteristic of the locative instead of *y*,[12] the masculines changing *-u* into *-auva* (with a short final *ă*), and the feminines changing *-u* or *-au* into *-auvâ* (with the long *â*). Examples of masculines are *Babiru*, loc. *Babirauva; Margu*, loc. *Margauva;* of feminines, *dahyâu*, "a province," loc. *dahyauvâ; Ufratu*, "the Euphrates," loc. *Ufratauvâ*.

The nominative plural of roots in *-ă* seem to have been originally formed by changing *ă* into *âha*—the proper Persian equivalent of the Vedic *-âsas*—and this ending is found in the plural of one word, viz. *baga*, "God," which makes nom. pl. *bagâha*. The termination *-âha* was, however, in most instances contracted into *-â;*[1] e. g. *martiyâ*, "men;" *khshayathiyâ*, "kings," and the like. The nominative plural of roots in *-â*, *-i*, and *-u* is unknown, the inscriptions furnishing no examples.

The sign of the genitive plural was the suffix *-nâm*[2] (compare the Latin *-rum*), which was preceded by *-â*, *-i* (?) or *-u*, according to the characteristic vowel of the theme; e. g. *baga*, gen. pl. *bagânâm; khshayathiya*, gen. pl. *khshayathiyânâm; dahyâu*, gen. pl. *dahyunâm*. The accusative plural[3] of roots in *-a* and *-am* was the same as the nominative plural, e. g. *martiya*, "a man," acc. pl. *martiyâ*, "men;" *hamaranam*, "a battle," acc. pl. *hamaranâ*, "battles."

No vocatives plural have been found. The ablative plural was formed by the addition of *-bish* or *-ibish* (compare the

[12] So, in Sanscrit, themes in *-i* and *-u* form the locative in *-âu*. The Old Persian, in each form of the locative, strengthened the case vowel with its cognate consonant (*i* with *y*, and *u* with *v*).

[1] Compare the ordinary Sanscrit termination *-âs*, the Zendic *-âo*, *-ô*, the Greek *-αι* (*-οι*), the Latin *-æ* (*-i*) &c.

[2] Spiegel regards the *n* here as "euphonic," like the *n* in the Sanscrit genitive plural (*Altpersische Keilinschriften*, p. 156); but, as no genitive plural in the Old Persian has been found without the *n*, it would seem to be an essential part of the inflection. Probably the Old Persian *-nâm* is the equivalent of the Zendic *-ânm*, rather than of the Sanscrit *-n-âm*.

[3] The original sign of the accusative plural seems to have been *-ns*. (Bopp, § 236.) Of this complex form, which appears in the Gothic (e. g. *vulfans*, *gastins*, *sununs*) and in the Zend occasionally, Sanscrit retained only the *n*, while Greek, Latin, and Lithuanian kept only the *s*. The Zend (generally) and the Old Persian evaporated both the consonants, and replaced them by a vowel, which in Zend was *-ô*, in Old Persian *-â*.

Latin *-ibus*[4]) to the root of the word, as *baga, bagaibish; vith, vithibish; rauca, raucabish,* &c.

The sign of the locative plural was the suffix *-shuva,*[5] which in themes with the light *-ă* became *-ishuva,* as *Mada,* "a Mede," *Madaishuva,* "among the Medes."

The following are examples of the declensions so far as they are known to us:—

Declension of Nouns ending in ă.

	Sing.	*Plural.*
N.	Mada ..... a Mede.	Madâ ..... Medes.
G.	Madahyâ ..... of a Mede.	Madânâm ..... of Medes.
Ac.	Madam ..... a Mede.	Madâ ..... Medes.
V.	Madâ ..... O Mede.	Madâ (?) ..... O Medes.
Abl.	Madâ ..... by a Mede.	Madaibish ..... by Medes.
Loc.	Madaiya ..... with a Mede.	Madaishuva ..... with the Medes.

Declension of Nouns masculine ending in â.

	Sing.	*Plural.*
N.	Auramazdâ.	Wanting.
G.	Auramazdâha.	
Ac.	Auramazdâm.	
V.	Auramazdâ.	
Abl.	Auramazdâ.	
Loc.	Auramazdâyâ (?).	

Declension of Nouns feminine ending in â.

	Sing.	*Plural.*
N.	Taumâ ..... a family.	Unknown.
G.	Taumâyâ ..... of a family.	
Ac.	Taumâm (?) ... a family.	
V.	Taumâ ..... O family.	
Abl.	Taumâyâ ..... by a family.	
Loc.	Taumâyâ ..... in a family.	

Declension of Nouns ending in i *and* ish.

	Sing.	*Plural.*
N.	Apish ..... water.	Unknown.
G.	Apâish ..... of water.	
Ac.	Apim ..... water.	
V.	Unknown, prob. Api.	
Abl.	Unknown.	
Loc.	Apiya ..... in water.	

Declension of Nouns ending in ush.

	Sing.	*Plural.*
N.	Dahyâ-ush ..... a province.	Dahyâ-va ..... provinces.
G.	Dahyâ-âush (?) of a province.	Dahy-unâm ..... of provinces.
Ac.	Dahyâ-um ..... a province.	Dahyâ-va ..... provinces.
V.	Unknown.	Unknown.
Abl.	Unknown.	Unknown.
Loc.	Dahyâ-uva ..... in a province.	Dahy-ushuvâ..... in provinces.

[4] The Latin *-ibus* is of course a cognate form to the Sanscrit *-bhyas* and the Zendic *-byo.* The Greek *-φι* (*-φιν*) is probably the same inflection.

[5] Compare the Sanscrit *-su* or *-shu,* which is replaced in Zend by *-hva* or *-shva.* The Greek locative ending *-σι* (e. g. *'Αθήνῃσι*) is also cognate.

Declension of Nouns neuter ending in am.

	Sing.	*Plural.*
N.	Hamaranam..... a battle.	Hamaranâ ..... battles.
G.	Unknown.	Unknown.
Ac.	Hamaranam..... a battle.	Hamaranâ ..... battles.
V.	Unknown.	Unknown.
Abl.	Unknown.	Unknown.
Loc.	Unknown.	Unknown.

ADJECTIVES.

Adjectives appear to have followed in all respects the inflections of nouns. They ended generally in the weak *-a;* but one theme in *-u* has been found (*paru,* "much"), and there may also have been themes in *-i.*

The following is an example of an ordinary adjective in *-a.* (Forms of the adjective not actually found are printed in italics.)

Sing.

	M.	F.	N.
N.	vazark-a.	vazark-â.	*vazark-am.*
G.	vazark-ahyâ.	vazark-âyâ.	(unknown).
Ac.	vazark-am.	*vazark-âm.*	vazark-am.
V.	*vazark-â.*	(unknown).	(unknown).
Abl.	*vazark-â.*	*vazark-âyâ.*	(unknown).
Loc.	vazark-aiya.	*vazark-âyâ.*	(unknown).

Plural.

	M.	F.	N.
N.	vazark-â.	vazark-â.	*vazark-â.*
G.	*vazark-ânâm.*	vazark-ânâm.	(unknown).
Ac.	*vazark-â.*	vazark-â.	*vazark-â.*
V.	*vazark-â* (?).	(unknown).	(unknown).
Abl.	vazark-aibish.	(unknown).	(unknown).
Loc.	*vazark-aishuva.*	vazark-auva.	(unknown).

As in Sanscrit,[1] the comparative degree of adjectives seems to have been formed by adding *-tara* to the positive, e. g. *apa,* "distant," *apa-tara,* "the more distant;" the superlative by adding *-tama,* e. g. *fra, fra-tama,* "the first." There was also a superlative in *-ista* (compare the Greek *-ιστος*), which would

[1] See Bopp, § 291. In Zend, the inflections were respectively *-tara* and *-tema.* The comparative form *-tara* is represented in Greek by *-τερον*, and in Latin by *-terus* (e. g. *posterus*); the superlative *-tama* (*-tema*) may be traced in the Gothic *-tuma* and the Latin *-timus* (e.g. *optimus, ultimus, intimus,* &c.).

seem to imply a comparative in *-îyas.*[2] The only known example of this superlative is *mathista,* "greatest."

NUMERALS.

The numerals are but little known to us, owing to the practice which prevailed of writing them by the means of signs. A single wedge, placed perpendicularly, marked one (𐎹); two such signs marked two, and so on up to nine; the sign of ten was the double wedge, or arrow-head (𐏑), and this was used for the tens up to ninety. To mark a hundred the horizontal wedge was probably used (𐎺).

A few numerals only, and those, in every case, ordinals, have reached us through the inscriptions. They are *fratama,* "the first," *duvitiya,* "the second," *tritiya,* "the third," and *navama,* "the ninth."[3] *Fratama,* for which the Zend has *fratema,* combines the formative letters which we find separately in πρῶτος and *pri-mus.* Its root *fra* is cognate with πρό. *Duvitiya* corresponds closely with δεύτερος, as *tritya* does with τρίτος and *tertius. Navama,* "ninth," implies a cardinal number, very closely resembling *novem.*

PRONOUNS.

The personal pronouns in Old Persian, as in most Indo-European tongues, were declined very irregularly—the different cases really belonging to completely distinct roots. The roots themselves are without exception such as occur in other cognate languages,[4] and approach very closely indeed to the forms used in the Zend, as will appear by the subjoined declensions.

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[2] The Sanscrit has a superlative in *-ishtha,* which comes from a comparative in *-îyas.* (Bopp, § 298.)

[3] The following are the forms of these ordinals in the chief varieties of Indo-European speech, as given by Bopp in his *Comparative Grammar* (§ 323):—

Sanscrit.	*Zend.*	*Dor. Greek.*	*Latin.*	*Gothic.*	*Lithuanian.*	*Old Sclavonic.*
prathamâ	frathema	πρώτα	prima	fruma	pirmà	perva-ya
dvitiyâ	bitya	δευτέρα	altera	anthara	antrà	vtora-ya
tritiyâ	thritya	τρίτα	tertia	thridivô	trechià	treti-ya
navamâ	nâuma	ἐννάτα	nona	niundô	dewintà	devyata-ya

[4] *Adam,* "I," which has its nearest equivalent in the Zendic *azem,* is undoubtedly cognate with the Sanscrit *aham,* and thus with the Greek ἐγώ

Declension of âdam, "I."

	Sing.		*Plural.*	
	Old Persian.	Zend.	Old Persian.	Zend.
N.	âdam	azem.	vayam	vaem.
G.	manâ	mana.	amâkham	ahmâkem.
Ac.	mâm	mâm.	(unknown).	
	-maiya (*encl.*).			
Abl.	-ma (*encl.*) ...		(unknown).	

The pronoun of the second person is known to us only in the singular, in which it is declined as follows:—

Nom. Tuvam ..... "thou" (comp. Sans. *tvam* and Zend *tum*).
Gen. -taiya or -taya (*encl.*).
Acc. Thuvâm (compare Sans. *tvâm* and Zend *thwañm*).
Voc. Tuvam.

The ordinary pronoun of the third person is *hauva*, which is declined as follows:—

Sing.

	M.	F.	N.
N.	Hauva.	Hauva.	Ava.
G.	Avahyâ.	(Unknown).	(Unknown).
Ac.	Avam.	(Unknown).	Ava.
	-shim (*enclitic*).		
Abl.	-shaiya (*encl.*).	(Unknown).	(Unknown).

Plural.

	M.	F.	N.
N.	Avaiya.	Avâ.	(Unknown).
G.	Avaishâm.	(Unknown).	(Unknown).
	-shâm (*encl.*).		
Ac.	Avaiya.	(Unknown).	(Unknown).
	-shim, -shîsh (*encl.*).	-shim (*encl.*)	
Abl.	-shâm (*encl.*).	-shâm (*encl.*).	

Strictly speaking, *hauva* is the more remote demonstrative, equivalent to our "that;" but practically its use is personal. There appear to have been originally three such demonstratives in the Old Persian, *hauva*, *ava*, and *shi* or *shish*, from the surviving cases of which the above declension is made up.

Hauva is probably identical with the Sanscrit *sas* (*sa*, *so*)

(ἐγών), the Latin *ego*, the German *ich*, and so with our "I." *Manâ*, *mâm*, *maiya*, and *ma* are modifications of a root which is common to Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, German, Lithuanian, and Sclavonic, and which appears in English as "me." The plural *vayam* is a rarer form, having near correspondents only in Sanscrit (*vayam*), Zend (*vaem*), and Gothic (*veis*). *Amâkham* differs but slightly from the Zendic *ahmâkem* and Sanscrit *asmâkam*, which have the same meaning. It implies a root *asma*, *ahma*, or *ama*, which has given birth to the Greek ἄμμες (ἡμεῖς), and perhaps to *uns* and *unser*.

and the Zend *hau* (*hô*).[1] *Ava* has no exact equivalent in Sanscrit or Zend; but its inflections have mostly their Zendic representatives—the gen. *avahyâ* corresponding to *avaĝhê*, the acc. *avam* to *aom*, the nom. masc. pl. *avaiya* to *avâ*, the nom. fem. Pl. *avâ* to *avâo*, and the gen. pl. *avaishâm* to *avaêshâm*. The third element, *shi*, which has furnished the pronominal suffixes *shish*, *shim*, *shâm*, and *shaiya*, corresponds to the Zend *hoi*, *hê*, and *shê*, which are used for the genitive and dative singular of the third person in all genders.[2]

The nearer demonstrative, "this," is expressed by *iyam*, which is declined as follows:—

Sing.

	M.	F.	N.
N.	Iyam.	Iyam.	Ima.
G.	(Unknown).	Ahyâyâ.	(Unknown).
Ac.	Imam.	Imâm.	Ima.
Abl. or *Instr.*	Anâ.	(Unknown).	(Unknown).

Plural.

	M.	F.	N.
N.	Imaiya.	Imâ.	(Unknown).
G.	(Unknown).	(Unknown).	(Unknown).
Ac.	Imaiya.	Imâ.	Imâ.
Abl. or *Instr.*	(Unknown).	(Unknown).	(Unknown).

Here again the agreement with the Zend, and also with the Sanscrit, is very complete.[3]

The relative, "who," "which," is rendered by *hya*. Its declension, so for as we can trace it out, is the following:—

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[1] The original form of the cuneiform *hauva* was probably *hau*, which appears in *haushaiya* (*Persep. Inscript.* H, line 3). This *hau* is identical with the Zend *hô*, which is itself the exact equivalent of the Sanscrit सो, *sô*. *Sô* itself seems to be a corruption of the original nominatival *sas*, being for *sa-u*, where the *u* was a softened form of the case-ending *s*. (Bopp, § 347; Rawlinson, *Vocabulary*, p. 51, note [1].)

[2] Bopp, § 341. The Greek and Latin reflexives (σφέ, ἕ, *se*) are forms of the same base.

[3] The Sanscrit has identically the same forms in the acc. masc. and the nom. and acc. fem. of the singular. The nom. masc. is *ayam* (compare *iyam*), the gen. fem. is *asyâs* (compare *ahyâyâ*), and the instrumental masc. is *anena* (compare *anâ*). Only in the neuter is there a radical difference, the Sanscrit using *idam* in the place of *ima*. Here, however, the Old Persian accorded closely with the Zend, which had *ima* for the nom. and *imat* for the accusative neuter.

Sing.

M.	F.	N.
N. Hya.	Hyâ.	Tya.
G. (Unknown).	(Unknown).	(Unknown).
Ac. Tyam.	Tyâm.	Tya.
Voc. Hyâ.	(Unknown).	(Unknown).
Abl. Tyanâ.	(Unknown).	(Unknown).

Plural.

M.	F.	N.
N. Tyaiya.	Tyâ.	Tyâ.
G. Tyaisâm.	Tyaisâm.	(Unknown).
Ac. Tyaiya.	Tyâ.	Tyâ.
Abl. (Unknown).	(Unknown).	(Unknown).

Other pronouns are *ka*, "who" (interrog.);[4] *aita*, "it;" *aniya*, "another;" *uvâ*, "self," "own" (compare Lat. *suus*), which is found only in composition; *kashchiya*, "any one" (compare Lat. *quisque*); *hama*, "all" (comp. Lat. *omnis*); *haruva*, "all," &c.

VERBS.

The verb in Old Persian had three voices, Active, Middle, and Passive; but of these the middle differed in form very slightly from the Passive. The moods recognised were the Indicative, the Imperative, the Subjunctive or Potential, and the Infinitive. The tenses seem to have been the present, the imperfect, the aorist, and the perfect. There was no future, the deficiency being supplied by the present subjunctive, which had a future force.

Of the verb substantive *amiya* (= sum), the conjugation, so far as we know it, is the following:—

Indicative.

Present.

Amiya	"I am."	Amahya	"we are."
Ahya	"Thou art."	(Unknown).	
Astiya	"He is."	Hatiya[5]	"they are."

[4] The form is the same both in Zend and Sanscrit. (Bopp, § 387.) We may compare with it the Latin *quis*, *quæ*, *quid*, and the Gothic *hvas*, *hvô*, *hva*. The Greek had probably once an interrogative *κός*, *κή*, *κό*, of which traces exist in *κοῖος*, *κόσος*, *κότε*, *κῶς*, and the like.

[5] Compare with this the following set of forms:—

Zend.	*Sanscrit.*	*Dor. Greek.*	*Latin.*	*Lithuanian.*	*Old Sclavonic.*
ahmi	asmi	ἐμμί	sum	esmi	yesme
ahi	asi	ἐσσί	es	essi	yesi
asti	asti	ἐστί	est	esti	yesto
hmahi	'smas	ἐσμές	sumus	esmi	yesmo
stha	'sthâ	ἐστέ	estis	este	yeste
henti	santi	ἐντί	sunt	esti	somte

Imperfect.

Aham ..... "I was."	(Unknown).
(Unknown).	(Unknown).
Aha ..... "He was."	Aha ..... "they were."

Imperfect Middle.

Ahata or Ahatâ ..... "they became."

CONJUNCTIVE.

Present.

Ahatiya ..... He may be.

It is impossible to give anything like a complete example of the conjugation of a regular verb. The inscriptions are so similar in their character, and run so much in the same groove, that, while we have abundant examples of certain forms, the great majority of the forms are wanting. Suffice it to notice a few points in which the conjugation resembled the Greek or the Latin, or both, such as the following.

Past time was usually marked by prefixing an augment, the augment used being the long *â*, which was regularly attached to the imperfect and aorist tenses, as *jan*, imperf. *âjanam ; thah*, imperf. *âthaham ; dâ*, imperf. *âdadâ ;* aor. *âdâ*. The perfect tense, which occurs but rarely, seems to have had, instead of the augment, a reduplication ; as *kar*, *chakhriyâ*.

The ordinary sign of the first person singular was *-mi* or *-m* (compare Greek, *εἰμί*, *τίθημι* ; Latin, su*m*, era*m*, si*m*, esse*m*, &c.) ; of the first person plural, *-mahya* or *-mâ* (Latin, *-mus ;* Æol. Greek, *-μες*) ; of the third person singular, *-sh* (Greek, *τίθησι* ; English, "ha*s*," "i*s*") ; but this sign was commonly dropped ; of the third person plural, *-tiya* or (according to Spiegel) *-ñtiy* (compare Greek, *τύπτονται* ; Latin, "su*nt*").

The past participle ended in *-ta*, as *karta*, neut. *kartam*, "done ;" *dâta*, "given," from *dâ ; pâta*, "protected," from *pâ ; basta*, "bound" from *bad*, &c. (Compare the Sanscrit and Latin past participles.)

ADVERBS.

Of adverbs, the most important are those of time and place. Among adverbs of time the old Persian had the following :— *yathâ*, "when ;" *thakatâ*, "then ;" *pasâva*, "afterwards ;" *aparam*,

"hereafter;" *paruvam*, "before;" *daragam*, "long;" *duvaistam*, "long ago;" and *duvitâtaranam*, "for a length of time." Among those of place were "*idâ*, "here;" *avadâ*, "there;" *apataram*, "elsewhere;" and *amutha*, "thence."

The ordinary negative was *niya*,[6] "not;" but besides this there was a negative of prohibition, *mâ*, corresponding exactly to the Greek μή and the Latin *ne*, in such phrases as μὴ γένοιτο, *ne facias*, and the like.[7]

Among adverbs of quality may be mentioned *vasiya*, "much," "greatly," "often;" and *darsham*, "wholly," "entirely;" the former of which occurs very frequently in the inscriptions.

PREPOSITIONS.

Among prepositions the following have been satisfactorily identified:—*hachâ*, "from;" *abiya*, *patiya*, "to;" *abish*, "by;" *ni*, "in;" *hadâ*, "with;" *upa*, "near;" *ayasta*, "near" or "by;" *patish*, "before" (= Latin *coram*); *pasâ*, "behind," "after;" *pariya*, "concerning;" *atara*, "among;" *anuva*, "along;" *atiya*, "across;" *upariya*, "over," "above;" and *athiya*, "over against." Of these, *abiya* may be compared with the Greek ἐπί, *ni* with ἐνί, *pariya* with περί, *upariya* with Greek ὑπέρ, Latin *super*, *athiya* with ἀντί, *upa* with Latin *apud*, *pasa* with *post*, *ayasta*, with *juxta*, and *atara* with *inter*. *Hachâ*, *hadâ*, *patiya*, and *anuva*, have close correspondents in the Zend,[1] but none in languages with which the ordinary reader is familiar.

Two or three other prepositions, which are not found separately, are indicated by compound words, in which they occur as an element. Thus *hama*[2] seems to have had the sense of the Greek ἁμά or ὁμοῦ, and *tara* that of the Latin *trans*, with

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[6] *Niya* may be compared with the Sanscrit *nih*, the Latin *ne* (in *nefandum*, *neyo* and the like), the Greek νη (in νημερτής, κ.τ.λ.) the Gothic, Lithuanian, and Old Sclavonic *ni*, &c.

[7] *Mâ* has exactly the same force both in Sanscrit and in Zend.

[1] Namely, *hachâ*, *hadha*, *paiti*, *anu*.

[2] *Hama* is to be connected with the Sanscrit *sam*, the Zendic *haêm*, the Greek σύν, the Lithuanian *san*, and perhaps even the Latin *cum*. (See Bopp, § 1016.) *Tara* corresponds to *tirâs* in Sanscrit, *tarô* in Zend, *trans* in Latin, *thairh* in Gothic, *durch* in Mod. German, and to our own "through." (Ibid. § 1018.)

which they are etymologically connected. *Parâ* had also apparently the sense of "from" or "away."[3]

CONJUNCTIONS.

Of conjunctions the most common were *uta* and *-cha* (enclitic), "and;" which corresponded respectively to the Latin *et* and *que; va*, "or" (compare Latin *ve*); *avathâ*, "thus," "so" (compare Greek *οὕτω*); *yatha*, "as," its correlative; *tya*, "that;" *aivam*, "both—and" (used like the Latin *tum—tum*); *avâ*, "so long"—*yava*, "as;" *chitâ*, "all the while"—*yâtâ*, "until;" *yadiya*, "if;" and *matiya*, "lest" (compare the Greek *μήτι*).

SYNTAX.

The ordinary rules of Indo-European syntax were (as might be supposed) observed in the old Persian. Adjectives agreed with their substantives in gender, number, and case. Thus we have *kara Parsa* "the Persian people," in the nominative, but *karam Parsam uta Madam*, "the Persian and Median people," in the accusative; *imâm bumim*, "this earth" (accus.); *ahyâyâ bumiyâ vazarkâyâ*, "of this great earth" (gen.); *Baga vazarka*, "a great God" (nom.); *hadâ vithaibish Bagaibish*, "with the tutelary Gods" (abl.), &c. Relative pronouns agreed with their antecedents in number, gender, and person, but their case depended on the verb accompanying them; as *iyam dahyavush*, tyâm *manâ Auramazdâ frâbara*, "this province which Ormazd has given me"—*imâ dahyâva*, tyâ *adam adarshiya*, "these provinces which I have possessed"—*avam kâram*, hya *manâ niya gaubatiya*, "that people which is not called mine," &c.

The latter of two substantives was placed in the genitive case; as, *khshâyathiya khshâyathiyânâm*, "king of kings"—*Vishtâspahyâ putra*, "son of Hystaspes," and the like. The genitive case also followed the superlative; as, *mathishta Bagânâm*, "the greatest of the Gods."

Verbs commonly governed the accusative, as *mâm khshâyathiyam akunaush*, "he made me king;" *khshatram hauva*

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[3] Compare the Sanscrit *párâ*, which has exactly this meaning. (Bopp, § 1011.) The Greek *παρά* and even the Latin *per* are probably the same word.

agarbâyatâ, "he seized the empire," &c. When the force of the verb passed on to a second object, that object was expressed by the genitive-dative case; as *Auramazdâ khshatram manâ frâbara*, "Ormazd granted me the empire;" *manâ bajim abaratâ*, "they brought me tribute." Occasionally a verb governed a double accusative, as *khshatramshim adinam*, "I took the empire from him."

Prepositions generally governed the accusative or the ablative. The accusative followed *abiya*, "to," "after;" *athiya*, "over," "against," "near;" *atara*, "among;" *pariya*, "concerning;" *patiya*, "to," "for;" *patish*, "in face of;" *upa*, "near;" and *upariya*, "over," "above." *Hadâ*, "with," and *hachâ*, "from," took the ablative. The locative followed *anuva*, "along," and perhaps sometimes *patiya* and *abish*.[4] *Pasâ*, "after," took a genitive.

Among the peculiarities of old Persian syntax may be mentioned the following:—(1.) The pronouns had in certain cases an enclitic form, wherein they could be attached to almost any kind of word:[5] e. g. *Auramazdâ*-maiya *upastam abara*, "Oromasdes mihi opem tulit"—*adam*shim *avajanam*, "Ego eum occidi"—*hachâ*ma, "a me"—*mâm Auramazdâ patuva, utâ*-maiya *khshatram, utâ tya*maiya *kartam*, "Me Oromazdes protegat, et mihi imperium, et quod a me factum." (2.) Adjectives, instead of simply accompanying their substantives, were often joined to them by the relative pronoun *hya*, the relative being in such cases attracted into the case of the noun, e. g. *kâra* hya *hamitriya, kâram* tyam *Mâdam, pathim* tyam *raçtam*, &c. (3.) The genitive of the personal pronoun was usually employed in the place of a possessive pronoun: e. g. manâ *badaka*, "meus servus" (lit. "*mei* servus"); amâkham *taumâ*, "nostra familia" (lit. "*nostrûm* familia"), &c. Sometimes a redundant relative accompanied these expressions; as, hyâ *amâkham taumâ*, "quæ nostrûm familia," *i. e.* "familia nostra." (4.) The substantive verb was most commonly omitted from a sentence,[6] as *Adam Kurush*, "Ego Cyrus"—*i. e.* "Ego *sum* Cyrus."

[4] See the remarks of Spiegel (*Altpersische Keilinschriften*, pp. 172, 173.)

[5] The exceptions are verbs and adjectives, which seem never to take a pronominal suffix.

[6] Compare the Sanscrit. (Williams, *Sanscrit Grammar*, § 839.)

In conclusion, a passage is subjoined, accompanied by an interlinear Latin translation, whereby the close similarity of the syntactical construction, and order of the words, in the Latin and the Old Persian will be apparent.

Baga	*vazarka*	*Auramazdâ,*	*hya*	*imâm*	*bumim*	*adâ,*	*hya*	*avam*
Deus	magnus	Oromasdes,	qui	hanc	terram	dedit,	qui	istud

asmânam	*adâ,*	*hya*	*martiyam*	*adâ,*	*hya*	*shiyâtim*	*adâ*	*martiyahyâ,*
cœlum	dedit,	qui	hominem	dedit,	qui	felicitatem	dedit	homini,

hya	*Dâryavum*	*khshâyathiyam*	*akunaush,*	*aivam*	*paruvanâm*
qui	Darium	regem	fecit,	tum	multorum

khshâyathiyam,	*aivam*	*paruvanâm*	*framâtaram.*	*Adam*	*Dâryavush,*
regem,	tum	multorum	dominum.	Ego (sum)	Darius,

khshâyathiya	*vazarka,*	*khshâyathiya*	*khshâyathiyânâm,*	*khshâyathiya*
rex	magnus,	rex	regum,	rex

dahyunâm	*vizpazanânâm,*	*khshâyathiya*	*ahyâyâ*	*bumiyâ*
provinciarum	a-multis-gentibus-habitatarum,	rex	hujus	terræ

vazarkâyâ	*duriâpiya,*	*Vishtâspahyâ*	*putra,*	*Hakhâmanishiya;*	*Pârsa,*
magnæ	latè-patentis,	Hystaspis	filius,	Achæmenius;	Persa,

Pârsahyâ	*putra,*	*Ariya,*	*Ariya chitra.*	*Thâtiya*	*Dâryavush*
Persæ	filius,	Arius,	ex Aria stirpe.	Dicit	Darius

khshâyathiya:	*Vashnâ*	*Auramazdâhâ*	*imâ*	*dahyâva*	*tyâ*	*adam*
rex:	Gratiâ	Oromazdis	hæ (sunt)	provinciæ	quas	ego

agarbâyam	*apataram*	*hachâ*	*Pârsâ.*	*Adamsham*	*patiyakhshaiya.*	*Manâ*
obtinui	longiùs	a	Perside.	Ego illas	rexi.	Mihi

bajim	*abara . . . ha.*	*Tyashâm*	*hachâma*	*athahya,*	*ava*
tributum	tulerunt	Quod illis	à me	dictum est,	illud

akunava.	*Dâtam*	*tya*	*manâ,*	*aita*	*adâri.*
fecerunt.	Jussum	quod	à me,	id	servatum est.

WRITING.

The ordinary Persian writing was identical with that which has been described in the second volume of this work as Median. A cuneiform alphabet, consisting of some thirty-six or thirty-seven forms, expressive of twenty-three distinct sounds, sufficed for the wants of the people, whose language was simple and devoid of phonetic luxuriance. Writing was from left to right,

as with the Arian nations generally. Words were separated from one another by an oblique wedge ⟍; and were divided at any point at which the writer happened to reach the end of a line. Enclitics were joined without any break to the words which they accompanied.

The Persian writing which has come down to us is almost entirely upon stone. It comprises various rock tablets,[1] a number of inscriptions upon buildings,[2] and a few short legends upon vases[3] and cylinders.[4] It is in every case incised or cut into the material. The letters are of various sizes, some (as those at Elwend) reaching a length of about two inches, others

[1] Far the most important of these is the great rock-inscription at Behistun, first published by Sir H. Rawlinson, in the year 1846 (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. x. part i.), and since edited by Spiegel (*Altpersisch. Keilinschrift.* pp. 2-45). Next to this may be placed the inscriptions on the tomb of Darius at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, edited by Sir H. Rawlinson in the *Asiatic Society's Journal* (vol. xi. pp. 291-313; vol. xii. App. pp. xix-xxi), one of which had been previously published by Lassen (*Zeitschrift des Morgenlandes*, vol. vi. pp. 81 et seqq.). In the third rank come the two inscriptions of Darius and Xerxes near the foot of Mount Elwend, in the vicinity of the town of Hamadan. These inscriptions were first edited by Burnouf (*Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions cunéiformes trouvées près d'Hamadan, Juin*, 1836). They are given very incorrectly by M. Flandin (*Voyage en Perse*, "Planches Anciennes," tom. i. pls. 26 and 27). Lastly may be named the short rock inscription of Xerxes at Van (Lassen, in the *Zeitschrift*, vol. vi. pp. 145 et seqq.; Rawlinson, in *As. Soc. Journ.* vol. xi. pp. 334-336).

[2] The most important of these are 1. A short legend of Cyrus, several times repeated, at *Murghab* (Pasargadæ). This was first copied by Sir W. Ouseley (*Travels*, vol. ii. pl. xlix. fig. 5). It was recognised as containing the name of Cyrus by Grotefend. (See Heeren's *Asiatic Nations*, vol. ii. p. 362, E. T.) 2. Numerous legends of Darius and Xerxes, together with one of Artaxerxes Ochus, at Persepolis. These have been edited by Lassen, by Sir H. Rawlinson, and by Spiegel. 3. Two legends of Artaxerxes Mnemon at Susa, discovered by Mr. Loftus in 1851-2, and edited by Mr. Norris in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. pp. 157-162. 4. A mutilated legend of Darius on a stone near Suez, first copied by M. De Rozière, and published in the *Description de l'Égypte* (vol. i. pp. 265-275; Planches, vol. v. pl. 29, figs. 1 to 4). This legend has been corrected and restored by Sir H. Rawlinson (*Journal of As. Society*, vol. xi. p. 313).

[3] The vase inscriptions are the following:—1. One of Xerxes on the vase of Caylus, which is accompanied by transcripts in the Scythic, Babylonian, and Egyptian languages. (See Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, tom. v. pl. xxx.; and compare *As. Soc. Journal*, vol. xi. p. 339.) 2. A duplicate of this on a vase discovered at Halicarnassus by Mr. Newton. (See Birch in Newton's *Halicarnassus*, vol. ii. pp. 667-670.) 3. A legend of Xerxes on several fragments of vases discovered at Susa by Mr. Loftus (Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 409). And 4. An inscription of an Artaxerxes (Ochus?) on a porphyry vase in the treasury of St. Mark's at Venice (*Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. xi. p. 347). This inscription is accompanied by an Egyptian transcript.

[4] There are two legends on cylinders. One is on the signet-cylinder of Darius (figured above, p. 227). The other is on the seal of a certain Arsaces, the son of Athiyabusanes. (See Lajard's *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xxxii. fig. 1.)

(those, for instance, on the vases) not exceeding the sixth of an inch.[5] The inscriptions cover a space of at least a hundred and eighty years, commencing with Cyrus, and terminating with Artaxerxes Ochus, the successor of Mnemon. The style of the writing is, on the whole, remarkably uniform, the latter inscriptions containing only two characters unknown to the earlier times. Orthography, however, and grammar are in these later inscriptions greatly changed, the character of the changes being indicative of corruption and decline, unless, indeed, we are to ascribe them to mere ignorance on the part of the engravers.[6]

There can be little doubt that, besides the cuneiform character, which was only suited for inscriptions, the Persians employed a cursive writing for common literary purposes.[7] Ctesias informs us that the royal archives were written on parchment;[8] and there is abundant evidence that writing was an art perfectly familiar to the educated Persian.[9] It might have been supposed that the Pehlevi, as the lineal descendant of the Old Persian language, would have furnished valuable assistance towards solving the question of what character the Persians employed commonly: but the alphabetic type of the Pehlevi inscriptions is evidently Semitic; and it would thus seem that the old national modes of writing had been completely lost before the establishment by Ardeshir, son of Babek, of the new Persian Empire.[10]

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[5] Caylus, *Recueil d'Antiquités*, tom. v. p. 81.

[6] See the remarks of Sir H. Rawlinson in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xi. pp. 342-346.

[7] Compare above, vol. ii. p. 370.

[8] Ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 32, § 4. Compare Nic. Dam. Fr. 10.

[9] Herod. iii. 128, 136; v. 14; vii. 100; Thucyd. i. 129; &c.

[10] Sir H. Rawlinson in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. x. p. 51.

CHAPTER V.

ARCHITECTURE AND OTHER ARTS.

Ἱδρυτο [ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς] ἐν Σούσοις ἢ Ἐκβατάνοις . . . . θαυμαστὸν ἐπέχων βασίλειον οἶκον, καὶ περίβολον, χρυσῷ καὶ ἠλέκτρῳ καὶ ἐλέφαντι ἀστράπτοντα· πυλῶνές τε πολλοὶ καὶ συνεχεῖς, πρόθυρά τε συχνοῖς εἰργόμενα σταδίοις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, θύραις τε χαλκαῖς καὶ τείχεσι μεγαλοῖς ὠχύρωτο.—*De Mundo*, vi. p. 637.

If in the old world the fame of the Persians, as builders and artists, fell on the whole below that of the Assyrians and Babylonians—their instructors in art, no less than in letters and science—it was not so much that they had not produced works worthy of comparison with those which adorned Babylon and Nineveh, as that, boasting less antiquity and less originality than those primitive races, they did not strike in the same way the imagination of the lively Greeks, who moreover could not but feel a certain jealousy of artistic successes, which had rewarded the efforts of a living and rival people. It happened, moreover, that the Persian masterpieces were less accessible to the Greeks than the Babylonian, and hence there was actually less knowledge of their real character in the time when Greek literature was at its best. Herodotus and Xenophon, who impressed on their countrymen true ideas of the grandeur and magnificence of the Mesopotamian structures,[1] never penetrated to Persia Proper, and perhaps never beheld a real Persian building.[2] Ctesias, it is true, as a resident at the Achæmenian Court for seventeen years,[3] must certainly have seen Susa and

[1] See Herod. i. 93, 178-187; Xen. *Anab.* iii. 4, §§ 6-10.

[2] If Herodotus visited Susa (as is generally supposed), he must have seen the palace which was there erected by Darius Hystaspis (Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 364-378). But it may well be questioned whether his travels extended so far.

[3] Diod. Sic. ii. 32, § 4; Tzetz. *Chiliad.* i. 82-85.

Ecbatana, if not even Persepolis, and he therefore must have been well acquainted with the character of Persian palaces; but, so far as appears from the fragments of his work which have come down to us, he said but little on the subject of these edifices. It was not until Alexander led his cohorts across the chain of Zagros to the high plateau beyond, that a proper estimate of the great Persian buildings could be made; and then the most magnificent of them all was scarcely seen before it was laid in ruins.[4] The barbarous act of the great Macedonian conqueror, in committing the palace of Persepolis to the flames, tended to prevent a full recognition of the real greatness of Persian art even after the Greeks had occupied the country; but we find from this time a certain amount of acknowledgment of its merits—a certain number of passages, which, like that which forms the heading to this chapter, admit alike its grandeur and its magnificence.[5]

If, however, the ancients did less than justice to the efforts of the Persians in architecture, sculpture, and the kindred arts, moderns have, on the contray, given them rather an undue prominence. From the middle of the seventeenth century, when Europeans first began freely to penetrate the East, the Persian ruins, especially those of Persepolis, drew the marked attention of travellers; and in times when the site of Babylon had attracted but scanty notice, and that of Nineveh and the other great Assyrian cities was almost unknown, English, French, and German *savans* measured, described, and figured the Persian remains with a copiousness and exactness that left little to desire. Chardin, the elder Niebuhr, Le Brun, Ouseley, Ker Porter,[6] exerted themselves with the most praiseworthy zeal to represent fully and faithfully the marvels of the "Chehl Minar;" and these persevering efforts were followed within no very lengthy period by the splendid and exhaustive works of the

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[4] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 18; Strab. xv. 3, § 6.

[5] See especially Polyb. x. 27; and Strab. xv. 3, §§ 3, 6.

[6] Chardin's work (*Voyage en Perse*, 2 vols. 4to.) was published in 1674, Le Brun's (*Voyage au Levant*) in 1704, the elder Niebuhr's (*Reise nach Arabien*, 2 vols.) in 1765, Ouseley's (*Travels*, 3 vols. 4to.) between 1814 and 1823, and Ker Porter's (*Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c.* 2 vols. 4to.) in 1821.

Baron Texier[7] and of MM. Flandin and Coste.[8] Persepolis rose again from its ashes in the superb and costly volumes of these latter writers, who represented on the grandest scale, and in the most finished way, not only the actual but the ideal—not only the present but the past—placing before our eyes at once the fullest and completest views of the existing ruins, and also restorations of the ancient structures, some of them warm with colour and gilding,[9] which, though to a certain extent imaginary, probably give to a modern the best notion that it is now possible to form of an old Persian edifice.

It is impossible within the limits of the present work, and with the resources at the author's command, to attempt a complete description of the Persian remains, or to vie with writers who had at their disposal all the modern means of illustration. By the liberality of a well-known authority on architecture,[10] he is able to present his readers with certain general views of the most important structures; and he also enjoys the advantage of illustrating some of the most curious of the details with engravings from a set of photographs recently taken. These last have, it is believed, an accuracy beyond that of any drawings hitherto made, and will give a better idea, than words could possibly do, of the merit of the sculptures. With these helps, and with the addition of reduced copies from some of MM. Flandin and Coste's plates, the author hopes to be able to make his account fairly intelligible, and to give his readers the opportunity of forming a tolerably correct judgment on the merit of the Persian art in comparison with that of Babylon and Assyria.

Persian architectural art displayed itself especially in two

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[7] *Description de l'Arménie, de la Perse et de la Mésopotamie*, 2 vols. folio, Paris, Didot, 1842-1852.

[8] This magnificent work, the product of a French Government Commission under the celebrated Eugene Burnouf, is entitled simply "*Voyage en Perse*." It is in six volumes, folio, one volume containing the "Travels," and the other five being devoted to plates. It bears no date, but was published, I believe, between 1845 and 1850.

[9] See especially the beautiful plate (No. 112) with which the third volume of the *Voyage en Perse* closes.

[10] Mr. James Fergusson, author of the *History of Architecture*, the *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored*, &c. To Mr. Fergusson's kindness the writer of this work was also indebted for several of the illustrations of Assyrian architecture contained in the first volume.

forms of building—the palace and the tomb. Temples were not perhaps unknown in Persia,[1] though much of the worship may always have been in the open air; but temples, at least until the time of Artaxerxes Mnemon,[2] were insignificant, and neither attracted the attention of contemporaries, nor were of such a character as to leave traces of themselves to after times. The palaces[3] of the Persian kings, on the other hand, and the sepulchres which they prepared for themselves,[4] are noticed by many ancient writers as objects of interest; and, notwithstanding certain doubts which have been raised in recent years,[5] it seems tolerably certain that they are to be recognised in the two chief classes of ancient ruins which still exist in the country.

The Persian palatial buildings, of which traces remain, are four in number. One was situated at Ecbatana, the Median capital, and was a sort of adjunct to the old residence of the Median kings.[6] Of this only a very few vestiges have been hitherto found; and we can merely say that it appears to have been of the same general character with the edifices which will be hereafter described. Another was built by Darius and his son Xerxes on the great mound of Susa; and of this we have the ground plan, in a great measure, and various interesting details.[7] A third stood within the walls of the city of Persepolis,[8] but of this not much more is left than of the construction at Ecbatana. Finally, there was in the neighbourhood of Persepolis, but completely distinct from the town, the Great Palace, which, as the chief residence, at any rate of the later kings,

[1] The statement of Herodotus to this effect (i. 130), echoed by Strabo (xv. 3, § 13) is rendered, to say the least, very doubtful by the Behistun Inscription, where Darius (according to the best cuneiform scholars) states that he "rebuilt temples which Gomates had destroyed." (*Beh. Ins.* col. i. par. 14, § 5).

[2] See Berosus, Fr. 16. Compare Polyb. x. 27, § 12.

[3] Herod. v. 53; Æschyl. *Pers.* 3, 4, 161; Strab. xv. 3, §§ 3, 6, &c.

[4] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 15; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 22; Diod. Sic. xvii. 71, § 7.

[5] Mr. Fergusson holds that the ruins near Istakr, commonly regarded as the royal palace of the Persian kings, cannot have been the place where they resided, since the buildings there were, he thinks, quite unfit for a residence. He calls them "temple-palaces," or "palace-temples," and regards them as little more than high altars for the fire-worship. (See his *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 186-196.)

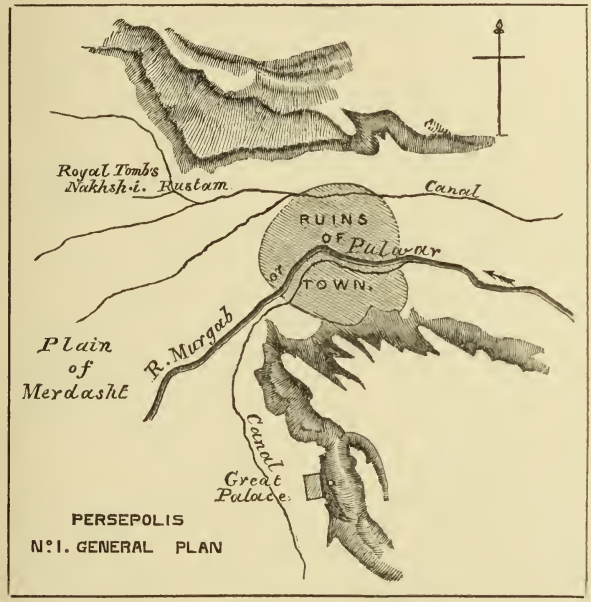
[6] See above, vol. ii. pp. 266, 267.

[7] Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 364-378.

[8] Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, pp. 69, 70. Compare "Planches Anciennes," tom. ii. pls. 58 and 61.

Alexander burnt, and of which the remains still to be seen are ample, constituting "by far the most remarkable group of buildings now existing in this part of Asia."[9]

It is to this last edifice, or group of edifices, that the reader's attention will be specially directed in the following pages. Here the greatest of the Persian monarchs seem to have built the



greatest of their works. Here the ravages of time and barbarism, sadly injurious as they may have been, have had least effect. Here, moreover, modern research has spent its chief efforts, excavations having been made, measurements effected, and ground-plans laid down with accuracy. In describing the Persepolitan buildings we have aids which mostly fail us elsewhere—charts, plans, drawings in extraordinary abundance and often of high artistic value, elaborate descriptions, even photographs. If the describer has still a task of some difficulty to

[9] Fergusson, *Handbook of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 188.

PLAN OF THE
RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS
(AFTER FLANDIN) N° 2.

perform, it is because an overplus of material is apt to cause almost as much embarrassment as too poor and scanty a supply.

The buildings at Persepolis are placed upon a vast platform. It was the practice of the Persians, as of the Assyrians and Babylonians,[10] to elevate their palaces in this way. They thus made them at once more striking to the eye, more dignified, and more easy to guard. In Babylonia an elevated habitation was also more healthy and more pleasant, being raised above the reach of many insects, and laid open to the winds of heaven, never too boisterous in that climate. Perhaps the Assyrians and Persians, in their continued use of the custom, to some extent followed a fashion, elevating their royal residences, not so much for security or comfort, as because it had come to be considered that a palace *ought* to have a lofty site, and to look down on the habitations of meaner men; but, however this may have been, the custom certainly prevailed, and at Persepolis we have, in an almost perfect condition, this first element of a Persian palace.

The platform at Persepolis is built at the foot of a high range of rocky hills, on which it abuts towards the east. It is composed of solid masses of hewn stone,[11] which were united by metal clamps, probably of iron or lead.[12] The masses were not cut to a uniform size, nor even always to a right angle, but were fitted together with a certain amount of irregularity, which will be the best understood from the woodcut overleaf. Many of the blocks were of enormous size;[13] and their quarrying, transport, and elevation to their present places, imply very considerable mechanical skill. They were laid so as to form a perfectly

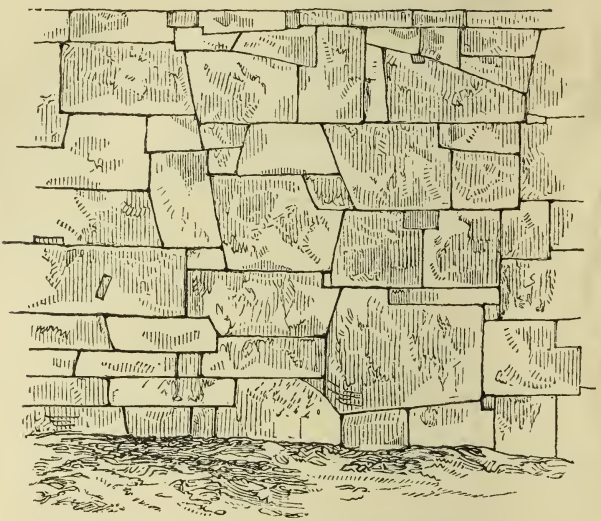
[10] Supra, vol. i. p. 279; vol. ii. p. 550.

[11] It is uncertain whether the whole platform is artificial, or whether the natural rock was not levelled and made use of to some extent. MM. Flandin and Coste are of opinion that the site was chosen on account of its presenting a sort of natural platform, which only required a certain amount of levelling and squaring to become what it is.

[12] Lead and iron were the materials used for clamping stones together at Babylon (Herod. i. 186; Diod. Sic. ii. 8, § 2). The shape of the clamps at Persepolis was like a solid ⧗, consisting of two nearly equilateral triangles united at the apex. (See the woodcut, p. 279.) All the metal has been ruthlessly plundered.

[13] M. Flandin speaks of there being many blocks ranging from 15 to 17 mètres (49 to 55 feet) in length, and from two to three mètres ($6\frac{1}{3}$ to $9\frac{1}{3}$ feet) broad. (*Voyage en Perse*, p. 77.)

smooth perpendicular wall, the least height of which above the plain below is twenty feet.[14] The outline of the platform was somewhat irregular. Speaking roughly, we may call it an oblong square, with a breadth about two-thirds of its length;[15]



Masonry of Great Platform, Persepolis.

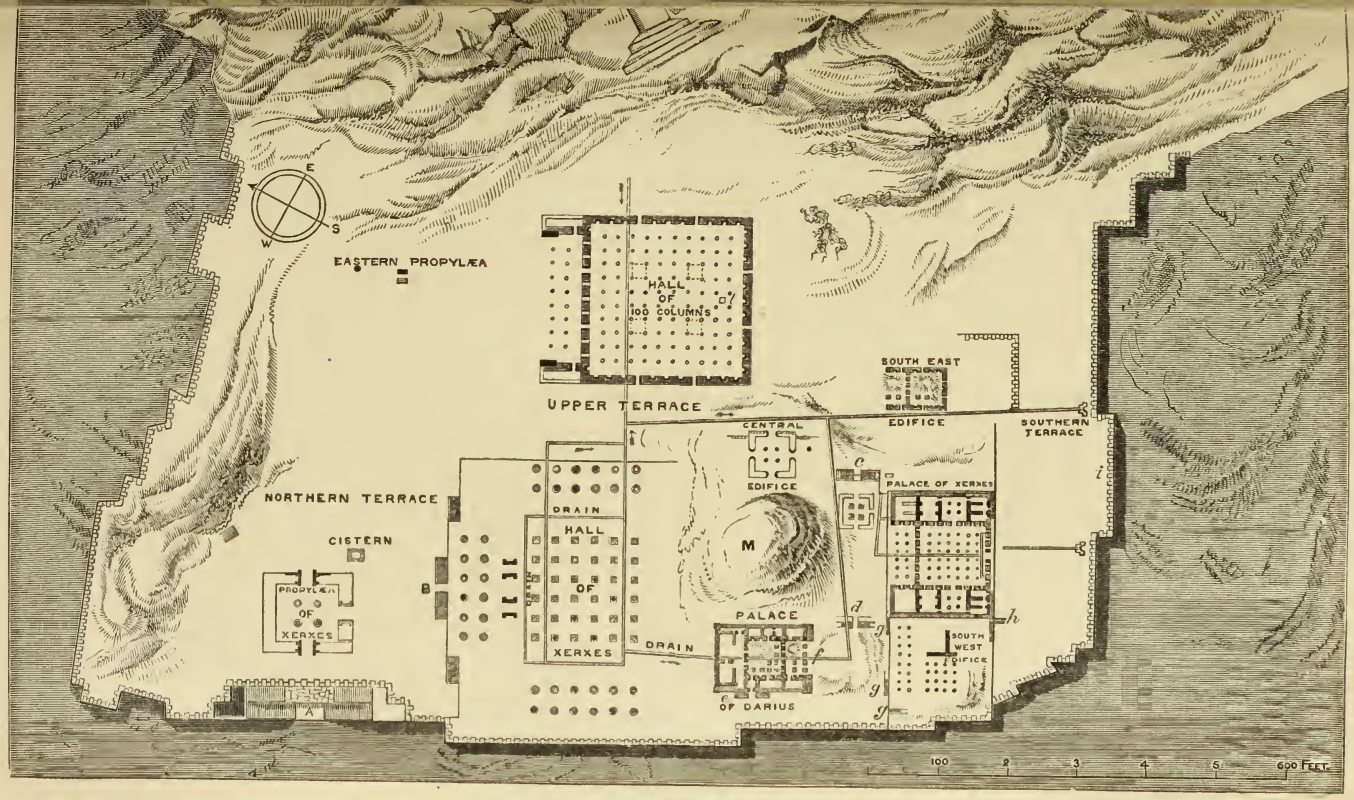
but this description, unless qualified, will give an idea of far greater uniformity than actually prevails. The most serious irregularity is on the north side, the general line of which is not parallel to the south side, nor at right angles with the western one,[16] but forms with the general line of the western an angle of about eighty degrees. The cause of this deviation lay probably in the fact that, on this side, a low rocky spur ran out from the mountain-range in this direction,[17] and that it was

[14] The early travellers thought that the original height of the platform was 10 or 20 feet more (Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 585). But MM. Flandin and Coste found reason to think that the height had never been much more than it is now.

[15] Ker Porter gives as the length of the platform 1425 feet, and as its greatest breadth 926 feet. M. Flandin makes the measures respectively 1519 and 938 feet (463 and 286 *mètres*). Mr. Fergusson assumes the length to be 1500, and the greatest breadth 950 feet.

[16] Here I follow MM. Flandin and Coste, whose accurate survey corrected the vague impressions of former travellers.

[17] This spur was never entirely re-



A. Great stairs, giving access from plain.
B. Sculptured staircase to hall of Xerxes.
c d Staircases to palace of Xerxes.

e f Staircases to palace of Darius.
g g g Stairs to palace of Artaxerxes Ochus.
h Steps cut in rock.

i Inscription of Darius.
M Great mound.
t Position for throne.

T 2

thought desirable to accommodate the line of the structure to the natural irregularities of the ground. In addition to the irregularity of general outline thus produced, there is another of such perpetual occurrence that it must be regarded as an essential element of the original design, and therefore probably as approving itself to the artistic notions of the builder. This is the occurrence of frequent angular projections and indentations, which we remark on all three sides of the platform equally, and which would therefore seem to have been regarded in Persia, no less than in Assyria,[18] as ornamental.[19]

The whole of the platform is not of a uniform height. On the contrary, it seems to have been composed, as originally built, of several quite distinct terraces. Three of these still remain, exhibiting towards the west a very marked difference of elevation. The lowest of the three is on the south side, and it may therefore be termed the Southern Terrace. It extends from east to west a distance of about 800 feet, with a width of about 170 or 180, and has an elevation above the plain of from twenty to twenty-three feet.[1] Opposite to this, on the northern side of the platform, is a second terrace, more than three times the breadth of the southern one, which may be called, by way of distinction, the Northern Terrace. This has an elevation above the plain of thirty-five feet.[2] Intermediate between these two is the great Central or Upper Terrace, standing forty-five feet above the plain, having a length of 770 feet along the west face of the platform, and a width of about 400.[3] Upon this Upper Terrace were situated almost all the great and important buildings.

The erection of a royal residence on a platform composed of

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moved. Remains of it are still to be seen at the N.W. corner of the platform, both inside and outside the boundary wall. (See the plan, Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, pl. 67.)

[18] See vol. i. p. 280.

[19] M. Flandin says of the effect produced by these irregularities:—"Elles *rompent la monotonie* que n'aurait pas manqué de produire à l'œil la grande muraille, si elle eût suivi une ligne droite." (*Voyage*, p. 76.)

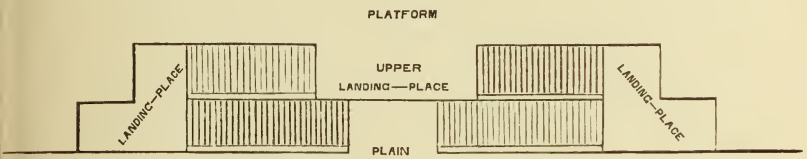
[1] Fergusson, *Palaces*, p. 97; Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 583, 584.

[2] Fergusson, l. s. c.

[3] Mr. Fergusson prefers to speak of the Central Terrace as extending, like the others, the entire width of the platform (*Palaces*, p. 97); but he allows that in reality the high level stops at the eastern edge of the platform on which stands the *Chehl Minar*, or "Forty Columns," the great building beyond (his "Hall of a Hundred Columns") being on the level of the Northern Terrace (p. 98).

several terraces involved the necessity of artificial ascents, which the Persian architects managed by means of broad and solid staircases.[4] These staircases constitute one of the most remarkable features of the place, and seem to deserve careful and exact description.

The first, and grandest in respect of scale, is on the west front of the platform towards its northern end, and leads up from the plain to the summit of the northern terrace, furnishing the only means by which the platform can even now be ascended. It consists of two distinct sets of steps, each composed of two



Ground-plan of Great Staircase.

Front view of same.

flights, with a broad landing-place between them, the steps themselves running at right angles to the platform wall, and the two lower flights diverging, while the two upper ones converge to a common landing-place on the top. The slope of the stairs is so gentle that, though each step has a convenient width, the height of a step is in no case more than from three to four inches. It is thus easy to ride horses both up and down the staircase, and travellers are constantly in the habit of ascending and descending it in this way.[5]

The width of the staircase is twenty-two feet—space sufficient to allow of ten horsemen ascending each flight of steps

[4] In the Assyrian palaces the ascents were sometimes by inclined planes. (See vol. i. p. 299, note [2].)

[5] Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 585; Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, p. 77.

abreast.[6] Altogether this ascent, which is on a plan unknown elsewhere, is pronounced to be "the noblest example of a flight of stairs to be found in any part of the world."[7] It does not project beyond the line of the platform whereto it leads, but is, as it were, taken out of it.

The next, and in some respects the most remarkable of all the staircases, conducts from the level of the northern platform to that of the central or upper terrace. This staircase fronts northward, and opens on the view as soon as the first staircase (*A* on the plan) has been ascended, lying to the right of the spectator at the distance of about fifty or sixty yards. It consists of four single flights of steps, two of which are central, facing one another, and leading to a projecting landing-place (*B*), about twenty feet in width; while the two others are on either side of the central flights, distant from them about twenty-one yards. The entire length of this staircase is 212 feet; its greatest projection in front of the line of the terrace whereon it abuts, is thirty-six feet.[8] The steps, which are sixteen feet wide, rise in the same gentle way as those of the lower or platform staircase. The height of each is under four inches; and thus there are thirty-one steps in an ascent of ten feet.[9]

The feature which specially distinguishes this staircase from the lower one already described is its elaborate ornamentation. The platform staircase is perfectly plain. The entire face which this staircase presents to the spectator is covered with sculptures. In the first place, on the central projection, which is divided perpendicularly into three compartments, are represented, in the spandrils on either side, a lion devouring a bull, and in the compartment between the spandrils eight colossal Persian guardsmen,[10] armed with spears and either with sword or shield. Further, above the lion and bull, towards the edge of

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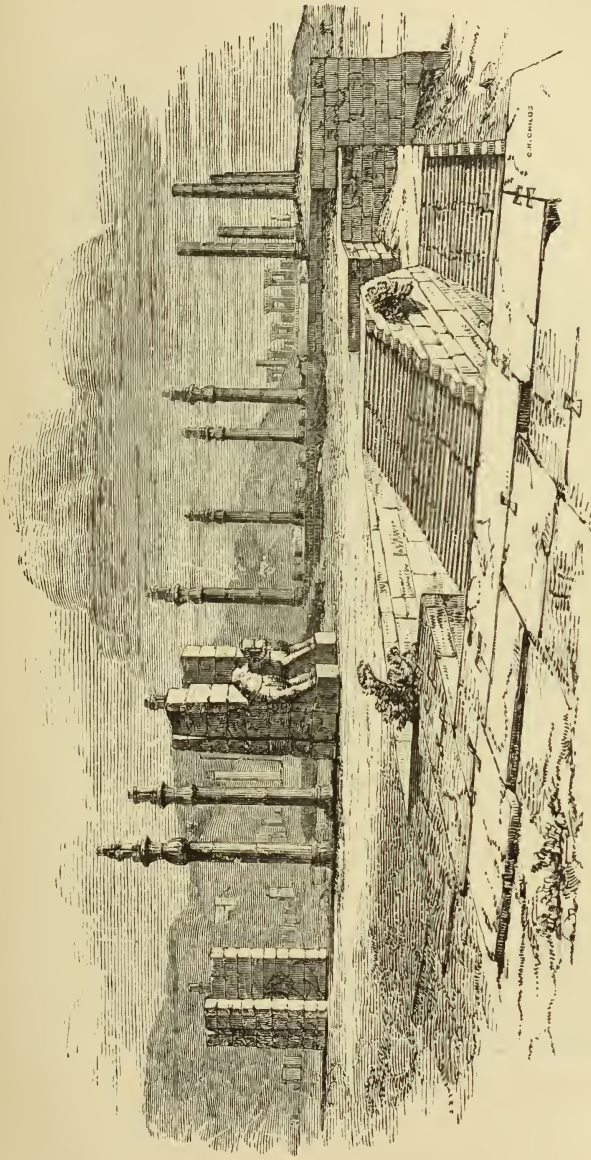
[6] Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, vol. i. p. 147, E. T.

[7] Fergusson, *Palaces*, pp. 102, 103.

[8] These measures are taken from Ker Porter (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 594). They agree nearly with those of MM. Flandin and Coste. (*Voyage en Perse*, p. 85.)

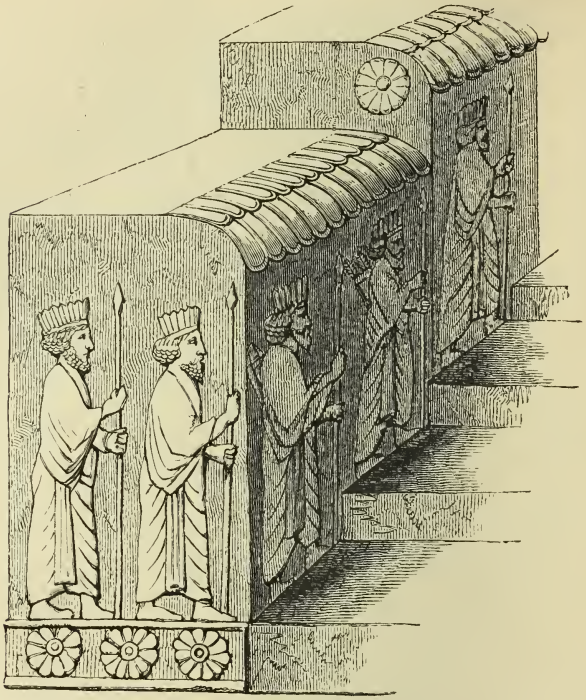
[9] Flandin, p. 86.

[10] Flandin, pls. 91, 100, and 101. Ker Porter makes the number only seven. (*Travels*, p. 595.)



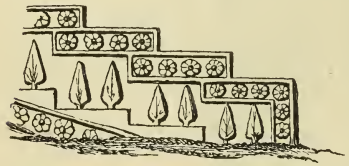
Propylæa, Chehl Minar, and Palace of Darius, from top of Great Stairs, Persepolis. (From Fergusson.)

the spandril where it slopes, forming a parapet to the steps, there was a row of cypress trees, while at the end of the parapet



Parapet wall of staircase, Persepolis (restored). Interior view. (From Flandin.)

and along the whole of its inner face, were a set of small figures, guardsmen habited like those in the central compartment, but carrying mostly a bow and quiver instead of a shield. Along the extreme edge of the parapet externally was a narrow border thickly set with rosettes. Next, in the long spaces between the central stairs and those on either side of them, the spandrils contain repetitions of the lion and bull sculpture, while between them and the central stairs the face of the wall



Parapet wall of the same (restored). Exterior view.

is divided horizontally into three bands, each of which has been ornamented with a continuous row of figures. The highest row of the three is unfortunately mutilated, the upper portion of all the bodies being lost in consequence of their having been sculptured upon a parapet wall built originally to protect the edge of the terrace, but now fallen away.[11] The middle and lowest rows are tolerably perfect, and possess considerable interest, as well as some artistic merit. The entire scene represented on the right side seems to be the bringing of tribute or presents to the monarch by the various nations under his sway. On the left hand side this subject was continued to a certain extent; but the greater part of the space was occupied by representations of guards and officers of the court, the guards being placed towards the centre, and, as it were, keeping the main stairs, while the officers were at a greater distance. The three rows of figures were separated from one another by narrow bands, thickly set with rosettes.[12]

The builder of this magnificent work was not content to leave it to history or tradition to connect his name with his construction, but determined to make the work itself the means of perpetuating his memory. In three conspicuous parts of the staircase, slabs were left clear of sculpture, undoubtedly to receive inscriptions commemorative of the founder. The places selected were the front of the middle staircase, the exact centre of the whole work, and the space adjoining the spandrils to the extreme right and the extreme left. In one instance alone, however, was this part of the work completed. On the right hand, or western extremity of the staircase,[13] an inscription of thirty lines in the old Persian language informs us that the constructor was "Xerxes, the Great King, the King of Kings, the son of King Darius, the Achæmenian." The central and left hand tablets, intended probably for Babylonian and Scythic

[11] Ker Porter, vol. i. p. 604.

[12] Representations of the sculptures on this staircase are given by Sir R. Ker Porter (vol. i. pls. 37 to 43), and by MM. Flandin and Coste (*Voyage en Perse*, "Planches Anciennes," tom. ii. pls. 91 to 110). A small portion of the sculpture on the left hand side is represented below, p. 336.

[13] Rich, *Journey to Persepolis*, p. 253; Flandin, pl. 90. (The inscription itself is given, pl. 111, but is engraved *upside down!*)

translations of the Persian legend, were never inscribed, and remain blank to the present day.

The remaining staircases will not require very lengthy or elaborate descriptions. They are six in number, and consist, in most instances, of a double flight of steps, similar to the central portion of the staircase which has been just described. Two of them (*e* and *f*) belonged to the building marked as the "Palace of Darius" on the plan, and gave entrance to it from the central platform, above which it is elevated about fourteen or fifteen feet. Two others (*c* and *d*) belonged to the "Palace of Xerxes." These led up to a broad paved space in front of that building, which formed a terrace, elevated about ten feet above the general level of the central platform. Their position was at the two ends of the terrace, opposite to one another; but in other respects, they cannot be said to have matched. The eastern, which consisted of two double flights,[1] was similar in general arrangement to the staircase by which the platform was mounted from the plain, excepting that it was not recessed, but projected its full breadth beyond the line of the terrace. It was decidedly the more elegant of the two, and evidently formed the main approach. It was adorned with the usual bull and lion combats, with figures of guardsmen,[2] and with attendants carrying articles needed for the table or the toilet.[3] The inscriptions upon it declare it to be the work of Xerxes. The western staircase was composed merely of two single flights, facing one another, with a narrow landing-place between them. It was ornamented like the eastern, but somewhat less elaborately.[4]

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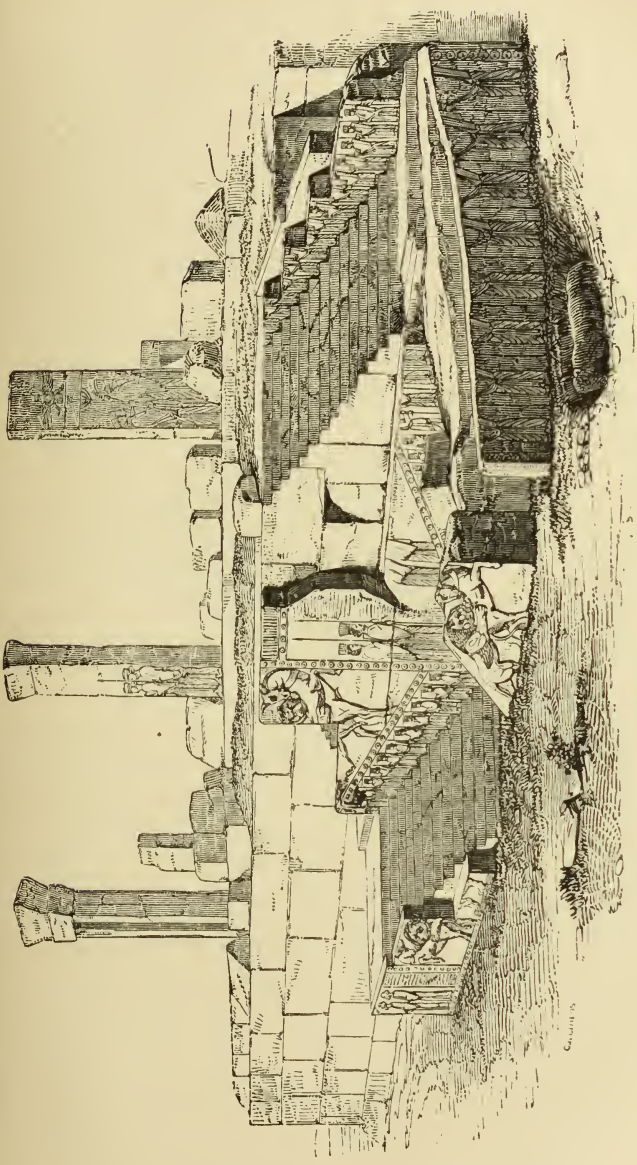
[1] It is thus described by Ker Porter (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 665), Flandin (*Voyage en Perse*, p. 110), and Mr. Fergusson, (*Palaces*, p. 101); but one of M. Flandin's plates represents the flights as triple, the landing-place between the two main flights being divided into two portions by an ascent of three or four steps placed at right angles to the principal stairs. ("Planches Anciennes," tom. iii. pl. 137.)

[2] The lion and bull combat was four times repeated. The guardsmen were chiefly at the sides of the staircase, where it projected in front of the terrace. (Flandin, pls. 132 and 133.)

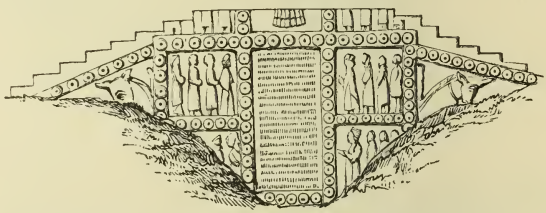
[3] Flandin, pl. 137. In the accompanying woodcut these attendants are incorrectly represented as guards.

[4] There were ten guards, armed with spears, quivers, and bows, and three inscriptions on the façade of these stairs, with the lion and bull combat on either spandril. The parapet wall bore figures of attendants. (Flandin, pl. 136.)



East stairs of Palace of Xerxes. (From Fergusson.)

A staircase, very similar to this last, but still one with certain peculiarities, was built by Artaxerxes Ochus, at the west side of the Palace of Darius, in order to give it a second entrance. There the spandrils have the usual figures of the lion and bull; but the intermediate space is somewhat unusually arranged. It is divided vertically and horizontally into eight squared compartments, three on either side, and two in the middle.[5] The upper of these two contains nothing but a winged circle, the emblem of Divinity being thus placed reverently by itself. Below, in a compartment of double size, is an inscription of Ochus, barbarous in language, but very religious in tone.[6] The six remaining compartments had each four figures, representing tribute bearers introduced to the royal presence by a court officer.



Staircase of Artaxerxes, Persepolis. Existing condition.

The other, and original, staircase to this palace (*f* on the plan) was towards the north, and led up to the great portico, which was anciently its sole entrance. Two flights of steps, facing each other, conducted to a paved space of equal extent with the portico and projecting in front of it about five feet. On the base of the staircase were sculptures in a single line—the lion and bull in either spandril—and between the spandrils, eighteen colossal guardsmen, nine facing either way towards a central inscription, which was repeated in other languages on slabs placed between the guardsmen and the bulls. Above the spandrils, on the parapet which fenced the stairs, was a line of figures representing attendants bringing into the palace mate-

[5] Flandin, pl. 120.
[6] *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. x. pp. 341, 342.

rials for the banquet. A similar line adorned the inner wall of the staircase.[7]

Opposite to this, at the distance of about thirty-two yards, was another very similar staircase, leading up to the portico of another building, erected (apparently) by Artaxerxes Ochus,[8] which occupied the south-western corner of the upper platform. The sculptures here seem to have been of the usual character, but they are so mutilated that no very decided opinion can be passed upon them.

Last of all, a staircase of a very peculiar character (*h* on the plan) requires notice. This is a flight of steps cut in the solid rock,[9] which leads up from the southern terrace to the upper one, at a point intervening between the south-western edifice, or palace of Artaxerxes, and the palace of Xerxes, or central southern edifice. These steps are singular in facing the terrace to which they lead, instead of being placed sideways to it. They are of rude construction, being without a parapet, and wholly devoid of sculpture or other ornamentation. They furnish the only communication between the southern and central terraces.

It is a peculiarity of the Persepolitan ruins that they are not continuous, but present to the modern enquirer the appearance, at any rate, of a number of distinct buildings. Of these the platform altogether contains ten, five of which are of large size, while the remainder are comparatively insignificant.

Of the five large buildings four stand upon the central or upper terrace, while one lies east of that terrace, between it and the mountains. The four upon the central terrace comprise three buildings made up of several sets of chambers, together with one great open pillared hall, to which are attached no subordinate apartments. The three complex edifices will be here termed "palaces," and will take the names of their respective founders, Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes Ochus: the fourth

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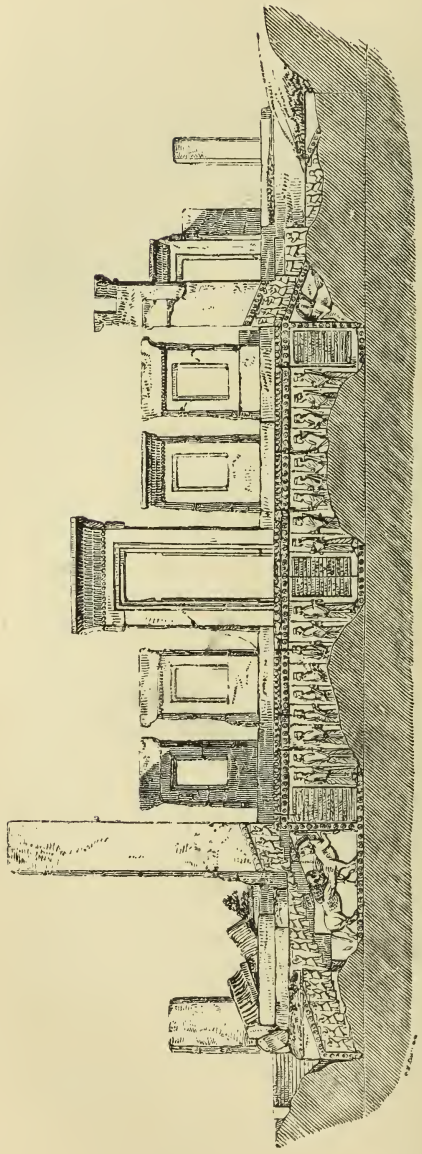
[7] Flandin, pls. 115 and 121 bis. See the woodcut, p. 286.

[8] An inscription of Artaxerxes Ochus, taken from this staircase, is given by Rich in his *Journey to Persepolis* (pl. xxiii.), and by Flandin—very incorrectly—in his *Voyage* ("Planches Anciennes," tom. iii. pl. 129); where there is a representation also of the scanty remains of the staircase.

[9] Rich, *Journey to Persepolis*, p. 255.



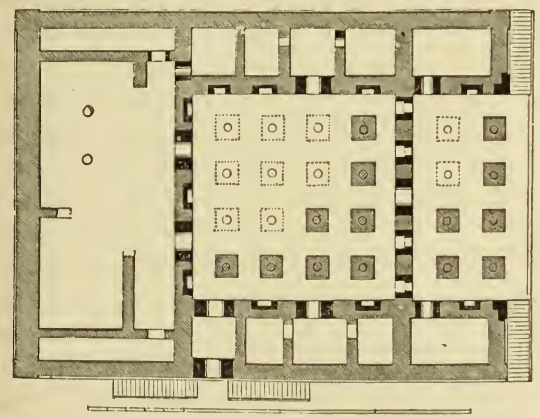
Façade of the Palace of Darius, Persepolis. (From Fergusson.)

will be called the "Great Hall of Audience." The building between the upper terrace and the mountains will be termed the "Great Eastern Edifice."

The "Palace of Darius," which is one of the most interesting of the Persepolitan buildings, stands near the western edge of the platform, midway between the "Great Hall of Audience" and the "Palace of Artaxerxes Ochus." It is a building about one hundred and thirty-five feet in length, and in breadth a little short of a hundred.[10] Of all the existing buildings on the platform it occupies the most exalted position, being elevated from fourteen to fifteen feet above the general level of the central terrace, and being thus four

[10] Ker Porter made this palace measure 170 feet by 95 (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 640); but M. Flandin, who traced out the foundation walls on all sides, found the length to be 41¼ mètres (135 feet) by 29¾ (97½ feet). (See the *Voyage en Perse*, p. 102.)

or five feet higher than the "Palace of Xerxes."[11] It fronted towards the south, where it was approached by a double staircase of the usual character, which led up to a deep portico[12] of eight pillars, arranged in two rows. On either side of the portico were guard-rooms, which opened upon it,[1] in length twenty-three feet, and in breadth thirteen.[2] Behind the portico lay the main chamber, which was a square of fifty feet,[3] having a roof supported by sixteen pillars, arranged in four rows of four, in line with the pillars of the portico. The bases for the pillars alone remain; and it is thus uncertain whether



Ground-plan of the Palace of Darius. 50 ft. to 1 inch. (From Fergusson.)

their material was stone or wood. They were probably light and slender, not greatly interrupting the view. The hall was surrounded on all sides by walls from four to five feet in thickness, in which were doors, windows, and recesses, symmetrically arranged. The entrance from the portico was by a door in the

[11] Fergusson, *Palaces*, p. 98.

[12] The depth of the portico is 30 feet. (Ker Porter, p. 644; Flandin, p. 102.)

[1] The positions of these rooms on either side of the original sole entrance to the palace would sufficiently indicate their purpose. It is, however, further marked by the sculptures on the jambs of the doorways, each of which consists of two gigantic guardsmen armed with spears. (Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, p. 106.)

[2] Flandin makes the dimensions of the guard-rooms 7 mètres 20 centimètres by 4 mètres (*Voyage en Perse*, pl. 113).

[3] Fergusson, *Palaces*, p. 117. Ker Porter says 48 feet. (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 643.) M. Flandin gives the breadth as 15 m. 50 centim. (nearly 51 feet), and the depth as 15 m. 15 centim. (49 ft. 8 in.)

exact centre of the front wall, on either side of which were two windows, looking into the portico. The opposite, or back, wall was pierced by two doors, which faced the intercolumniations of the side rows of pillars, as the front door faced the intercolumniation of the central rows. Between the two doors which pierced the back wall was a squared recess, and similar recesses ornamented the same wall on either side of the doors. The side walls were each pierced originally by a single doorway,[4] between which and the front wall was a squared recess, while beyond, between the doorways and the back wall, were two recesses of the same character. Curiously enough, these side doorways and recesses fronted the pillars, not the intercolumniations.

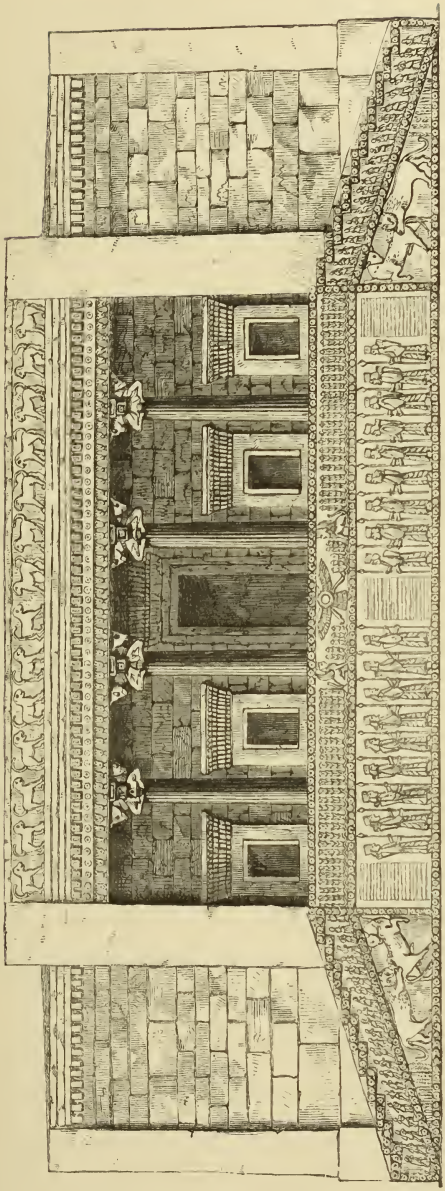
No sculpture, so far as appears, adorned this apartment, excepting in the doorways, which however had in every case this kind of ornamentation. The doorways in the back wall exhibited on their jambs figures of the king followed by two attendants, one holding a cloth, and the other a flychaser.[5] These figures had in every case their faces turned towards the apartment. The front doorway showed on its jambs the monarch followed by the parasol-bearer and the bearer of the fly-chaser, with his back turned to the apartment, issuing forth, as it were, from it.[6] On the jambs of the doors of the side apartments was represented the king in combat with a lion or a monster, the king here in every case facing outwards, and seeming to guard the entrances to the side chambers.[7]

King and Attendants, Persepolis.

At the back of the hall, and at either side, were chambers of very moderate dimensions. The largest were to the rear of the building, where there seems to have been one about forty feet by twenty-three, and another twenty-eight feet by twenty. The

[4] The corner doorway in the left hand wall was a later alteration, made probably by Artaxerxes Ochus. (See below, p. 292.)

[5] Flandin, *Voyage*, pl. 117.
[6] Ibid. p. 106.
[7] Ibid pp. 107, 108.



South front of the Palace of Darius, Persepolis, restored
(after Flandin).

doorways here had sculptures, representing attendants bearing napkins and perfumes.[8] The side chambers, five in number, were considerably smaller than those behind the great hall, the largest not exceeding thirty-four feet by thirteen.

It seems probable that this palace was without any second story.[9] There is no vestige in any part of it, of a staircase—no indication of its height having ever exceeded from twenty-two to twenty-five feet.[10] It was a modest building, simple and regular, covering less than half the space of an ordinary palace in Assyria.[11] Externally, it must have presented an appearance not very dissimilar to that of the simpler Greek temples; distinguished from them by peculiarities of ornamentation, but by no striking or important feature, excepting the grand and elaborately sculptured staircase. Internally, it was remarkable for the small number of its apartments, which seem not to have been more than twelve or thirteen,[12] and for the moderate size of most of them. Even the grand central hall covered a less area than three out of the five halls in the country palace of Sargon.[13] The effect of this room was probably fine, though it must have been somewhat over-crowded with pillars.[14] If these were, however, (as is probable[15]) light wooden posts,

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[8] Flandin, *Voyage*, pp. 108, 109. Compare pl. 135.

[9] Mr. Fergusson supposes that every pillared hall supported a second story, and that the pillars were intended for this purpose. He finds a representation of the second story in the curious structure whereon the kings are represented as standing in the sculptures upon their tombs. (*Palaces*, pp. 124-131.) His arguments are, as usual, ingenious, but they have failed to convince me. I think the absence of any trace of stairs, which he admits (p. 119), and the non-discovery in the ruins of any fragment of such a sculptured upper story as he imagines universal, quite outweigh the supposed analogy drawn from the representations on the tombs.

[10] The actual height of one of the *antæ* is 22 feet. (Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 644.) It is evident, from the marks of the place where the architrave was inserted, that not very much of the *anta* is worn away.

[11] The entire area covered by the Palace of Darius, even if we include the portico, is little more than 13,000 square feet. The area covered by the Palace of Sargon seems to have been about 20,000 feet; that covered by the palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh was 40,000 square yards, or 360,000 feet.

[12] M. Flandin, in his restoration of the ground-plan of this palace, makes the number of rooms fifteen (pl. 121); but his plan of the actual ruins (pl. 113) shows thirteen apartments only.

[13] The area of Darius's hall is about 2500 feet; three halls in the palace of Sargon exceeded 3000 feet. (See above, vol. i. pp. 282, 292, and 294.)

[14] Rich speaks of this building as having an *écrasé* appearance, which he explains as "stuffed and heavy." (*Journey to Persepolis*, p. 247.)

[15] The non-discovery of any fragment of a pillar after all the researches made

plated with silver or with gold, and if the ceiling consisted (as it most likely did) of beams, crossing each other at right angles, with square spaces between them, all likewise coated with the precious metals [16]—if moreover the cold stone walls, excepting where they were broken by a doorway, or a window, were similarly decked [17]—if curtains of brilliant hues hung across the entrances [18]—if the pavement was of many-coloured stones,[19] and in places covered with magnificent carpets [20]—if an elevated golden throne, under a canopy of purple,[21] adorned the upper end of the room, standing against the wall midway between the two doors—if this were in truth the arrangement and ornamentation of the apartment, we can well understand that the *coup-d'œil* must have been effective, and the impression made on the spectator highly pleasing. A room fifty feet square, and not much more than twenty high, could not be very grand; but elegance of form, combined with richness of material and splendour of colouring, may have more than compensated for the want of that grandeur which results from mere size.

If it be enquired how a palace of the dimensions described can have sufficed even for one of the *early* Persian kings, the reply must seemingly be, that the building in question can only have contained the public apartments of the royal residence—the throne room, banqueting-rooms, guard-rooms, &c., —and that it must have been supplemented by at least one other edifice of a considerable size, the Gynæceum or "House of the Women." [22] There is ample room on the platform for such a building, either towards the east, where the ground is now occupied by a high mound of rubbish, or on the west, towards the edge of the platform, where traces of a large

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is strong evidence that the pillars were not of stone. That those at Ecbatana were mainly of wood plated with gold and silver, we know from Polybius. (See above, vol. ii. p. 265; and for the large employment of wood in the Persepolitan interiors, see Q. Curt. v. 7. Compare also on the whole subject Fergusson, *Palaces*, pp. 151, 152.)

[16] Polyb. x. 27, § 10.

[17] Æschyl. *Pers.* 161; Philostr. *Imag.* ii. 32.

[18] Esther, i. 7. [19] Ibid. ii. 6.

[20] Athen. *Deipn.* xii. p. 514, C.

[21] Ibid.

[22] The separation of the Gynæceum from the rest of the palace is apparent from Esther, ii. 13; v. 1.

edifice were noted by Niebuhr.[23] On the whole, this latter situation seems to be the more probable; and the position of the Gynæceum in this quarter may account for the alteration made by Artaxerxes Ochus in the palace of Darius, which now seriously interferes with its symmetry. Artaxerxes cut a doorway in the outer western wall, and another opposite to it in the western wall of the great hall, adding at the same time a second staircase to the building, which thus became accessible from the west no less than from the south. It has puzzled the learned in architecture to assign a motive for this alteration.[24] May we not find an adequate one in the desire to obtain a ready and comparatively private access to the Gynæceum, which must have been somewhere on the platform, and which may well have lain in this direction?

The minute account, which has been now given, of this palace will render unnecessary a very elaborate description of the remainder. Two grand palatial edifices seem to have been erected on the platform by later kings—one by Xerxes and the other by Artaxerxes Ochus; but the latter of these is in so ruined a condition,[1] and the former is so like the palace of Darius, that but few remarks need be made upon either. The palace of Xerxes is simply that of Darius on a larger scale, the pillars in the portico being increased from two rows of four to two rows of six, and the great hall behind being a square of eighty[2] instead of a square of fifty feet, with thirty-six instead of sixteen pillars to support its roof. On either side of the hall, and on either side of the portico, were apartments like those already

[23] *Voyage en Arabie*, tom. ii. p. 111. This is the building marked F on his plan (pl. xviii.). M. Flandin also marks these ruins. (*Voyage en Perse*, pl. 67, no. 74.) They have been accidentally omitted in the Plan, p. 275.

[24] Mr. Fergusson suggests that it was done "to bring the orientation of this building, so far as was possible, into accordance with that of the other buildings on the platform" (*Palaces*, p. 116). But it is difficult to see how a staircase on the western side of a building could make it harmonize with edifices whose only staircase was towards the north.

[1] Of the staircase to this palace I have already spoken. (Supra, p. 285.) The other remains are a few walls and the bases of some nineteen columns, of which four seem to belong to a portico of sixteen pillars in two rows of eight each, directly behind the staircase, while the remaining fifteen belonged to a hall of sixteen columns, arranged in four rows of four each, which lay behind the western part of the portico. (See the general plan, and compare Flandin, pl. 129.)

[2] Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, tom i. p. 113.

described as abutting on the same portions of the older palace,[3] differing from them chiefly in being larger and more numerous. The two largest, which were thirty-one feet square,[4] had roofs supported on pillars, the numbers of such supports being in each case four.[5] The only striking difference in the plans of the two buildings consisted in the absence from the palace of Xerxes of any apartments to the rear of the great hall. In order to allow space for an ample terrace in front, the whole edifice was thrown back so close to the edge of the upper platform that no room was left for any chambers at the back, since the hall itself was here brought almost to the very verge of the sheer descent from the central to the low southern terrace.[6] In ornamentation the palaces also very closely resembled each other, the chief difference being that the combats of the king with lions and mythological monsters, which form the regular ornamentation of the side chambers in the palace of Darius, occur nowhere in the residence of his son, where they are replaced by figures of attendants bringing articles for the toilet or the table,[7] like those which adorn the main staircase of the older edifice. Figures of the same kind also ornament all the windows in the palace of Xerxes. A tone of mere sensual enjoyment is thus given to the later edifice, which is very far from characterizing the earlier; and the decline of morals at the court, which history indicates as rapid about this period, is seen to have stamped itself, as such changes usually do, upon the national architecture.

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[3] Supra, p. 287.

[4] Flandin, *Voyage*, "Planches Anciennes," pl. 131.

[5] These pillars were placed, as usual, towards the middle of the apartment, and were arranged in a square. (See the plan, supra, p. 275.)

[6] Room was left here for just a narrow strip of pavement, on which opened out a door from the great hall, and from which two narrow sets of steps led eastward and westward to the southern terrace. On this terrace were probably placed the apartments of the attendants, officers of the court, guards, &c.

[7] Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, p. 113. Representations of this kind occupy the jambs of the three back doors towards the southern steps, and those of all the windows in the building. The inner doors of the side apartments represent servants with towels and perfumes. The doors leading from the side apartments into the great hall have the king under the parasol. The same representation occurs on the two front doors leading out into the portico. The side doors leading on to the portico have guards. Numerous inscriptions in various parts of the building ascribe its construction to Xerxes.

A small building, at the distance of about twenty or twenty-five yards from the eastern wall of the palace of Xerxes,[8] possesses a peculiar interest, in consequence of its having some claims to be considered the most ancient structure upon the platform.[9] It consists of a hall and portico, in size, proportions, and decoration almost exactly resembling the corresponding parts of Darius's palace, but unaccompanied by any trace of circumjacent chambers, and totally devoid of inscriptions.[10] The building is low, on the level of the northern, rather than on that of the central terrace, and is indeed half buried in the rubbish which has accumulated at its base. Its fragments are peculiarly grand and massive, while its sculptures are in strong and bold relief. There can be little doubt but that it was originally, like the hall and portico of Darius, surrounded on three sides by chambers. These, however, have entirely disappeared, having probably been pulled down to furnish materials for more recent edifices. Like the palaces of Xerxes and Artaxerxes Ochus, and unlike the palace of Darius, the building faces to the north, which is the direction naturally preferred in such a climate. We may suppose it to have been the royal residence of the earlier times, the erection of Cyrus or Cambyses, and to have been intended especially for summer use, for which its position well fitted it. Darius, wishing for a winter palace at Persepolis, as well as a summer one, took probably this early palace for his model, and built one as nearly as possible resembling it,[11] except that, for the sake of greater warmth, he made his new erection face southwards. Xerxes, dissatisfied with the size of the old summer palace, built a new one at its side of considerably larger dimensions, using perhaps some of the materials of the old palace in his new building. Finally, Artaxerxes Ochus made certain additions to the palace

[8] Called the "South-Eastern Edifice" on the plan.

[9] See the remarks of Mr. Fergusson (*Palaces*, pp. 131-133).

[10] Rich, *Journey to Persepolis*, p. 250; Flandin, *Voyage*, pp. 115, 116.

[11] Mr. Fergusson supposed the porch of Darius's palace to be deeper than that of this ancient edifice, and considered that the extra depth had been given on account of the southern aspect of the later building; but M. Flandin's measurements show that the two porches, like the two halls, were as nearly as possible of the same size.

of Xerxes on its western side, and at the same time added a staircase and a doorway to the winter residence of Darius. Thus the Persepolitan palace, using the word in its proper sense of royal *residence*, attained its full dimensions, occupying the southern half of the great central platform, and covering with its various courts and buildings a space 500 feet long by 375 feet wide, or nearly the space covered by the less ambitious of the palaces of Assyria.[12]

Besides edifices adapted for habitation, the Persepolitan platform sustained two other classes of buildings. These were propylæa, or gateways—places commanding the approach to great buildings, where a guard might be stationed to stop and examine all comers—and halls of a vast size, which were probably throne-rooms, where the monarch held his court on grand occasions, to exhibit himself in full state to his subjects. The propylæa upon the platform appear to have been four in number. One, the largest, was directly opposite the centre of the landing-place at the top of the great stairs which gave access to the platform from the plain. This consisted of a noble apartment, eighty-two feet square,[1] with a roof supported by four magnificent columns, each between fifty and sixty feet high.[2] The walls of the apartment were from sixteen to seventeen feet thick.[3] Two grand portals, each twelve feet wide by thirty-six feet high,[4] led into this apartment, one directly facing the head of the stairs, and the other opposite to it, towards the east. Both were flanked with colossal bulls, those towards the staircase being conventional representations of the real animal, while the opposite pair are almost exact reproductions of the winged and human-headed bulls, with which the Assyrian dis-

[12] The Palace of Sargon (exclusive of its Temple) was a rectangle of 500 by 400 feet. (See vol. i. p. 281.)

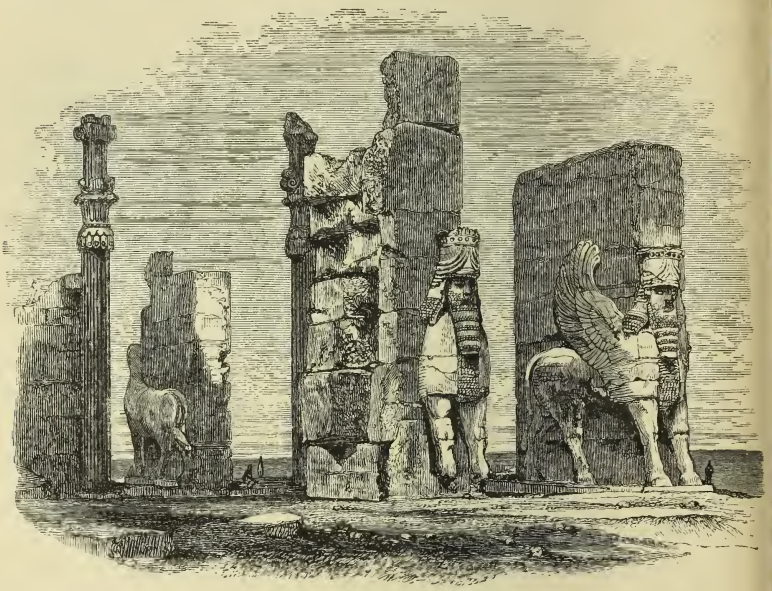
[1] See Flandin's *Voyage en Perse*, pl. 73; Fergusson, *Palaces*, p. 107.

[2] Ker Porter gives the height as nearly 50 feet (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 590). M. Flandin makes it 16 mètres 58 centimètres (*Voyage*, p. 83), which is a little more than 54 feet. Mr. Fergusson allows for the height only 46 feet 9 inches. (*Palaces*, p. 108.)

[3] See the general plan, p. 275. I agree with Mr. Fergusson (*Palaces*, p. 107), that the three doorways of this building of which traces remain must have been connected by walls. The rough faces of the great piers on the sides opposite to the doorways prove this. See the woodcut on next page.

[4] Flandin, p. 78.

coveries have made us so familiar.[5] The accompanying woodcut, which is taken from a photograph, exhibits this inner pair in their present condition. The back of one of the other pair is also visible. Two of the pillars—which alone are still standing—appear in their places, intervening between the front and the back gateway.



Great Propylæa of Xerxes (from a photograph).

The walls which enclosed this chamber, notwithstanding their immense thickness, have almost entirely disappeared.[6] On the southern side alone, where there seems to have been a third doorway, unornamented, are there any traces of them. We must conclude that they were either of burnt brick or of small blocks of stone, which the natives of the country in later times found it convenient to use as material for their own buildings.

[5] See above, vol. i. p. 288.

[6] This is the case generally with the walls of the Persepolitan buildings, which have vanished, leaving only the great blocks which formed the sides of doorways and windows. Mr. Fergusson conjectures that their entire disappearance is due to the fact that their material was mere sun-dried brick (*Palaces*. p. 125). But the hypothesis of the text is at least as probable.

An edifice, almost exactly similar to this, but of very inferior dimensions,[7] occupied a position due east of the palace of Darius, and a little to the north of the main staircase leading to the terrace in front of the palace of Xerxes. The bases of two pillars and the jambs of three doorways remain, from which it is easy to reconstruct the main building.[8] Its position seems to mark it as designed to give entrance to the structure, whatever it was, which occupied the site of the great mound (*M* on the plan) east of Darius's palace, and north of the palace of his son.[9] The ornamentation, however,[10] would rather connect it with the more eastern of the two great pillared halls, which will have to be described presently.

A third edifice of the same kind stood in front of the great eastern hall, as the distance of about seventy yards from its portico. This building is more utterly ruined than either of the preceding,[11] and its dimensions are open to some doubt. On the whole, it seems probable that it resembled the great propylæa at the head of the stairs leading from the plain rather than the central propylæa just described. Part of its ornamentation was certainly a colossal bull, though whether human-headed or no cannot be determined.

The fourth of the propylæa was on the terrace whereon stood the palace of Xerxes, and directly fronted the landing-place at the head of its principal stairs, just as the propylæa first described fronted the great stairs leading up from the plain

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[7] The chamber here spoken of was 51 feet square instead of 82 (Flandin, *Voyage*, pl. 145). The height of the doorways was about 20 feet, and the width 6 feet 6 inches (ibid. tom. i. p. 116).

[8] The entire structure cannot be reproduced; for there are traces of walls and colonnades beyond the limits of the square chamber, which show that this edifice had peculiarities distinguishing it from the other buildings of the same general character upon the platform.

[9] This mound has been supposed to mark the site of the banqueting-hall burnt by Alexander (Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 646-650). It has been hitherto unexamined. If it is really a heap of ruins, and not a natural elevation of the soil, it must be well worth the most careful exploration.

[10] Two of the gateways of this edifice—those facing the north and the south—bear sculptures of the monarch on the throne of state, supported by figures representative of the nations under his sway, which are almost duplicates of those on the back doors of the "Hall of a Hundred Columns." (Infra, p. 301.)

[11] Nothing remains but the foundations of one portal—that facing the south—and the base of a single pillar. (Flandin, *Voyage*, pl. 161.)

Its dimensions were suited to those of the staircase which led to it, and of the terrace on which it was placed. It was less than one-fourth the size of the great propylæa, and about half that of the propylæa which stood the nearest to it. The bases of the four pillars alone remain *in situ*;[12] but, from the proportions thus obtained, the position of the walls and doorways is tolerably certain.[13]

We have now to pass to the most magnificent of the Persepolitan buildings—the Great Pillared Halls—which constitute the glory of Arian architecture, and which, even in their ruins, provoke the wonder and admiration of modern Europeans, familiar with all the triumphs of Western art, with Grecian temples, Roman baths and amphitheatres, Moorish palaces, Turkish mosques, and Christian cathedrals.[14] Of these pillared halls, the Persepolitan platform supports two, slightly differing in their design, but presenting many points of agreement. They bear the character of an earlier and a later building—a first effort in the direction which circumstances compelled the architecture of the Persians to take, and the final achievment of their best artists in this kind of building.

Nearly midway in the platform between its northern and its southern edges, and not very far from the boundary of rocky mountain on which the platform abuts towards the east, is the vast edifice which has been called with good reason the "Hall of a Hundred Columns,"[1] since its roof was in all probability[2]

[12] Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 655; Flandin, *Voyage*, p. 110.

[13] In the propylæa, the distance between the pillars and the outer walls is always almost exactly that of the intercolumniations. The width of the portals is a little less.

[14] Mr. Fergusson says of the *Chehl Minar*, or "Great Hall of Xerxes"—"We have no cathedral in England that at all comes near it in dimensions; nor indeed in France or Germany is there one that covers so much ground. Cologne comes nearest to it . . . ; but, of course, the comparison is hardly fair, as these buildings had stone roofs, and were far higher. But in linear horizontal dimensions the only edifice of the middle ages that comes up to it is Milan Cathedral, which covers 107,800 feet, and (taken all in all) is perhaps the building that resembles it most both in style and the general character of the effect it must have produced on the spectator." (*Palaces*, pp. 171, 172. Compare the same writer's *Handbook of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 197.)

[1] Fergusson, *Palaces*, p. 175.

[2] The evidence on the point is unfortunately very incomplete, since, out of the 116 pillar bases which the hall and porch are supposed to have contained, *eight only*—six in the hall, and two in the porch—have been discovered. Seven of the eight, moreover, are in one line. Still, as the positions of the eight pillar

upported by that number of pillars. This building consisted f a single magnificent chamber, with a portico, and probably uard-rooms, in front, of dimensions quite unequalled upon the latform. The portico was 183 feet long by 52 feet deep, and vas sustained by sixteen pillars, about 35 feet high,[3] arranged n two rows of eight. The great chamber behind was a square f 227 feet,[4] and had therefore an area of about 51,000 feet.)ver this vast space were distributed, at equal distances from ne another, one hundred columns, each 35 feet high, arranged n ten rows of ten each, every pillar thus standing at a distance f nearly 20 feet from any other. The four walls which nclosed this great hall had a uniform thickness of $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet,[5] nd were each pierced at equal intervals by two doorways, the loorways being thus exactly opposite to one another, and each ooking down an avenue of columns. In the spaces of wall on ither side of the doorways, eastward, westward, and southward, vere three niches, all square-topped, and bearing the ornamenation which is universal in the case of all niches, windows, and loorways in the Persepolitan ruins (see overleaf). In the northrn, or front, wall, the niches were replaced by windows,[6] looking pon the portico, excepting towards the angles of the building, vhere niches were retained, owing to a peculiarity in the plan of he edifice which has now to be noticed. The portico, instead f being, as in every other Persian instance, of the same width vith the building which it fronted, was 44 feet narrower, its

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ases discovered are exactly such as hey would have been if the whole of he hall and portico had been spaced ut equally with 116 pillars, and as ll the other large rooms on the platorm are thus spaced out, it seems best o accept the conclusions of M. Flandin nd Mr. Fergusson with respect to the difice.

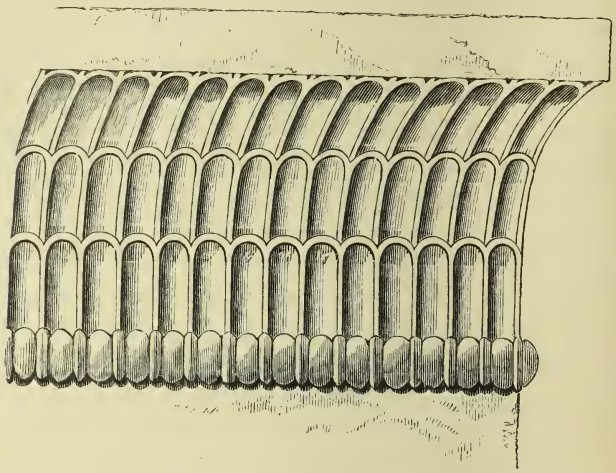
[3] Not a single one of the pillars is ow standing, nor has it been found ossible, though the ground is covered vith fragments, to obtain the height of ne by actual measurement. The height s therefore calculated *from the diameter*, vhich is so small that, according to Mr. ergusson, they could not have exceeded 5 (*Palaces*, p. 177), or, according to M. Flandin, 37 feet. (*Voyage*, pl. 168 bis.)

[4] Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, pl. 149. Ker Porter made the dimensions somewhat less. According to him, the building is a square of 210 feet. (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 662.)

[5] So Flandin (pl. 149). Mr. Fergusson says that the front wall was thicker than the others. (*Palaces*, p. 176.)

[6] M. Flandin thought (*Voyage*, p. 121) that the front wall had contained three windows only (all in the space between the two doorways) and six niches. But Ker Porter, who visited the ruins thirty years earlier, distinguished seven windows. (*Travels*, l. s. c.)

antæ projecting from the front wall, not at either extremit but at the distance of 11 feet from the corner. While t porch was thus contracted, so that the pillars had to be eight each row instead of ten, space was left on either side for narrow guard-room opening on to the porch, indications which are seen in the doorways placed at right angles to t front wall, which are ornamented with the usual figures of so



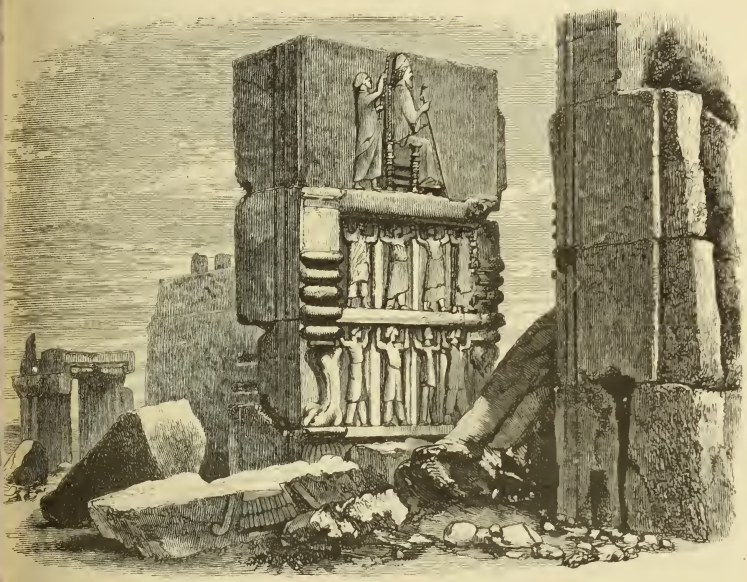
Ornament over windows, Persepolis.

diers armed with spear and shield.[7] It has been suggested tha the hall was, like the smaller pillared chambers upon the plat form, originally surrounded on three sides by a number of lesse apartments;[8] and this is certainly possible: but no trac remains of any such buildings. The ornamentation whic exists seems to show that the building was altogether of a public character. Instead of exhibiting attendants bringing articles for the toilet or the banquet, it shows on its doors th monarch, either engaged in the act of destroying symbolica

[7] Ker Porter, vol. i. p. 667.

[8] Fergusson, *Palaces*, pp. 177, 178. The writer's main arguments are the absence of (visible) windows on the eastern, western, and southern sides of the building, and the analogy derived from the other edifices. It must be admitted that the sculptures on the side doorways are identical with those which led into apartments in the Palace of Darius.

monsters, or seated on his throne under a canopy, with the tiara on his head, and the golden sceptre in his right hand. The throne representations are of two kinds. On the jambs of the great doors leading out upon the porch, we see in the top compartment the monarch seated under the canopy, accompanied by five attendants, while below him are his guards, arranged in



Gateway to Hall of a Hundred Columns (from a photograph).

five rows of ten each, some armed with spears and shields, others with spears, short swords, bows and quivers.[9] Thus the two portals together exhibit the figures of 200 Persian guardsmen in attendance on the person of the king. The doors at the back of the building present us with a still more curious sculpture. On these the throne appears elevated on a lofty platform, the stages of which, three in number, are upheld by figures in different costumes,[10] representing apparently the natives of all

[9] See Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, p. 123, and pl. 154; Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pl. 49.

[10] In the woodcut above two rows of figures only are seen. The accumulation of rubbish at the base of the monument conceals the figures of the third or lowest row.

the different provinces of the empire. It is a reasonable conjecture that this great hall was intended especially for a throne room, and that in the representations on these doorways we have figured a structure which actually existed under its roof (probably at *t* in the plan)—a platform reached by steps whereon, in the great ceremonies of state, the royal throne was placed, in order that the monarch might be distinctly seen at one and the same time by the whole court.[11]

The question of the lighting of this huge apartment presents some difficulties. On three sides, as already observed, the hall had (so far as appears) no windows—the places where windows might have been expected to occur being occupied by niches. The apparent openings are consequently reduced to some fifteen, viz., the eight doorways, and seven windows, which looked out upon the portico and were therefore overhung and had a north aspect. It is clear that sufficient light could not have entered the apartment from these—the only visible—apertures. We must therefore suppose either that the walls above the niches were pierced with windows, which is quite possible,[12] or else that light was in some way or other admitted from the roof. The latter is the supposition of those most competent to decide.[13] M. Flandin conjectures that the roof had four apertures, placed at the points where the lines drawn from the northern to the southern, and those drawn from the eastern to the western, doors would intersect one another.[14] He seems to suppose that these openings were wholly unprotected, in which case they would have admitted, in a very inconvenient way, both the sun and the rain. May we not presume that, if such openings existed, they were guarded by *louvres* such as have been regarded as probably lighting

[11] See the representation of M. Flandin (*Voyage*, pl. 112).

[12] It is generally allowed that the windows of Solomon's temple (1 K. vi. 4) were in the upper part of the wall, above the point reached by the surrounding chambers (verses 5-10). On the high position of windows in the buildings represented by the Assyrians, see above, vol. i. p. 307.

[13] Mr. Fergusson, as well as M. Flandin, brings light into this hall from the roof (*Palaces*, p. 178); but by a more complicated and (I think) less probable arrangement.

[14] Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, pls. 158 and 159. Compare the plan (supra, p. 275), where the spaces on which the light would have fallen are indicated by dotted lines.

the Assyrian halls, and of which a representation has already been given?[15]

The portico of the Hall of a Hundred Columns was flanked on either side by a colossal bull,[16] standing at the inner angle of the *antæ*, and thus in some degree narrowing the entrance. Its columns were fluted, and had in every case the complex capital, which occurs also in the great propylæa and in the Hall of Xerxes. It was built of the same sort of massive blocks as the south-eastern edifice, or Ancient Palace—blocks often ten feet square by seven feet thick,[1] and may be ascribed probably to the same age as that structure. Like that edifice, it is situated somewhat low; it has no staircase, and no inscription. We may fairly suppose it to have been the throne-room, or great hall of audience of the early king who built the South-Eastern Palace.

We have now to describe the most remarkable of all the Persepolitan edifices—a building the remains of which stretch nearly 350 feet in one direction, while in the other they extend 246 feet.[2] Its ruins consist almost entirely of pillars, which are divided into four groups. The largest of these was a square of thirty-six pillars, arranged in six rows of six, all exactly equidistant from one another, and covering an area of above 20,000 square feet.[3] On three sides of this square, eastward, northward, and westward, were magnificent porches, each consisting of twelve columns, arranged in two rows, in line with the pillars of the central cluster. These porches stood at the distance of seventy feet from the main building,[4] and have the appearance

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[15] Supra, vol. i. p. 304.

[16] Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 662; Flandin, *Voyage*, p. 120. Compare pls. 148 and 148 bis. The bulls are terribly mutilated, and it is even doubtful whether they were of the human-headed or the purely animal type. M. Flandin's general views of the ruins favour the former, while his restorations (pls. 151 and 159) adopt the latter, view.

[1] Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 662 and pl. 51.

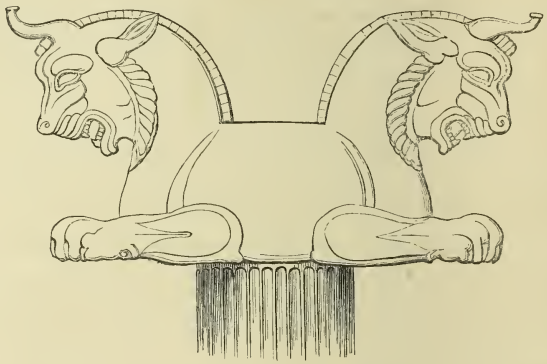
[2] I follow here the measurements of M. Flandin, who makes the distance from the extreme eastern to the extreme western pillars 105 mètres 98 centimètres (*Voyage*, pl. 90), and that from the extreme northern to the extreme southern ones 75 mètres.

[3] The side of the square is said to be 43½ mètres (Flandin, p. 100), or about 142½ feet. The area would consequently be 20,306¼ square feet.

[4] Ker Porter says 60 feet (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 636); but M. Flandin made the distance 22 mètres 50 centimètres in the case of the side groups, and 22 mètres 83 centimètres in the case of the

of having been entirely separate from it. They are 142 feet long, by thirty broad,[5] and thus cover each an area of 4260 feet. The most astonishing feature in the whole building is the height of the pillars. These, according to the measurements of M. Flandin, had a uniform altitude throughout the building of sixty-four feet.[6] Even in their ruin, they tower over every other erection upon the platform, retaining often, in spite of the effects of time, an elevation of sixty feet.[7]

The capitals of the pillars were of three kinds. Those of the side colonnades were comparatively simple: they consisted, in



Double griffin capital, Persepolis.

each case, of a single member, formed, in the eastern colonnade of two half-griffins, with their heads looking in opposite directions;[8] and, in the western colonnade, of two half-bulls arranged in the same manner.[9] The capitals of the pillars in the northern colonnade, which faced the great sculptured staircase, and constituted the true front of the building, were of a very complex character. They may be best viewed as composed of three distinct members—first, a sort of lotus-bud accompanied by pendant leaves; then, above that, a member

front one. These measurements however were made from centre to centre of the pillar bases. (See pl. 90.)

[5] Flandin, *Voyage*, p. 99.

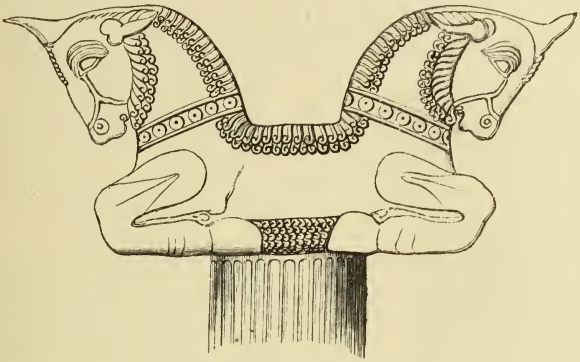
[6] Flandin, l. s. c. and pl. 168, bis.

[7] Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 633.

[8] Flandin, *Voyage*, p. 100. Compare pl. 93.

[9] Ibid. pl. 92.

composed of volutes like those of the Ionic order,[10] but placed in a perpendicular instead of a horizontal direction; and at the top, a member composed of two half-bulls, exactly similar to

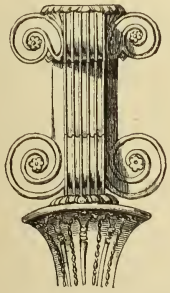


Double bull capital, Persepolis.

that which forms the complete capital of the western group of pillars.[11] The pillars of the great central cluster had capitals exactly like those of the northern colonnade.

The bases of the colonnade pillars are of singular beauty.[12]

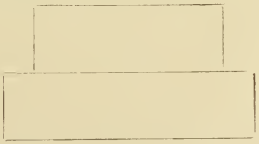
[10] These were sometimes double, like those of the capital represented on the following page, while sometimes they were single, as in the accompanying specimen.



Single volute capital, Persepolis.

[11] Mr. Fergusson questions the existence of this member of the capital, which, being the uppermost, has fallen away from all the standing pillars. (See his *Palaces*, pp. 160-162.) But M. Flandin's belief, gathered from his researches at Persepolis, has been confirmed by the labours of Mr. Loftus at Susa, where attention was specially directed to the point. (See Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 369, 370.)

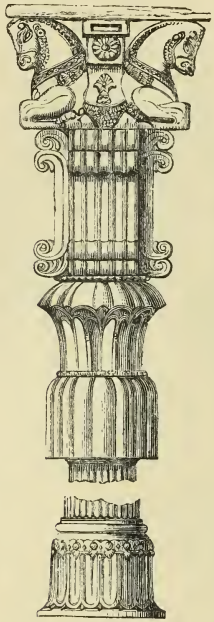
[12] The pillars of the central cluster have, on the contrary, a very rude and clumsy base, consisting merely of two rough steps, or gradines, thus—



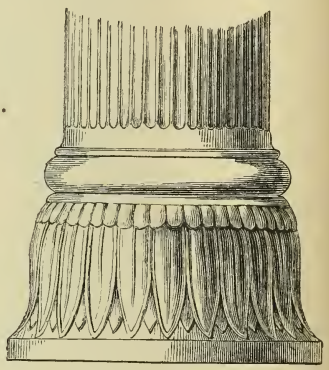
Base of pillars forming central clusters.

It is thought that these cannot have been intended to be seen, and conse-

Bell-shaped, and ornamented with a double or triple row of pendant lotus-leaves, some rounded, some narrowed to a point; they are as graceful as they are rare in their forms, and attract the admiration of all beholders. Above them rise the columns, tapering gently as they ascend, but without any swell or *entasis*. They consist of several masses of



Complex capital and base of pillars in the Great Hall of Xerxes (Persepolis).



Another pillar-base in the same.

stone, carefully joined together, and secured at the joints by an iron cramp in the direction of the column's axis.[13] All are beautifully fluted along their entire length, the number of the incisions or flutings being from forty-eight to fifty-two in each pillar.[14] They are arcs of circles smaller than semi-circles, thus resembling those of the Doric, rather than those of the Ionic or Corinthian order. The cutting of all is very exact and regular.

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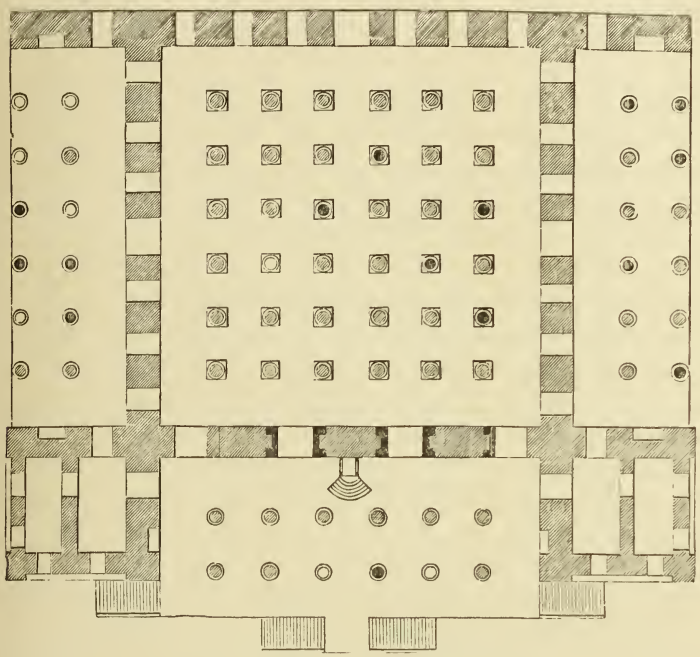
quently that the area under the centre pillars must have had a raised floor, probably of wood, level with the top of the upper step. (See Fergusson, *Palaces*, p. 165.)

[13] The existence of this cramp now often proves fatal to the columns, which are thrown down by the natives for the sake of it. (See Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 680.)

[14] Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, pls. 92 and 93.

There can be little doubt but that both the porches, and the great central pillar-cluster, were roofed in. The double-bull and double-griffin capital are exactly suited to receive the ends of beams, which would stretch from pillar to pillar,[15] and sup-



Ground-plan of the Hall of Xerxes (after Fergusson).

port a roof and an entablature. We may see in the entrances to the royal tombs[16] the true use of pillars in a Persian building, and the character of the entablature which they were intended to sustain.[17] Assuming, then, that both the great

[15] The distance from pillar to pillar is not more than 28 feet, considerably less than that of the Assyrian halls, which (as has been shewn, vol. i. p. 307) were probably roofed in by beams laid horizontally from side to side. Ker Porter supposes that stone *epistylia* of this length may have been used (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 634), and certainly blocks of a length even exceeding this occur in the platform (see above, p. 273, note [13]); but, if they had been employed in the pillared buildings, their remains would probably have been found.

[16] See above, p. 231; and compare infra, p. 320.

[17] The entablature may have been occasionally richer, as in the attempted restoration, p. 289, which follows the pattern of the two tombs immediately behind the Great Palace platform.

central pillar-phalanx and the three detached colonnades supported a roof, the question arises, were the colonnades in any way united with the main building, or did they stand completely detached from it? It has been supposed [18] that they were all porticoes *in antis*, connected with the main building by solid walls —that the great central column-cluster was surrounded on all sides by a wall of a very massive description, from the four corners of which similar barriers were carried down to the edge of the terrace, abutting in front upon the steps of the great sculptured staircase, and extending eastward and westward, so as to form the *antæ* of an eastern and a western portico. In the two corners between the northern *antæ* of the side porticoes and the *antæ* of the portico in front are supposed to have been large guard-rooms, entirely filling up the two angles. The whole building is thus brought into close conformity with the "Palace of Xerxes," from which it is distinguished only by its superior size, its use of stone pillars, and the elongation of the tetrastyle chambers at the sides of that edifice into porticoes of twelve pillars each.

The ingenuity of this conception is unquestionable; and one is tempted at first sight to accept a solution which removes so much that is puzzling, and establishes so remarkable a harmony between works whose outward aspect is so dissimilar. It seems like the inspiration of genius to discern so clearly the like in the unlike, and one inclines at first to believe that what is so clever cannot but be true. But a rigorous examination of the evidence leads to an opposite conclusion, and if it does not absolutely disprove Mr. Fergusson's theory, at any rate shows it to be in the highest degree doubtful. Such walls as he describes, with their *antæ* and their many doors and windows, should have left very marked traces of their existence in great squared pillars at the sides of porticoes,[1] in huge door-frames and window-frames, or at least in the foundations of walls, or the marks of them, on some part of the paved terrace. Now the

[18] This is the theory of Mr. Fergusson (*Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis*, pp. 144-146; *Handbook of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 195).

[1] Like that at the south-west corner of Darius's Palace (see woodcut, p. 286), or rather four times the size.

entire absence of squared pillars for the ends of *antæ*, of door-frames, and window-frames, or even of such sculptured fragments as might indicate their former existence, is palpable and is admitted; nor is there any even supposed trace of the walls, excepting in one of the lines which by the hypothesis they would occupy. In front of the building, midway between the great pillar-cluster and the north colonnade, are the remains of four stone bases, parallel to one another, each seventeen feet feet long by five feet six inches wide.[2] Mr. Fergusson regards these bases as marking the position of the doors in his front wall;[3] and they are certainly in places where doors might have been looked for, if the building had a front wall, since the openings are exactly opposite the intercolumniations of the pillars, both in the portico and in the main cluster.[4] But there are several objections to the notion of these bases being the foundations of the jambs of doors. In the first place, they are too wide apart, being at the distance from one another of seventeen feet, whereas no doorway on the platform exceeds a width of twelve or thirteen feet. In the second place, if these massive stone bases were prepared for the jambs of doors, it could only have been for massive stone jambs like those of the other palaces; but in that case, the jambs could not have disappeared. Thirdly, if the doorways on this side were thus marked, why were they not similarly marked on the other sides of the building?[5] On the whole, the supposition of M. Flandin, that the bases were pedestals for ornamental statues, perhaps of bulls,[6] seems more probable than that of Mr. Fergusson; though, no doubt, there are objections also to M. Flandin's hypothesis,[7] and it would be perhaps best to confess that we do not know the

[2] Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, p. 99; Texier, pl. 93. Compare the general plan, supra, p. 275.

[3] *Palaces*, p. 145.

[4] Still, even here there is a suspicious circumstance. The positions are not the usual ones for doors under porticoes, being too near together. It is usual to have three windows between the two doors. Here, if there were doors, they could have had one window only between them.

[5] Mr. Fergusson supposes that the great chamber had five other doors (see the plan, p. 307), none of which have left a trace.

[6] *Voyage en Perse*, p. 99. Compare plate 112, where the idea is carried out.

[7] As that isolated statues of bulls, or indeed of anything else, are not known to have been in use among the Persians.

use of these strange foundations, which have nothing that at all resembles them upon the rest of the platform.

Another strong objection to Mr. Fergusson's theory, and one of which he, to a certain extent, admits the force,[8] is the existence of drains, running exactly in the line of his side walls,[9] which, if such walls existed, would be a curious provision on the part of the architect for undermining his own work. Mr. Fergusson supposes that they might be intended to drain the walls themselves and keep them dry. But as it is clear that they must have carried off the whole surplus water from the roof of the building, and as there is often much rain and snow at Persepolis,[10] their effect on the foundations of such a wall as Mr. Fergusson imagines would evidently be disastrous in the extreme.

To these minute and somewhat technical objections may be added the main one, whereof all alike can feel the force, namely, the entire disappearance of such a vast mass of building as Mr. Fergusson's hypothesis supposes. To account for this, Mr. Fergusson is obliged to lay it down, that in this magnificent structure, with its solid stone staircase, its massive pavement of the same material, and its seventy-two stone pillars, each sixty-four feet high, the walls were of mud. Can we believe in this incongruity? Can we imagine that a prince, who possessed an unbounded command of human labour, and an inexhaustible supply of stone in the rocky mountains close at hand, would have had recourse to the meanest of materials for the walls of an edifice which he evidently intended to eclipse all others upon the platform? And, especially, can we suppose this, when the very same prince used solid blocks of stone in the walls of the very inferior edifice which he constructed in this same locality? Mr. Fergusson, in defence of his hypothesis, alleges the frequent combination of meanness with magnificence in the East, and softens down the meanness in the present case by clothing his mud walls with enamelled tiles,

[8] See *Palaces*, pp. 146. 147.
[9] These drains are marked on the General Plan. (Supra, p. 275.)
[10] See above, p. 136.

and painting them with all the colours of the rainbow. But here again the hypothesis is wholly unsupported by fact. Neither at Persepolis, nor at Pasargadæ, nor at any other ancient Persian site,[11] has a single fragment of an enamelled tile or brick been discovered. In Babylonia and Assyria, where the employment of such an ornamentation was common,[12] the traces of it which remain are abundant. Must not the entire absence of such traces from all exclusively Persian ruins be held to indicate that this mode of adorning edifices was not adopted in Persia?

If then we resign the notion of this remarkable building having been a walled structure, we must suppose that it was a *summer* throne-room, open to all the winds of heaven, except so far as it was protected by curtains. For the use of these by the Persians in pillared edifices, we have important historical authority in the statement already quoted from the Book of Esther.[13] The Persian palace, to which that passage directly refers, contained a structure almost the exact counterpart of this at Persepolis;[14] and it is probable that at both places the interstices between the outer pillars of, at any rate, the great central colonnade, were filled with "hangings of white and green and blue, fastened with cords of white[15] and purple to silver rings," which were attached to the "pillars of marble;" and that by these means an undue supply of light and air, as well as an unseemly publicity, were prevented. A traveller in the country well observes, in allusion to this passage from Esther—"Nothing could be more appropriate than this method at Susa and Persepolis, the spring residences of the Persian

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[11] It may be objected to this, that enamelled bricks were found at Susa, in near proximity to the palace of Darius. (Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 396.) But there was nothing to connect these bricks with Achæmenian times. Probably they belonged to the old palace (Dan. viii. 2), whereto Darius merely made additions.

[12] Supra, vol. i. pp. 376-382; vol. ii. pp. 564 and 565.

[13] Esther, i. 6. (See above, p. 215).

[14] The general plan of the Susian building was identical with that of the Persepolitan. Its size, proportions, and ornamentation were almost exactly the same, excepting that (so far as appears) the Susian hall had no sculptured staircase. Mr. Loftus made careful search at Susa for any indication of walls, but found no trace of them whatsoever. (*Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 374.)

[15] *Buts* (בּוּץ) translated "fine linen" in the authorised version, probably means simply "white" here, as in Exod. xxvi. 31.

monarchs. It must be considered that these columnar halls were the equivalents of the modern throne-rooms, that here all public business was dispatched, and that here the king might sit and enjoy the beauties of the landscape. With the rich plains of Susa and Persepolis before him, he could well, after his winter's residence at Babylon, dispense with massive walls, which would only check the warm fragrant breeze from those verdant prairies adorned with the choicest flowers. A massive roof, covering the whole expanse of columns, would be too cold and dismal, whereas curtains around the central group would serve to admit both light and warmth. Nothing can be conceived better adapted to the climate or the season." [1]

If the central cluster of pillars was thus adapted to the purposes of a throne-room, equally well may the isolated colonnades have served as ante-chambers or posts for guards. Protected, perhaps, with curtains or awnings of their own,[2] of a coarser material than those of the main chamber, or at any rate casting, when the sun was high, a broad and deep shadow, they would give a welcome shelter to those who had to watch over the safety of the monarch, or who were expecting but had not yet received their summons to the royal presence.[3] Except in the very hottest weather, the Oriental does not love to pass his day within doors. Seated on the pavement in groups, under the deep shadows of these colonnades, which commanded a glorious view of the vast fertile plain of the Bendamir, of the undulating mountain-tract beyond, and of the picturesque hills known now as Koh-Istakhr, or Koh-Rhamgherd,[4] the subjects of the Great King, who had business at court, would wait, agreeably enough, till their turn came to approach the throne.

Our survey of the Persepolitan platform is now complete; but, before we entirely dismiss the subject of Persian palaces, it seems proper to say a few words with respect to the other

[1] Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 375.

[2] M. Flandin (*Voyage*, pl. 112) confines the hangings to the main apartment; but it is quite possible that the detached colonnades may have been similarly protected.

[3] M. Flandin boldly calls them "salles de pas perdus." (*Voyage*, p. 98.)

[4] For a near view of these hills, see Flandin, pl. 62, and for their effect from the platform compare pl. 114.

palatial remains of Achæmenian times, remains which exist in three places—at Murgab or Pasargadæ, at Istakr, and at the great mound of Susa. The Murgab and Istakr ruins were carefully examined by MM. Coste and Flandin: while General Williams and Mr. Loftus diligently explored, and completely made out, the plan of the Susian edifice.

The ruins at Murgab, which are probably the most ancient in Persia, comprise, besides the well-known "Tomb of Cyrus," two principal buildings. The largest of these was of an oblong-square shape, about 147 feet long by 116 wide.[5] It seems to have been surrounded by a lofty wall, in which were huge portals, consisting of great blocks of stone, partially hollowed out, to render them portable.[6] There was an inscription on the jambs of each portal, containing the words, "I am Cyrus, the King, the Achæmenian." Within the walled enclosure, which may have been skirted internally by a colonnade,[7] was a pillared building, of much greater height than the surrounding walls, as is evident from the single column which remains. This shaft, which is perfectly plain, and shows no signs of a capital, has an altitude of thirty-six feet,[8] with a diameter of three feet four inches at the base.[9] On the area around, which was carefully paved,[10] are the bases of seven other similar pillars, arranged in lines, and so situated as apparently to indicate an oblong hall, supported by twelve pillars, in three rows of four each.[11] The chief peculiarity of the arrangement

[5] Flandin, p. 159. Compare the plan on next page.

[6] Rich, *Journey to Persepolis*, p. 240. Some of the blocks in the older buildings on the Persepolitan platform are lightened in a similar way (ibid. p. 248).

[7] As seems to have been the case at Ecbatana. (See above, vol. ii. p. 265.) I suspect that such a colonnade also surrounded the "Tomb of Cyrus." (Vide infra, p. 319.)

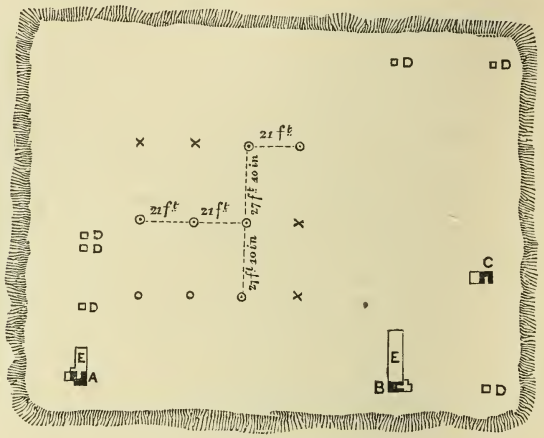
[8] So M. Flandin (*Voyage*, p. 160). Mr. Fergusson, following apparently the guess of Ker Porter (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 489), calls the height "nearly 50 feet." (*Palaces*, p. 212.)

[9] Flandin, l. s. c. Mr. Morier made the circumference 10 ft. 5 in. (*First Journey*, p. 144), which comes, within an inch, to the same.

[10] The blocks were clamped together in exactly the same way as those on the great platform. (Supra, p. 273, note [12].)

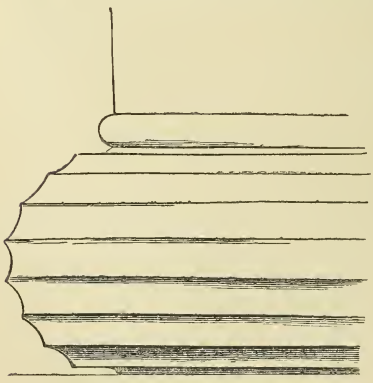
[11] *Three* rows of pillars is no doubt a very strange and unusual arrangement; but M. Flandin's measurements seem absolutely to preclude a fourth row. (See the Plan on next page.) It may be remarked, that Solomon's "House of the forest of Lebanon" seems to have three rows of pillars only, with fifteen in each. (1 Kings, vii. 3.)

is, a variety in the width of the intercolumniations, which measure twenty-seven feet ten inches in one direction, but twenty-



Plan of palace, Pasargadæ.
A, B, C. Pillars with inscriptions. D D. Pillar bases. E E. Remains of pavement.

one feet only in the other.[12] The smaller building, which is situated at only a short distance from the larger one, covers a space of 125 feet by fifty. It consists of twelve pillar bases, arranged in two rows of six each, the pillars being somewhat thicker than those of the other building, and placed somewhat closer together.[13] The form of the base is very singular. It exhibits at the side a semi-circular bulge, ornamented with a series of nine flutings, which are carried entirely round the base in parallel horizontal circles.[14] In front of the pillar bases, at the dis-



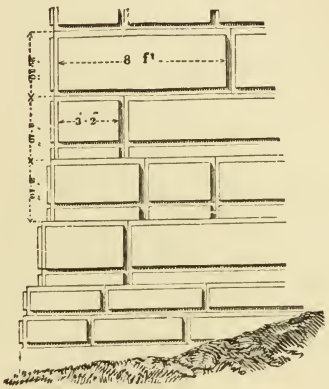
Pillar-base, Pasargadæ.

[12] Flandin, pl. 197.

[13] The distances here are, respectively, 25 ft. 10 in. and 18 ft. 4 in. (Flandin, pl. 197.)

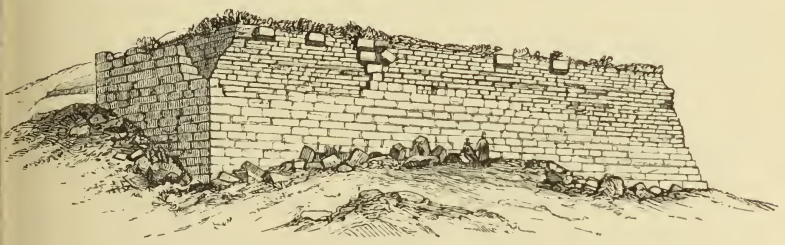
[14] See Flandin (l. s. c.), from whom the accompanying illustration is taken.

tance of about twenty-three feet from the nearest, is a square column, still upright, on which is sculptured a curious mythological figure,[15] together with the same curt legend, which appears on the larger building —"I am Cyrus, the King, the Achæmenian."



Masonry of great platform, Pasargadæ.

There are two other buildings at Murgab remarkable for their masonry. One is a square tower, with slightly projecting corners, built of hewn blocks of stone, very regularly laid, and carried to a height of forty-two feet.[16] The other is a platform, exceedingly massive and handsome, composed entirely of squared stone, and faced with blocks often eight or ten feet long,[17] laid in horizontal courses, and rusticated throughout in a manner that is highly ornamental. The style resembles that of the substructions of the Temple at Jerusalem. It occurs occasionally, though somewhat


General view of platform, Pasargadæ.

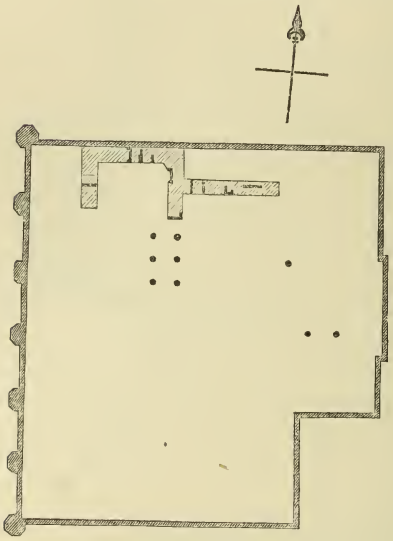
[15] This figure has been noticed by most travellers. (See Morier, *Second Journey*, p. 118; Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 492; Rich, *Journey to Persepolis*, p. 241; Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, p. 160, and pl. 198; &c.) A representation of it is given below, p. 353.

[16] Flandin, p. 161, and pl. 200. This building is an almost exact duplicate of one at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, which will be fully described presently.

[17] See the woodcut. Mr. Rich says that one block which he measured was 14 feet 2 inches long (*Journey to Persepolis*, p. 241). M. Flandin speaks of there being among the blocks some which are 10 mètres (32 feet, 9 inches) in length. (*Voyage en Perse*, p. 162.)

rarely, in Greece; but there is said to exist nowhere so extensive and beautiful a specimen of it as that of the platform at this ancient site.[18]

The palace at Istakr is in better preservation than either of the two pillared edifices at Murgab; but still, it is not in such a condition as to enable us to lay down with any certainty even its ground plan. One pillar only remains erect; but the bases of eight others have been found *in situ*; the walls are partly to be traced, and the jambs of several doorways and niches are still standing.[19] These remains show that in many respects, as in the character of the pillars, which were fluted and had capitals like those already described,[20] in the massiveness of the door and window jambs, and in the thickness of the walls, the Istakr Palace resembled closely the buildings on the Persepolitan platform; but at the same time, they indicate that its plan was wholly different, and thus our knowledge of the platform buildings in no degree enables us to complete, or even to carry forward to any appreciable extent, the ground-plan of the edifice derived from actual research. The height of the columns, which is inferior to that of the lowest at the great platform,[21] would seem to indicate, either that the building was the first in which stone pillars were attempted, or that it was erected at a time when the Persians no longer possessed the



Plan of palace, Istakr.

[18] Fergusson, *Palaces*, p. 211.
[19] Flandin, *Voyage*, p. 70 and pl. 58.
[20] See above, pp. 304-306.
[21] The height of the Istakr columns was 25 ft. 7 inches. The shortest of the columns found at Persepolis exceeded 37 feet. (Flandin, pl. 168, bis.)

mechanical skill required to quarry, transport, and raise into place the enormous blocks used in the best days of the nation.

The palace at Susa, exhumed by Mr. Loftus and General Williams, consisted of a great Hall or Throne-Room, almost exactly a duplicate of the Chehl Minar at Persepolis, and of a few other very inferior buildings. It stood at the summit of the great platform, a quadrilateral mass of unburnt brick, which from a remote antiquity had supported the residence of the old Susian kings. It fronted a little west of north, and commanded a magnificent view over the Susianian plains to the mountains of Luristan. An inscription, repeated on four of its pillar-bases, showed that it was originally built by Darius Hystaspis, and afterwards repaired by Artaxerxes Longimanus.[22] As it was so exactly a reproduction of an edifice already minutely described,[1] no further account of it need be here given.

From the palaces of the Persian kings we may now pass to their tombs, remarkable structures which drew the attention of the ancients,[2] and which have been very fully examined and represented in modern times.[3] These tombs are eight in number, but present only two types, so that it will be sufficient to give in this place a detailed account of two tombs—one of each description.

The most ancient, and, on the whole. the most remarkable of the tombs, is almost universally allowed to be that of the Great Cyrus. It is unique in design, totally different from all the other royal sepulchres ; and, though it has been often described, demands, and must receive notice in any account that is given of the ancient Persian constructions. The historian Arrian calls it "a house upon a pedestal;"[4] and this brief description exactly expresses its general character. On a base, composed of

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[22] See Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 365-376.

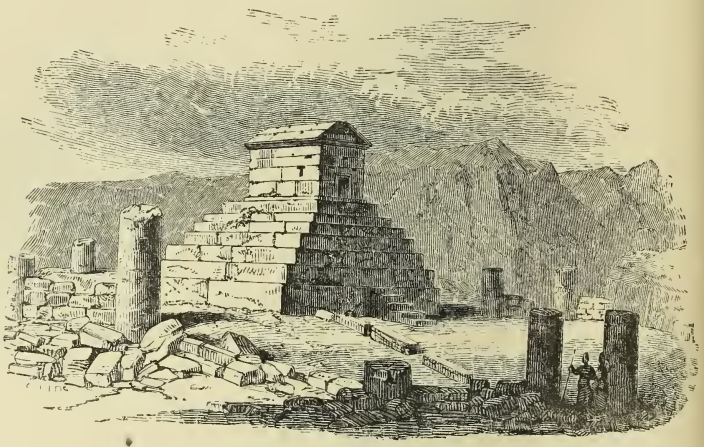
[1] Supra, pp. 303-312.

[2] See above. p. 270, note [4].

[3] On the tomb of Cyrus, see Morier, *First Journey*, pp. 144-146 ; Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 498-500, Rich, *Journey to Persepolis*, pp. 239-244 ; Texier, *Description*, tom. ii. pp. 152-156 : and Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, pp. 157-159. On the other tombs of the kings, see Ker Porter, vol. i. pp. 516-524 ; Rich. pp. 255, 256 ; Flandin, pp. 128-132, and 140, 141.

[4] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vi. 29. Compare Strabo, xv. 3, § 7.

huge blocks of the most beautiful white marble,[5] which rises pyramidically in seven steps[6] of different heights,[7] there stands a small "house" of similar material, crowned with a stone roof which is formed in front and rear into a pediment resembling that of a Greek temple.[8] The "house" has no window, but one



Tomb of Cyrus.

of the end walls was pierced by a low and narrow doorway, which led into a small chamber or cell, about eleven feet long, seven broad, and seven high.[9] Here, as ancient writers inform us,[10] the body of the Great Cyrus was deposited in a golden coffin. Internally the chamber is destitute of any inscription, and indeed seems to have been left perfectly plain.[11] Extern-

[5] Ker Porter, p. 499.

[6] Most writers speak of six steps only, but MM. Flandin and Coste uncovered a seventh (*Voyage*, p. 157; pls. 195 and 196.) Mr. Fergusson suggests that the seven steps represented the seven planets. (*Palaces*, p. 214.)

[7] The lowest step or real base of the monument—that which was first uncovered by MM. Flandin and Coste—is only 13 inches high; the second is 5 ft. 5 in.; the third and fourth are 3 ft. 5 in. each; the fifth, sixth, and seventh measure each 1 ft. 10 inches. (See Flandin, *Voyage*, pl. 195.) The measures of Ker Porter (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 499) and Mr. Rich (*Persepolis*, p. 243) agree nearly with these, in no case differing more than two inches.

[8] There can really be no doubt of this. (See Ker Porter, vol. i. pl. 14; Flandin, pls. 195 and 196.) Yet Mr. Rich did not see it, but imagined that the roof had been arched! (*Persepolis*, p. 242.)

[9] Flandin, pls. 195, 196; Rich, p. 243.

[10] Arrian, l. s. c.; Strab. l. s. c.

[11] There is some Arabic writing and ornamentation in the interior of the

ally, there is a cornice of some elegance below the pediment, a good moulding over the doorway, which is also doubly recessed—and two other very slight mouldings, one at the base of the "house," and the other at the bottom of the second step. Except for these, the whole edifice is perfectly plain. Its present height above the ground is thirty-six feet,[12] and it may originally have been a foot or eighteen inches higher, for the top of the roof is worn away. It measures at the base forty-seven feet by forty-three feet nine inches.[13]

1. Moulding over door. 2. Cornice. Tomb of Cyrus, Pasargadæ.

The tomb stands within a rectangular area, marked out by pillars, the bases or broken shafts of which are still to be seen. They appear to have been twenty-four in number; all of them circular and smooth, not fluted; six pillars occupied each side of the rectangle, and they stood distant from each other about fourteen feet.[14] It is probable that they originally supported a colonnade, which skirted internally a small walled court, within which the tomb was placed. The capitals of the pillars, if they had any, have wholly disappeared; and the researches conducted on the spot have failed to discover any trace of them.

The remainder of the Persian royal sepulchres are rock-tombs —excavations in the sides of mountains, generally at a considerable

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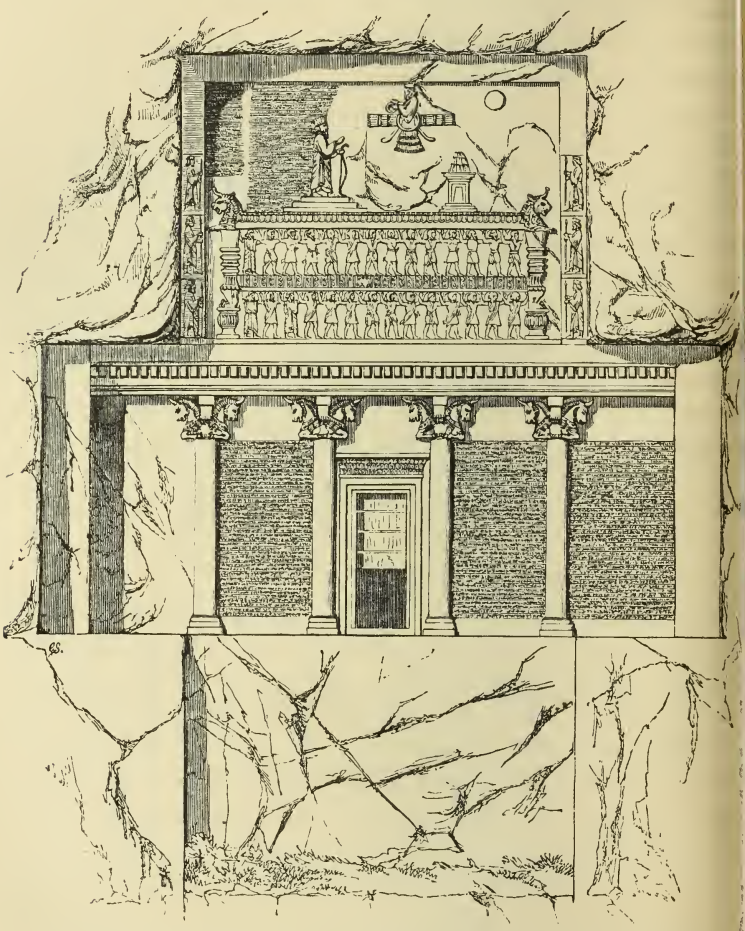
tomb (Rich, p. 243; Ker Porter, p. 501), but nothing of an earlier date than the Mahometan conquest.

[12] Flandin, *Voyage*, p. 197. Compare pl. 195.

[13] Ibid. pl. 196. These measures considerably exceed those of former travellers, who, when the lowest step was covered up, necessarily took the dimensions of the lowest step but one.

[14] Ker Porter, p. 499; Rich, p. 244. The Baron Texier's plan makes the pillars on each side eight. (*Description*, tom. ii. pl. 82.)

elevation, so placed as to attract the eye of the beholder, whil
they are extremely difficult of approach. Of this kind of tom
there are four in the face of the mountain which bounds th



External appearance of the tomb of Darius Hystaspis, at Nakhsh-i-Rustam (from Fergusson).

Pulwar Valley on the north-west, while there are three others in the immediate vicinity of the Persepolitan platform, two in the mountain which overhangs it, and one in the rocks a little further to the south. The general shape of the excavations, as

it presents itself to the eye of the spectator, resembles a Greek cross.[15] This is divided by horizontal lines into three portions, the upper one (corresponding with the topmost limb of the cross) containing a very curious sculptured representation of the monarch worshipping Ormazd; the middle one, which comprises the two side limbs, together with the space between them, being carved architecturally so as to resemble a portico;[16] and the third compartment (corresponding with the lowest limb of the cross) being left perfectly plain. In the centre of the middle compartment is sculptured on the face of the rock the similitude of a doorway, closely resembling those which still stand on the great platform; that is to say, doubly recessed, and ornamented at the top with lily-work. The upper portion of this doorway is filled with the solid rock, smoothed to a flat surface and crossed by three horizontal bars. The lower portion, to the height of four or five feet, is cut away; and thus entrance is given to the actual tomb, which is hollowed out in the rock behind.

Thus far the rock-tombs are, with scarcely an exception,[17] of the same type. The excavations, however, behind their ornamental fronts, present some curious differences. In the simplest case of all, we find, on entering, an arched chamber,[18] thirteen feet five inches long by seven feet two inches wide, from which there opens out, opposite to the door and at the height of about four feet from the ground, a deep horizontal recess, arched, like the chamber. Near the front of this recess is a further perpendicular excavation, in length six feet ten inches, in width three feet three inches, and in depth the same.[19] This was the actual

[15] See the woodcut on the preceding page, and compare the illustration taken from a photograph, supra, p. 231.

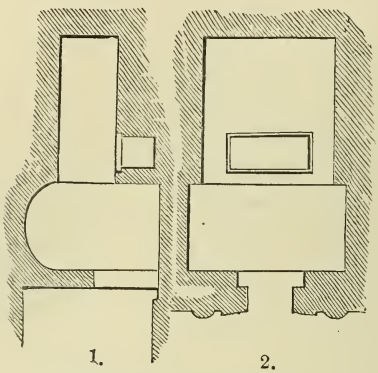
[16] It must be understood that the portico is apparent only, not real. The columns are not pillars, but pilasters adhering to the face of the rock.

[17] The only important exception is the ruined tomb to the south of the Persepolitan platform, which, unlike the others, is situated nearly at the level of the plain, and shews one compartment only of the three commonly seen. (Flandin, pls. 162 and 167.)

[18] In some of what seem to be the earliest tombs, there is no arch. Both the internal chamber and the recess are squared at top. This is the case in the tomb of Darius Hystaspis. (Flandin, pls. 170 and 171.)

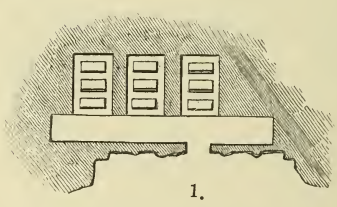
[19] See Flandin, pl. 165.

sarcophagus, and was covered, or intended to be covered, by a slab of stone. In the deeper part of the recess there is room for two other such sarcophagi; but in this case they have not been excavated, one burial only having, it would seem, taken place in this tomb. Other sepulchres present the same general features, but provide for a much greater number of interments.[20] In that of Darius Hystaspis the sepulchral chamber contains three distinct recesses, in each of which are three sarcophagi, so that the tomb would hold nine bodies. It has, apparently, been cut originally for a single recess, on the exact plan of the tomb described above, but has afterwards been elongated towards the left.



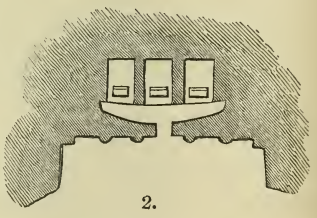
1. 2.

1. Section of tomb, Persepolis.
2. Ground-plan of the same.



1.

1. Ground-plan of tomb of Darius, Nakhsh-i-Rustam.



2.

2. Ground-plan of another royal tomb.

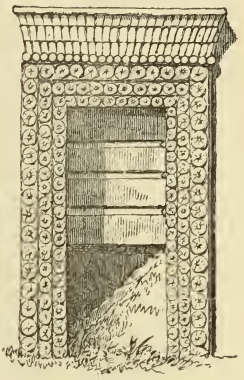
Two of the tombs show a still more elaborate ground-plan —one in which curved lines take to some extent the place of straight ones.[21] The tombs above the platform of Persepolis are more richly ornamented than the others, the lintels and side-posts of the doorways being covered with rosettes, and the

[20] The other tombs contain three, six, or nine sarcophagi. (Flandin, pls. 163, 165, and 169.)

[21] These tombs are both at Nakhsh-i-Rustam. Their plans are given by Flandin (pls. 170 and 171).

entablature above the cornice bearing a row of lions, facing on either side towards the centre.[22]

A curious edifice, belonging probably to the later Achæmenian times, stands immediately in front of the four royal tombs at Nakhsh-i-Rustam. This is a square tower, composed of large blocks of marble, cut with great exactness, and joined together without mortar or cement of any kind. The building is thirty-six feet high; and each side of it measures, as near as possible, twenty-four feet.[1] It is ornamented with pilasters at the corners and with six recessed niches, or false windows, in three ranks, one over the other, on three out of its four faces. On the fourth face are two niches only, one over the other; and below them is a doorway with a cornice. The surface of the walls between the pilasters is also ornamented with a number of rectangular depressions, resembling the sunken ends of beams.[2] The doorway, which looks north, towards the tombs, is not at the bottom of the building, but half-way up its side, and must have been reached either by a ladder, or by a flight of steps.[3] It leads into a square chamber, twelve feet wide by nearly eighteen high,[4] extending to the top of the building, and roofed in with four large slabs of stone, which reach entirely across



Entrance to a royal tomb, Persepolis.

[22] Flandin, pls. 164 and 166.

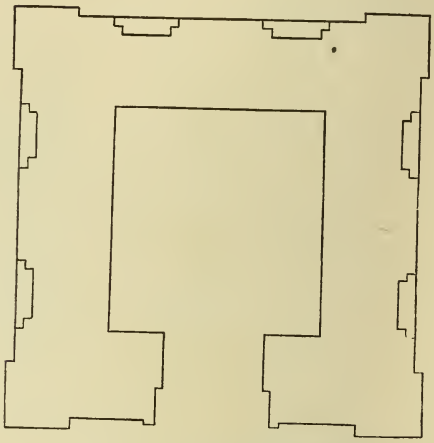
[1] Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, p. 141. Ker Porter made the width 22 feet, 8 inches, and guessed the height at 35 feet. (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 562.)

[2] There is a curious conflict of testimony with respect to these markings. Ker Porter speaks of them as "blocks of marble which project" (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 563); and Mr. Fergusson, following him, speaks of "projecting facets" (*Palaces*, p. 206). But Mr. Morier saw "oblong perpendicular *incisions*" (*First Journey*, p. 129; M. Flandin "*refouille-ments*" (*Voyage*, p. 142); and Baron Texier "trous" (*Description*, tom. ii. p. 199).

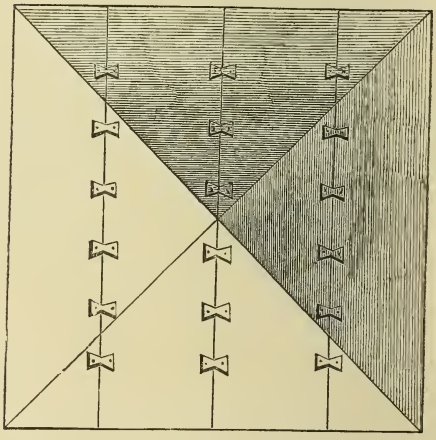
[3] M. Flandin imagined that he saw traces of a flight of steps (*Voyage*, p. 141). But perhaps the ruined appearance of the wall below the doorway is rather the result of an attempt to penetrate the building and discover a second chamber.

[4] Flandin, l. s. c. Ker Porter guessed the height at 15 or 16 feet. (*Travels*, p. 562.)

from side to side, being rather more than twenty-four feet long six feet wide, and from eighteen inches to three feet in thick-



1. Section of tower, Nakhsh-i-Rustam.

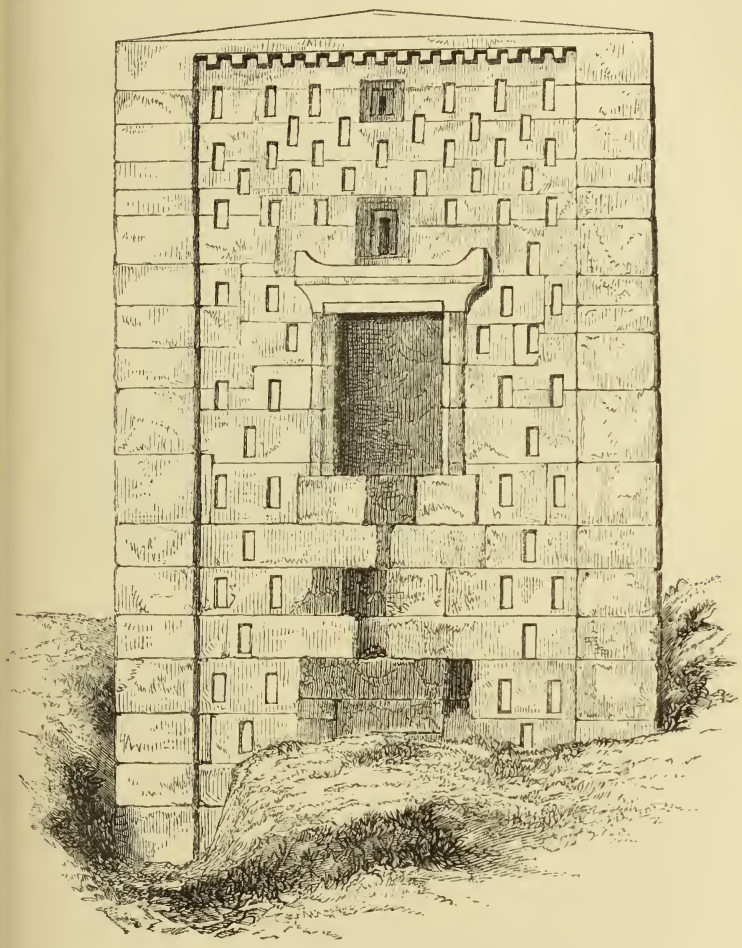


2. Roof of the same.

ness. On the top these slabs are so cut that the roof has every way a slight incline;[5] at their edges they are fashioned between the pilasters, into a dentated cornice, like that which is seen on

[5] See the woodcut No. 2.

the tombs.[6] Externally they were clamped together in the same careful way, which we find to have been in use both at



Front view of the tower, showing excavations.

Persepolis and Pasargadæ.[7] The building seems to have been closed originally by two ponderous stone doors.[8]

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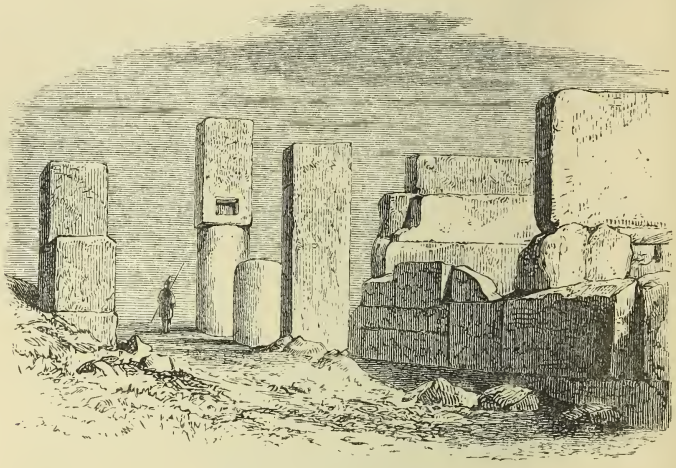
[6] Supra, p. 319.

[7] See above, pp. 273 and 313. Compare Flandin, pl. 197.

[8] Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 562. "This

Another remarkable construction, which must belong to a very ancient period in the history of the country, is a gateway[9] composed of enormous stones, which forms a portion of the ruins of Istakr. It has generally been regarded as one of the old gates of the city;[10] but its position in the gorge between the town



Massive gateway (Istakr).

wall and the opposite mountain, and the fact that it lies directly across the road from Pasargadæ into the plain of Merdasht, seem rather to imply that it was one of those fortified "gates," which we know to have been maintained by the Persians, at narrow points along their great routes,[11] for the purpose of securing

"This portal is five feet wide and six high. The grooves for the pivots of its doors are deeply cut, both at the bottom and the top, where they were fastened to the sides of the wall; so that the ponderous stone divisions must have met in the middle and shut close. The circling marks of their movement are strongly worn in the marble floor."

[9] Mr. Fergusson speaks of this gateway as "a building so monolithic in its character, and so simple and grand in its proportions, that it is impossible to ascribe it to any period subsequent to the days of the Achæmenidæ; indeed," he says, "so simply grand is it that it might almost be supposed to be older, had we any knowledge of any race capable of executing such a work before their time." (*Palaces*, p. 205.)

[10] Fergusson, l. s. c.; Flandin, pp. 70, 71; Texier, pl. 137.

[11] Such were the "Pylæ Ciliciæ" (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 21; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 4); the "Pylæ Caspiæ" (Arr. iii. 20); the "Pylæ Syriæ" (Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, § 4; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* ii. 5); the Pylæ Amanicæ (Polyb. xii. 17, § 2); and others. Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 4, § 4) is conclusive on the point of there being an actual gateway and gates.

them, and stopping the advance of an enemy.[12] On either side were walls of vast thickness, on the one hand abutting upon the mountain, on the other probably connected with the wall of the town, while between them were three massive pillars, once, no doubt, the supports of a tower, from which the defenders of the gate would engage its assailants at a great advantage.

We have now described (so far as our data have rendered it possible) all the more important of the ancient edifices of the Persians, and may proceed to consider the next branch of the present enquiry, namely, their skill in the mimetic arts. Before, however, the subject of their architecture is wholly dismissed, a few words seem to be required on its general character and chief peculiarities.

First, then, the simplicity and regularity of the style are worthy of remark. In the ground-plans of buildings the straight line only is used; all the angles are right angles; all the pillars fall into line; the intervals between pillar and pillar are regular, and generally equal; doorways are commonly placed opposite intercolumniations; where there is but one doorway, it is in the middle of the wall which it pierces; where there are two, they correspond to one another. Correspondence is the general law. Not only does door correspond to door, and pillar to pillar, but room to room, window to window, and even niche to niche. Most of the buildings are so contrived that one half is the exact duplicate of the other; and where this is not the case, the irregularity is generally either slight,[13] or the result of an alteration,[14] made probably for convenience sake. Travellers are impressed with the Grecian character of what they behold,[15] though there is an almost entire absence of Greek forms. The regularity is not confined to single buildings, but extends to the relations of different edifices one to another. The sides of buildings standing on one platform, at whatever distance they may be, are parallel. There is, however, less consideration paid,

[12] Sir R. K. Porter is the only traveller who seems to have distinctly recognised the true character of this "Gate." (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 515.)

[13] As in the chambers surrounding the pillared hall in the palace of Darius. (See the General Plan, p. 275.)

[14] As in the west doorway and staircase of the same palace.

[15] Rich, *Persepolis*, p. 244.

than we should have expected, to the exact position, with respect to a main building, in which a subordinate one shall be placed. Propylæa, for instance, are not opposite the centre of the edifice to which they conduct, but slightly on one side of the centre. And generally, excepting in the parallelism of their sides, buildings seem placed with but slight regard to neighbouring ones.

For effect, the Persian architecture must have depended, firstly, upon the harmony that is produced by the observance of regularity and proportion; and, secondly, upon two main features of the style. These were the grand sculptured staircases which formed the approaches to all the principal buildings, and the vast groves of elegant pillars in and about the great halls. The lesser buildings were probably ugly, except in front. But such edifices as the *Chehl Minar* at Persepolis, and its duplicate at Susa—where long vistas of columns met the eye on every side, and the great central cluster was supported by lighter detached groups, combining similarity of form with some variety of ornament, where richly coloured drapings contrasted with the cool grey stone of the building, and a golden roof overhung a pavement of many hues—must have been handsome, from whatever side they were contemplated, and for general richness and harmony of effect may have compared favourably with any edifices which, up to the time of their construction, had been erected in any country or by any people. If it may seem to some that they were wanting in grandeur, on account of their comparatively low height,—a height which, including that of the platform, was probably in no case much more than a hundred feet—it must be remembered that the buildings of Greece and (except the Pyramids) those of Egypt, had the same defect,[1] and that, until the constructive powers of the arch came to be understood, it was almost impossible to erect a building that should be at once lofty and elegant. Height, moreover, if the

[1] The pillars of the Great Temple at Karnac slightly exceeded in height those of the Grand Hall at Persepolis, measuring 70 feet, whereas the Persepolitan ones were only a little more than 67 feet. The columns of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus—the most magnificent structure ever raised by the Greeks—measured no more than 60 feet.

buildings are for use, implies inconvenience, a waste of time and power being involved in the ascent and descent of steps. The ancient architects, studying utility more than effect, preferred spreading out their buildings to piling them up, and rarely, unless in thickly-peopled towns,[2] even introduced a second story.

The spectator, however, was impressed with a sense of grandeur in another way. The use of huge blocks of stone, not only in platforms, but in the buildings themselves, in the shafts of pillars, the antæ of porticoes, the jambs of doorways, occasionally in roofs, and perhaps in epistylia, produced the same impression of power, and the same feeling of personal insignificance in the beholder, which is commonly effected by great size in the edifice, and particularly by height. The mechanical skill required to transport and raise into place the largest of these blocks must have been very considerable, and their employment causes not merely a blind admiration of those who so built on the part of ignorant persons, but a profound respect for them on the part of those who are by their studies and tastes best qualified for pronouncing on the relative and absolute merits of architectural masterpieces.[3]

Among the less pleasing peculiarities of the Persian architecture may be mentioned a general narrowness of doors in proportion to their height,[4] a want of passages, a thickness of walls, which is architecturally clumsy, but which would have had certain advantages in such a climate, an inclination to place the doors of rooms near one corner, an allowance of two entrances into a great hall from under a single portico,[5] a peculiar position of propylæa,[6] and the very large employment of pillars in the interior of buildings. In many of these points,[7] and also in the architectural use which was made of sculpture, the style

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[2] As at Babylon (supra, vol. ii. p. 552), and at Rome (Liv. xxi. 62).

[3] See the general remarks of Mr. Fergusson on the Persian Architecture. (*Handbook of Architecture*, vol. i. pp. 190-197.)

[4] Rich, *Persepolis*, p. 247.

[5] Mr. Fergusson remarks that he does not know any instance of this out of Persia. (*Palaces*, p. 183.)

[6] See above, p. 328.

[7] As the thickness of walls, the absence of passages, and the position of doors. (See above, vol. i. pp. 284, 285.)

of building resembled, to some extent, that of Assyria; the propylæa, however, were less Assyrian than Egyptian; while in the main and best features of the architecture, it was (so far as we can tell) original. The solid and handsome stone platforms, the noble staircases, and the profusion of light and elegant stone columns, which formed the true glory of the architecture —being the features on which its effect chiefly depended— have nowhere been discovered in Assyria; and all the evidence is against their existence. The Arians found in Mesopotamia an architecture of which the pillar was scarcely an element at all[8]—which was fragile and unenduring[9]—and which depended for its effect on a lavish display of partially coloured sculpture and more richly tinted enamelled brick. Instead of imitating this, they elaborated for themselves, from the wooden buildings of their own mountain homes,[10] a style almost exactly the reverse of that with which their victories had brought them into contact. Adopting, of main features, nothing but the platform, they imparted even to this a new character, by substituting in its construction the best for the worst of materials, and by further giving to these stone structures a massive solidity, from the employment of huge blocks, which made them stand in the strongest possible contrast to the frail and perishable mounds of Babylonia and Assyria. Having secured in this way a firm and enduring basis, they proceeded to erect upon it buildings where the perpendicular line was primary and the horizontal secondary[11]—buildings of almost the same solid and massive character as the platform itself—forests of light but strong columns, supporting a wide-spreading roof, sometimes open to the air, sometimes enclosed by walls,[12] according as they were designed for summer or winter use, or for greater or less privacy. To edifices of this character elaborate ornamen-

[8] Supra, vol. i. pp. 302, 303, 333.

[9] Ibid. pp. 335, 336; vol. ii. p. 557.

[10] On the origin of the Persian columnar architecture, see above, vol. ii. p. 266, note [7].

[11] It has been shown in a former volume that the reverse of this was the rule with the Assyrians. (See vol. i. pp. 303, 304.)

[12] The statement made in vol. i. (p. 303, note [6]), that the Persian buildings "had no solid walls at all," must be limited to the main buildings—the great columnar edifices in which the Persian architecture culminated.

tation was unnecessary; for the beauty of the column is such that nothing more is needed to set off a building. Sculpture would thus be dispensed with, or reserved for mere occasional use, and employed not so much on the palace itself as on its outer approaches; while brick enamelling could well be rejected altogether, as too poor and fragile a decoration for buildings of such strength and solidity.

The origination of this columnar architecture must be ascribed to the Medes, who, dwelling in or near the more wooded parts of the Zagros range constructed, during the period of their empire, edifices of considerable magnificence, whereof wooden pillars were the principal feature,[13] the courts being surrounded by colonnades, and the chief buildings having porticoes, the pillars in both cases being of wood. A wooden roof rested on these supports, protected externally by plates of metal. We do not know if the pillars had capitals, or if they supported an entablature; but probability is in favour of both these arrangements having existed. When the Persians succeeded the Medes in the sovereignty of Western Asia, they found Arian architecture in this condition. As stone, however, was the natural material of their country, which is but scantily wooded and is particularly barren towards the edge of the great plateau,[14] where their chief towns were situated, and as they had from the first a strong desire of fame and a love for the substantial and the enduring, they almost immediately substituted for the cedar and cypress pillars of the Medes, stone shafts, plain or fluted, which they carried to a surprising height, and fixed with such firmness that many of them have resisted the destructive powers of time, of earthquakes,[15] and of Vandalism for more than three and twenty centuries, and still stand erect and nearly as perfect as when they received the last touch from the sculptor's hand more than 2000 years ago. It is the glory of the Persians in art to have invented this style, which they certainly did not learn from the Assyrians, and which they can scarcely be supposed to

[13] See above, vol. ii. pp. 265, 266.
[14] Supra, p. 140.
[15] That earthquakes have caused certain displacements at Persepolis is suggested by M. Flandin. (*Voyage en Perse*, p. 104.)

have adopted from Egypt, where the conception of the pillar and its ornamentation were wholly different.[1] We can scarcely doubt that Greece received from this quarter the impulse which led to the substitution of the light and elegant forms which distinguish the architecture of her best period from the rude and clumsy work of the more ancient times.[2]

Of the mimetic art of the Persians we do not possess any great amount, or any great variety, of specimens. The existing remains consist of reliefs, either executed on the natural rock or on large slabs of hewn stone used in building, of impressions upon coins, and of a certain number of intaglios cut upon gems. We possess no Persian statues, no modelled figures,[3] no metal castings, no carvings in ivory or in wood, no enamellings, no pottery even. The excavations on Persian sites have been singularly barren of those minor results which flowed so largely from the Mesopotamian excavations, and have yielded no traces of the furniture, domestic implements, or wall-ornamentation of the people; have produced, in fact, no small objects at all, excepting a few cylinders and some spear and arrow heads, thus throwing scarcely any light on the taste or artistic genius of the people.

The nearest approach to statuary which we meet with among the Persian remains are the figures of colossal bulls, set to guard portals, or porticoes, which are not indeed sculptures *in the round*, but are specimens of exceedingly high relief, and which, being carved in front as well as along the side, do not fall very far short of statues. Of such figures, we find two varieties—one representing the real animal, the other a monster with the body and legs of a bull, the head of a man, and the wings of an eagle. There is considerable merit in both

[1] The Egyptian pillar represents a stone pier from which the angles have been removed; the Persian is a substitute for a wooden post. The proportion of the diameter to the height in Egypt was, at least, double of that which prevailed in Persia.

[2] Mr. Fergusson, who derives the Doric column of the Greeks from Egypt, allows that they received the Ionic from Asia. (*Handbook of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 265.)

[3] The clay images of a goddess, found by Mr. Loftus at Susa (*Chaldæa and Susiana*, pp. 378, 379), appear to me not so much Persian as primitive Susianian. They were found at the bottom of a trench 22 feet deep.

representations. They are free from the defect of flatness, or want of breadth in comparison with the length, which characterises the similar figures of Assyrian artists; and they are altogether grand, massive, and imposing. The general proportions of the bulls are good, the limbs are accurately drawn, the muscular development is well portrayed, and the pose of the figure is majestic.[4] Even the monstrous forms of human-headed bulls have a certain air of quiet dignity, which is not without its effect on the beholder;[5] and, although implying no great artistic merit, since they are little more than reproductions of Assyrian models, indicate an appreciation of some of the best qualities of Assyrian art—the combination of repose with strength, of great size with the most careful finish, and of strangeness with the absence of any approach to grotesqueness or absurdity.

The other Persian reliefs may be divided under four heads:—(1) Mythological representations of a man—the king apparently[6]—engaged in combat with a lion, a bull, or a monster; (2) Processions of guards, courtiers, attendants, or tribute-bearers; (3) Representations of the monarch walking, seated upon his throne, or employed in the act of worship; and (4) Representations of lions and bulls, either singly or engaged in combat.

On the jambs of doorways in three of the Persepolitan buildings, a human figure, dressed in the Median robe, but with the sleeve thrown back from the right arm, is represented in the act of killing either a lion, a bull, or a grotesque monster. In every case the animal is rampant, and assails his antagonist with three of his feet, while he stands on the fourth. The lion and bull have nothing about them that is very peculiar; but the monsters present most strange and unusual combinations.

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[4] The following is Sir R. K. Porter's estimate of these figures:—"The proportions of these animals are admirable; and, though the manner of their execution be *sec*, yet there is a corresponding grandeur in their forms which perfectly accords with the prodigious scale on which all around them is designed." (*Travels*, vol. i. p. 586.)

[5] See the woodcut, supra, p. 296.

[6] The peculiar mode of dressing the beard observable in these figures is found only in representations of the monarch, and of gods or genii. It occurs in the figures of Oromasdes, in all those certainly representing the king, and in the human-headed bulls, but not elsewhere.

One of them has the griffin head. which we have already seen in use in the capitals of columns,[7] a feathered crest and neck, a bird's wings, a scorpion's tail,[8] and legs terminating in the claws of an eagle. The other has an eagle's head, ears like an ass,

King killing a monster, Persepolis. (From a photograph.)

feathers on the neck, the breast, and the back, with the body, legs, and tail of a lion.[9] Figures of equal grotesqueness, some of which possess certain resemblances to these, are common in the mythology of Assyria, and have been already represented

[7] Supra, p. 304.

[8] See Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, pp. 107, 103, and pl. 123.

[9] Ker Porter, *Travels*, pl. 52; Flandin, *Voyage*, pl. 152.

in these volumes;[10] but the Persian specimens are no servile imitations of these earlier forms. The idea of the Assyrian artist has, indeed, been borrowed; but Persian fancy has worked it out in its own way, adding, modifying, and subtracting in such a manner as to give to the form produced a quite peculiar, and (so to speak) native character.

Persian gems abound with monstrous forms, of equal, or even superior grotesqueness. As the Gothic architects indulged their imagination in the most wonderful combinations to represent evil spirits or the varieties of vice and sensualism, so the Persian gem-engravers seem to have allowed their fancy to run riot in the creation of monsters, representative of the Powers of Darkness or of different kinds of evil. The stones exhibit the king in conflict with a vast variety of monsters, some nearly resembling the Persepolitan, while others have strange shapes unseen elsewhere. Winged lions, with two tails and with the horns of a ram or an antelope,[11] sphinxes and griffins of half-a-dozen different kinds, and various other nondescript creatures, appear upon the Persian gems and cylinders,[12] furnishing abundant evidence of the quaint and prolific fancy of the designers.

The processional subjects represented by the Persian artists are of three kinds. In the simplest and least interesting the royal guards, or the officers of the court, are represented in one or more lines of very similar figures, either moving in one direction,[13] or standing in two bodies, one facing the other, in the attitude of quiet expectation.[14] In these subjects there is a great sameness, and a very small amount of merit. The proportion of the forms is, indeed, fairly good,[15] the heads and hands are well drawn, and there is some grace in certain of the

[10] Supra, vol. i. pp. 342, 346; vol. ii. p. 31.

[11] See Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 606, 607.

[12] See below, p. 356, and compare Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xiii. fig. 8; pl. xix. fig. 7; pl. xxv. fig. 1; pl. li. figs. 2, 3, 7, &c.

[13] As on the great staircase in front of the *Chehl Minar*. (Ker Porter, vol. i. pl. 37.)

[14] As in the representations on the jambs of the front doors in the "Hall of a Hundred Columns." (Ker Porter, pl. 49.)

[15] The only important want of proportion is in the size of the heads, which is decidedly too great. This is a *general* though far from being a universal fault, in the Persian sculptures.

figures, but the general effect is tame and somewhat heavy; the attitudes are stiff, and present little variety, while, nevertheless, they are sometimes impossible;[1] there is a monotonous repetition of identically the same figure which is tiresome, and a want of grouping which is very inartistic. If Persia had produced nothing better than this in sculpture, she would have had to be placed not only behind Assyria, but behind Egypt, as far as the sculptor's art is concerned.

Attendant bringing a kid to the palace. (Persepolis.)

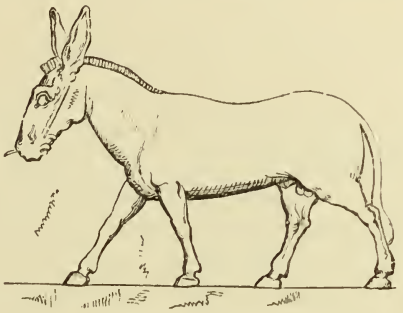
Processional scenes of a more attractive character are, however, tolerably frequent. Some exhibit to us the royal purveyors arriving at the palace with their train of attendants, and bringing with them the provisions required for the table

Persian subjects bringing tribute to the King, Persepolis. (From a Photograph.)

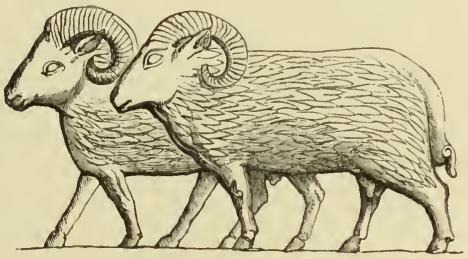
[1] Note particularly the figure on the extreme right in the upper row of Ker Porter's 37th plate (opp. p. 604), the body of which faces the spectator, while the head and legs are in profile, *fronting different ways!*

of the monarch.[2] Here we have some varieties of costume which are curious, and some representations of Persian utensils, which are not without a certain interest. Occasionally, too, we are presented with animal forms, as kids, which have considerable merit.

But by far the most interesting of the processional scenes are those which represent the conquered nations bringing to the monarch those precious products of their several countries which the Lord of Asia expected to receive annually, as a sort of free gift from his subjects, in addition to the fixed tribute which was exacted from them. Here we have a wonderful variety of costume and equipment, a happy admixture of animal with human forms, horses, asses, chariots, sheep, cattle, camels, interspersed among men, and the whole divided into groups by means of cypress-trees, which break the series into portions, and allow the eye to rest in succession upon a number of distinct pictures. Processions of this kind occurred on several of the Persepolitan staircases; but by far the most elaborate and complete is that on the grand steps in front of the Chehl Minar, on Great Hall of Audience, where we see above twenty such groups of figures, each with its own peculiar



Wild ass, Persepolis.



Horned sheep, Persepolis.

[2] See Flandin, *Voyage en Perse*, pls. 119, 136, and 137.

features, and all finished with the utmost care and delicacy.[3] The woodcut (page 336), which is taken from a photograph, will give a tolerable idea of the general character of this relief; it shows the greater portion of six groups, whereof two are much injured by the fall of the parapet-wall on which they were represented, while the remaining four are in good preservation. It will be noticed that the animal forms—the Bactrian camel and the humped ox—are superior to the human, and have considerable *positive* merit as works of art. This relative superiority is observable throughout the entire series, which contains, besides several horses (some of which have been already represented in these volumes),[4] a lioness, an excellent figure of the wild ass, and two tolerably well-drawn sheep.[5]

The representations of the monarch upon the reliefs are of three kinds. In the simplest, he is on foot, attended by the parasol-bearer and the napkin-bearer, or by the latter only, apparently in the act of proceeding from one part of the palace to another. In the more elaborate he is either seated on an elevated throne, which is generally supported by numerous *caryatid* figures,[6] or he stands on a platform similarly upheld, in the act of worship before an altar.[7] This latter is the universal representation upon tombs, while the throne-scenes are reserved for palaces. In both representations the supporting figures are numerous; and it is here chiefly that we notice varieties of physiognomy, which are evidently intended to recall the differences in the physical type of the several races by which the empire was inhabited. In one case, we have a negro very well portrayed;[8] in others we trace the features of Scyths

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[3] See Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pls. 38 to 43; Flandin, *Voyage*, pls. 95 to 110.

[4] Supra, vol. ii. p. 302; and p. 180 of the present volume.

[5] It must at the same time be admitted that the proportion of the animal figures to the human is not very well kept. The camel, the horses, and two oxen are decidedly too small.

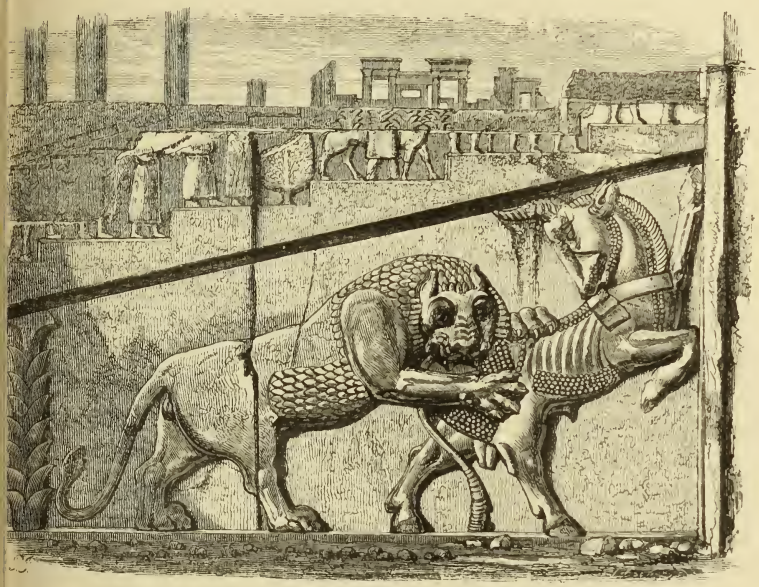
[6] The origin of these caryatidæ is traceable to Assyria, where we find them used in the decoration of the throne itself. (Supra, vol. i. pp. 393, 394). In Persia they uphold a sort of platform on which the throne is placed. (Ker Porter, pl. 50; supra, p. 301). Unlike the Greek caryatids, they support their burthens with the hands as well as with the head.

[7] See above, p. 320.

[8] A representation of this figure has been given, supra, p. 166.

or Tatars.[9] It is manifest that the artist has not been content to mark the nationality of the different figures by costume alone, but has aimed at reproducing upon the stone the physiognomic peculiarities of each race.

The purely animal representations which the bas-reliefs bring before us are few in number, and have little variety of type. The most curious and the most artistic is one which is several times repeated at Persepolis, where it forms the usual orna-



Lion devouring a bull, Persepolis. (From a Photograph.)

mentation of the triangular spaces on the façades of stairs. This is a representation of a combat between a lion and a bull, or (perhaps, we should rather say) a representation of a lion seizing and devouring a bull; for the latter animal is evidently powerless to offer any resistance to the fierce beast which has sprung upon him from behind, and has fixed both fangs and claws in his body. In his agony the bull rears up his fore-parts, and turns his head feebly towards his assailant, whose strong

[9] See Flandin, pl. 155; and compare his remarks, tom. i. p. 126.

limbs and jaws have too firm a hold to be dislodged by such struggles as his unhappy victim is capable of making. In no Assyrian drawing is the massiveness and strength of the king of beasts more powerfully rendered than in this favourite group, which the Persian sculptors repeated without the slightest change from generation to generation. The contour of the lion, his vast muscular development, and his fierce countenance are really admirable, and the bold presentation of the face in full, instead of in profile, is beyond the ordinary powers of Oriental artists.[10]

Drawings of bulls and lions in rows, where each animal is the exact counterpart of all the others, are found upon the friezes of some of the tombs, and upon the representations of canopies over the royal throne.[11] These drawings are fairly spirited, but have not any extraordinary merit. They reproduce forms well known in Assyria. A figure of a sitting lion[12] seems also to have been introduced occasionally on the façades of staircases, occurring in the central compartment of the parapet-wall at top. These figures, in no case, remain complete; but enough is left to show distinctly what the attitude was, and this appears not to have resembled very closely any common Assyrian type.[13]

Fragment of a sitting lion, Persepolis.

The Persian gem-engravings have considerable merit, and need not fear a comparison with those of any other Oriental nation. They occur upon hard stones of many different kinds, as cornelian, onyx, rock-crystal, sapphirine, sardonyx, chalcedony, &c.,[1] and are executed for the most part with great skill

[10] Compare, however, the equally bold drawing of an Assyrian artist, supra, vol. i. p. 358.

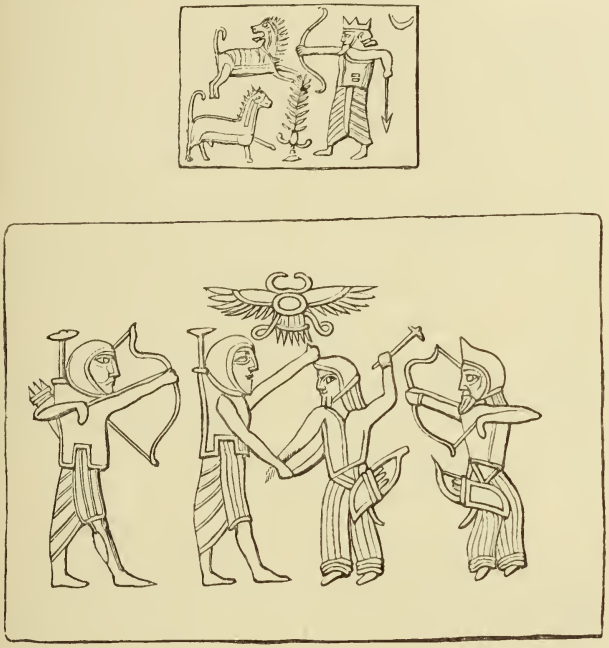
[11] Flandin, pls. 154, 155, 156, 164, bis, 166. Compare above, p. 217.

[12] In one case (Flandin, pl. 135), perhaps in more, the sitting lion was replaced by a sphinx.

[13] The type was, however, known in Media, where the only representation of a lion that has been found had exactly this attitude. (Supra, vol. ii. p. 321.)

[1] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 607; King, *Antique Gems*, p. 129; Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pp. 1-26, &c. A careful examination of the last-named work will show that the favourite stone of the Persian gem-engravers was the

and delicacy. The designs which they embody are in general of a mythological character; but sometimes scenes of real life occur upon them, and then the drawing is often good, and almost always spirited. In proof of this, the reader may be referred to the hunting-scenes already given,[2] which are derived



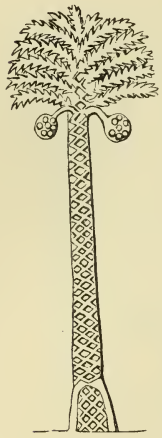
Persian cylinders.

wholly from this source, as well as to the gems figured above, one of which is certainly, and the other almost certainly, of Persian workmanship. In the former we see the king, not struggling with a mythological lion, but engaged apparently in the actual chase of the king of beasts. Two lions have been roused from their lairs, and the monarch hastily places an arrow on the string, anxious to despatch one of his foes before the other can come to close quarters. The eagerness of the hunter

chalcedony—a semi-transparent white quartz, the blue variety of which is known as the sapphirine.

[2] Supra, pp. 227 and 240.

and the spirit and boldness of the animals are well represented. In the other gem, while there is less of artistic excellence, we have a scene of peculiar interest placed before us. A combat between two Persians and two Scythians seems to be represented. The latter marked by their peaked cap[3] and their loose trousers,[4] fight with the bow and the battle-axe, the former with the bow and the sword. One Scyth is receiving his death-wound, the other is about to let loose a shaft, but seems at the same time half-inclined to fly. The steady confidence of the warriors on the one side contrasts well with the timidity and hesitancy of their weaker and smaller rivals.



Palm-tree, from the cylinder of Darius Hystaspis.

The vegetable forms represented on the gems are sometimes graceful and pleasing. This is especially the case with palm-trees, a favourite subject of the artists,[5] who delineated with remarkable success the feathery leaves, the pendant fruit, and the rough bark of the stem. The lion-hunt represented on the signet-cylinder of Darius Hystaspis[6] takes place in a palm-grove, and furnishes the accompanying example of this form of vegetable life.

Persian portrait. (From a gem.)

One gem, ascribed on somewhat doubtful grounds to the Persians of Achæmenian times,[7] contains what appears to be a portrait. It is thought to be the bust of a satrap of Salamis, in Cyprus, and is very carefully executed. If really of Persian workmanship, it would indicate a considerable advance in the power of representing the human countenance between the time of Darius Hystaspis and that of Alexander.

Persian coins are of three principal types. The earliest have

[3] Herod. vii. 64. Compare the illustrations in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iii. p. 58; vol. iv. p. 53.

[4] See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iii. p. 34.

[5] See Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xxv. fig. 6; pl. li. fig. 2.

[6] Supra, p. 227.

[7] King, *Antique Gems*, p. 149, and p. lx. of the "Introduction," note *.

on the one side the figure of a monarch, bearing the diadem, and armed with the bow and javelin, while on the other there is an irregular indentation of the same nature with the *quadratum incusum* of the Greeks. This rude form is replaced in later times by a second design, which is sometimes a horseman,[8] sometimes the fore-part of a ship,[9] sometimes the king drawing an arrow from his quiver.[10] Another type exhibits on the obverse the monarch in combat with a lion, while the reverse shows a galley, or a towered and battlemented city with two lions standing below it, back to back.[11] The third common type has on the obverse the king in his chariot, with his charioteer in front of him, and (generally) an attendant carrying a fly-chaser behind. The reverse has either the trireme or the battlemented city.[12] A specimen of each type is subjoined :—

1.

2.

3.

Persian coins.

The artistic merit of these medals is not great. The relief is low, and the drawing generally somewhat rude. The head of

[8] Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. lxiii. figs. 7 and 10; Mionnet, *Description de Médailles*, Supplement, tom. viii. pl. xix. fig. 6.

[9] Mionnet, pl. xix. fig. 3.

[10] Lajard, pl. lxiii. fig. 8.

[11] Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. ii. pl. 79, fig. 1; Lajard, pl. lxiii. figs. 4 and 5; pl. lxiv. fig 5; Mionnet, pl. xix. fig. 4.

[12] Lajard, pl. lxiii. figs. 11, 12, 14; pl. lxiv. fig. 6; Mionnet, *Description*, pl. lxi. fig. 1; Ker Porter, pl. 79, fig. 2; Gesenius, *Monumenta Phœniciæ*, pl. xxxvi. fig. G.

the monarch in the early coins is greatly too large. The animal forms are, however, much superior to the human, and the horses which draw the royal chariot, the lions placed below the battlemented city, and the bulls which are found occasionally in the same position,[13] must be pronounced truthful and spirited.

Of the Persian taste in furniture, utensils, personal ornaments, and the like, we need say but little. The throne and footstool of the monarch are the only pieces of furniture represented in the sculptures, and these, though sufficiently elegant in their forms,[14] are not very remarkable. Costliness of material seems to have been more prized than beauty of shape; and variety appears to have been carefully eschewed, one single uniform type of each article occurring in all the representations. The utensils represented are likewise few in number, and limited to certain constantly repeated forms. The most elaborate is the censer, which has been already given.[15] With this is usually seen a sort of pail or basket, shaped like a lady's reticule, in which the aromatic gums for burning were probably kept. A covered dish, and a goblet with an inverted saucer over it, are also forms of frequent occurrence in the hands of the royal attendants; and the tribute-bearers frequently carry, among their other offerings, bowls or basons,[16] which, though not of Persian manufacture, were no doubt left at the court, and took their place among the utensils of the palace.

Incense vessel, Persepolis.

Covered dishes. (From the sculptures, Persepolis.)

In the matter of personal ornaments the taste of the Persians seems to have been peculiarly simple. Ear-rings were commonly plain rings of gold; bracelets mere bands of the same metal.[17] Collars were circlets of gold twisted in a very inarti-

[13] Lajard, pl. lxiii. fig. 14.
[14] See above, p. 203.
[15] Supra, p. 212.
[16] Ker Porter, vol. i. pls. 38, 41, and 42.
[17] A form of bracelet with the ends fashioned like the head of an animal which was common in Assyria (supra, vol. i. p. 490), is sometimes seen among the offerings brought to the Persian

ficial fashion.[18] There was nothing artistic in the sheaths or hilts of swords, though spear-shafts were sometimes adorned with the representation of an apple or a pomegranate.[19] Dresses seem not to have been often patterned, but to have depended generally for their effect on make and colour. In all these respects we observe a remarkable contrast between the Arian and the Semitic races, extreme simplicity characterising the one, while the most elaborate ornamentation was affected by the other.[1]

Bowls or basons. (From the same.)

Persia was not celebrated in antiquity for the production of any special fabrics. The arts of weaving and dyeing were undoubtedly practised in the dominant country, as well as in most of the subject provinces, and the Persian dyes seem even to have had a certain reputation;[2] but none of the productions of their looms acquired a name among foreign nations. Their skill, indeed, in the mechanical arts generally was, it is probable, not more than moderate. It was their boast that they were soldiers, and had won a position by their good swords which gave them the command of all that was most exquisite and admirable, whether in the natural world or among the products of human industry. So long as the carpets of Babylon[3] and Sardis,[4] the shawls of Kashmir and India,[5] the fine linen of Borsippa[6] and Egypt,[7] the ornamental metal-work of Greece,[8] the coverlets of Damascus,[9] the muslins of Babylonia,[10] the multiform manufactures of the Phœnician towns,[11] poured continually into Persia Proper in the way of tribute, gifts, or merchandise, it was

court by tributaries. (Ker Porter, pl. 41.) But it never adorns the arms of any figure in the sculptures. Was its use confined to *females?*

[18] Supra, p. 224.

[19] Herod. vii. 41. Compare above, p. 174.

[1] See vol. i. pp. 393, 398, 399, 487, 494, 506, 507; vol. ii. p. 560.

[2] See Ctes. *Indica*, § 21.

[3] Arrian, *Ex . Alex.* vi 29.

[4] Athen. *Deipnos.* xii. p. 514, C.

[5] Ælian, *Nat. Anim.* iv. 46. Compare the arguments of Heeren. (*As. Nat.* vol. i. pp. 286, 288, E. T.)

[6] Strabo, xvi. 1, § 7.

[7] Herod. ii. 182; iii. 47; Ezekiel, xxvii. 7.

[8] See above, p. 216.

[9] Amos, iii. 12.

[10] Supra, vol. ii. p. 570.

[11] Ezek. xxvii. 16; 2 Chr. ii. 14.

needless for the native population to engage largely in industrial enterprise.

To science the ancient Persians contributed absolutely nothing. The genius of the nation was adverse to that patient study and those laborious investigations from which alone scientific progress ensues. Too light and frivolous, too vivacious, too sensuous for such pursuits, they left them to the patient Babylonians, and the thoughtful, many-sided Greeks. The schools of Orchoë, Borsippa, and Miletus flourished under their sway,[12] but without provoking their emulation, possibly without so much as attracting their attention. From first to last, from the dawn to the final close of their power, they abstained wholly from scientific studies. It would seem that they thought it enough to place before the world, as signs of their intellectual vigour, the fabric of their empire and the buildings of Susa and Persepolis.

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[12] Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes were Persian subjects. On the schools of Orchoë and Borsippa, see Strabo, xvi. 1, § 6.

CHAPTER VI.

RELIGION.

Ἀγάλματα μὲν οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἱδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπίφερουσι.—HEROD. i. 131.

Μαγεία Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὡρομάζου.—PLAT. *Alcib.* i. 122, A.

THE original form of the Persian religion has been already described under the head of the third or Median monarchy.[1] It was identical with the religion of the Medes in its early shape, consisting mainly in the worship of Ahura-Mazda, the acknowledgment of a principle of Evil—Angro-Mainyus, and obedience to the precepts of Zoroaster. When the Medes, on establishing a wide-spread Empire, chiefly over races by whom Magism had been long professed, allowed the creed of their subjects to corrupt their own belief, accepted the Magi for their priests, and formed the mixed religious system of which an account has been given in the second volume of this work,[2] the Persians in their wilder country, less exposed to corrupting influences, maintained their original faith in undiminished purity, and continued faithful to their primitive traditions. The political dependence of their country upon Media during the period of the Median sway made no difference in this respect; for the Medes were tolerant, and did not seek to interfere with the creed of their subjects. The simple Zoroastrian belief and worship, overlaid by Magism in the now luxurious Media, found a refuge in the rugged Persian uplands, among the hardy shepherds and cultivators of that unattractive region, was professed by the early Achæmenian princes, and generally acquiesced in by the people.

The main feature of the religion during this first period was the acknowledgment and the worship of a single supreme God—

[1] See vol. ii. pp. 322-344.

[2] Ibid. pp. 344-355.

"the Lord God of heaven"[3]—"the giver (*i. e.* maker) of heaven and earth"[4]—the disposer of thrones, the dispenser of happiness. The foremost place in inscriptions and decrees[5] was assigned, almost universally, to the "*great* god, Ormazd." Every king, of whom we have an inscription more than two lines in length, speaks of Ormazd as his upholder; and the early monarchs mention by name no other god. All rule "by the grace of Ormazd." From Ormazd come victory, conquest, safety, prosperity, blessings of every kind. The "law of Ormazd" is the rule of life.[6] The protection of Ormazd is the one priceless blessing for which prayer is perpetually offered.

While, however, Ormazd holds this exalted and unapproachable position, there is still an acknowledgment made, in a general way, of "other gods." Ormazd is "the greatest of the gods" (*mathista bagânâm*[7]). It is a usual prayer to ask for the protection of Ormazd, together with that of these lesser powers (*hada bagaibish*).[8] Sometimes the phrase is varied, and the petition is for the special protection of a certain class of Deities —the *Dii familiares*—or "deities who guard the house."[9]

The worship of Mithra, or the Sun, does not appear in the inscriptions until the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, the victor of Cunaxa. It is, however, impossible to doubt that it was a portion of the Persian religion, at least as early as the date of Herodotus.[10] Probably it belongs, in a certain sense, to primitive Zoroastrianism, but was kept in the background during the early period, when a less materialistic worship prevailed than suited the temper of later times.[11]

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[3] 2 Chr. xxxvi. 23; Ezra, i. 2. Compare vi. 10.

[4] See above, p. 264. The same phrase occurs repeatedly.

[5] Note the opening words of the decree of Cyrus ("The Lord God of Heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth," Ezra, i. 2), and compare them with the oft-recurring formula at the beginning of inscriptions:—"*Baga vazarka Auramazdâ, hya imâm bumim adâ, hya avam asmânam adâ . . . hya Dâryavum khshâyathiyam akunaush.*"

[6] See the inscription on the tomb of Darius. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xi. p. 310.)

[7] *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xi. pp. 273 and 319.

[8] Ibid. p. 324, l. 18; 327, ll. 28, 29; p. 337, l. 15, &c.

[9] Ibid. p. 275, ll. 14, 22, 24.

[10] See Herod. i. 131, ad fin.

[11] Compare vol. ii. p. 328; and note that though none of the early kings mention Mithra, yet his emblem appears on all the known royal tombs, except that of Cyrus. (See below, p. 352, note [19].) Note also the occurrence of the name Mithridates, "given to" or "by Mithra," in the reign of Cyrus (Ezra, i. 8).

Nor can it be doubted that the Persians held during this early period that Dualistic belief which has been the distinguishing feature of Zoroastrianism from a time long anterior to the commencement of the Median Empire down to the present day. It was not to be expected that this belief would show itself in the inscriptions, unless in the faintest manner; and it can therefore excite no surprise that they are silent, or all but silent, on the point in question.[12] Nor need we wonder that this portion of their creed was not divulged by the Persians to Herodotus or to Xenophon, since it is exactly the sort of subject on which reticence was natural and might have been anticipated. Neither the lively Halicarnassian, nor the pleasant but somewhat shallow Athenian, had the gift of penetrating very deeply into the inner mind of a foreign people; added to which, it is to be remembered that they were unacquainted with Persia Proper, and drew their knowledge of Persian opinions and customs either from hearsay or from the creed and practices of the probably *mixed* garrisons[13] which held Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.

Persian worship, in these early times, was doubtless that enjoined by the Zendavesta, comprising prayer and thanksgiving to Ormazd and the good spirits of his creation, the recitation of Gâthâs or hymns, the performance of sacrifice, and participation in the Soma ceremony.[1] Worship seems to have taken place in temples, which are mentioned (according to the belief of most cuneiform scholars) in the Behistun inscription.[2] Of the character of these buildings we can say nothing. It has been thought that those two massive square towers, so similar in construction, which exist in a more or less ruined condition at Murgab and Nakhsh-i-Rustam,[3] are Persian temples of the

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[12] The true reading and interpretation of the famous passage of the Behistun inscription (col. iv. par. 4), where some scholars have thought they saw a mention of "the God of lies," is still doubtful. Spiegel's translation (*Keilinschriften*, pp. 31, 33) is far from satisfactory.

[13] Supra, p. 241.

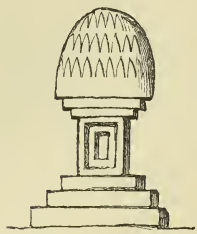
[1] See vol. ii. pp. 338, 339.

[2] Col. i. par. 14. See the remarks of Spiegel on the word *ayadanâ*, (*Keilinschriften*, p. 83); and note that the corresponding expression in the Babylonian transcript is "*biti si ilui*," "the houses of the gods." (*As. Soc. Journal*, vol. xiv. p. lxxvi.)

[3] Supra, pp. 315 and 323.

early period, built to contain an altar on which the priests offered victims.[4] But the absence of any trace of an altar from both, the total want of religious emblems, and the extremely small size of the single apartment which each tower contains,[5] make strongly against the temple theory; not to mention that a much more probable use[6] may be suggested for the buildings.

With respect to the altars upon which sacrifice was offered, we are not left wholly without evidence. The Persian monarchs of the early period, including Darius Hystaspis, represented themselves on their tombs in the act of worship. Before them, at the distance of a few feet, stands an altar, elevated on three steps, and crowned with the sacrificial fire.[7] Its form is square, and its only ornaments are a sunken squared recess, and a strongly projecting cornice at top. The height of the altar, including the steps, was apparently about four and a half feet.[8]



Altar. (From a rock-sculpture, Nakhsh-i-Rustam.

The Persians' favourite victim was the horse;[9] but they likewise sacrificed cattle, sheep, and goats. Human sacrifices seem to have been almost, if not altogether, unknown to them,[10] and were certainly alien to the entire spirit of the Zoroastrian

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[4] Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pp. 562-564; Rich, *Journey to Persepolis*, p. 258.

[5] The larger of the two is only 12 feet square by 18 high. (Supra, p. 323.)

[6] I venture to suggest that the buildings were treasuries, which are known to have existed both at Pasargadæ and Persepolis. (Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 18.) Their solid character, their size, their difficulty of access, and the massiveness of their stone doors (supra, p. 325) are all explained by this hypothesis.

Portable altar. (From a gem.)

[7] See the woodcuts, pp. 231 and 320.

[8] On some of the Persian cylinders a second form of altar, more resembling one known to the Assyrians (supra, vol. ii. pp. 35 and 37), appears. This is a tall and narrow structure, evidently of a portable character, crowned with a globe of fire, like that on altars of the more solid type.

[9] Herod. vii. 113; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 3, § 24; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 385. Compare *Yaçna*, xliv. 18.

[10] Herodotus speaks of two occasions on which, within his knowledge, human sacrifices had been offered by Persians (vii. 114). The facts *may* have occurred as he has stated them; but they are certainly *exceptional*, and are far from proving that these sacrifices were "often resorted to by the Persians" (Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 395, ed. of 1862).

system. The flesh of the victim was probably merely shown to the sacred fire, after which it was eaten by the priests, the sacrificer, and those whom the latter associated with himself in the ceremony.[11]

The spirit of the Zendavesta is wholly averse to idolatry, and we may fully accept the statement of Herodotus that images of the gods were entirely unknown to the Persians.[12] Still, they did not deny themselves a certain use of symbolic representations of their deities, nor did they even scruple to adopt from idolatrous nations the forms of their religious symbolism.[13] The winged circle, with or without the addition of a human

1.

2.

3.

4.

figure, which was in Assyria the emblem of the chief Assyrian deity, Asshur,[14] became with the Persians the ordinary representation of the Supreme God, Ormazd, and, as such, was placed in most conspicuous positions on their rock tombs and on their buildings.[15] Nor was the general idea only of the emblem adopted, but all the details of the Assyrian model were followed,

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[11] See above, vol. ii. p. 339.

[12] Herod. i. 131 (quoted in the heading to this chapter)

[13] On the readiness of the Persians to adopt foreign customs, even religious ones, see Herod. i. 131 and 135.

[14] See above, vol. ii. pp. 2-25.

[15] Supra, pp. 284, 289, and 320.

with one exception. The human figure of the Assyrian origina wore the close-fitting tunic, with short sleeves, which was the ordinary costume in Assyria, and had on its head the horned cap which marked a god or a genius. In the Persian counter part this costume was exchanged for the Median robe, and a tiara, which was sometimes that proper to the King,[16] sometimes that worn with the Median robe by Court Officers.[17]

Mithra, or the Sun, is represented in Persian sculptures by a disk or orb, which is not four-rayed like the Assyrian,[18] but per- perfectly plain and simple. In sculptures where the emblems of Ormazd and Mithra occur together, the position of the former is central, that of the latter towards the right hand of the tablet. The solar emblem is universal on sculptured tombs,[19] but is otherwise of rare occurrence.

Spirits of good and evil, the Ahuras and Devas of the mythology, were represented by the Persians under human, animal, or monstrous forms. There can be little doubt that it is a good genius—perhaps the "well-formed, swift, tall Serosh"[20]—who appears on one of the square pillars set up by Cyrus at Pasargadæ.[21] This figure is that of a colossal man, from whose shoulders issue four wings, two of which spread upwards above his head, while the other two droop and reach nearly to his feet. It stands erect, in profile, with both arms raised and the hands open. The costume of the figure is remarkable. It consists of a long fringed robe reaching from the neck to the ankles—apparently of a stiff material, which conceals the form—and of a very singular head-dress. This is a striped cap, closely fitting the head, overshadowed by an elaborate ornament, of a character purely Egyptian. First there rise from the top of the cap two twisted

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[16] See fig. 1 in the woodcut, p. 351; and compare Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pl. 50; Texier, *Description*, tom. ii. pls. 111 and 111 bis.

[17] For examples of this head-dress, see above, p. 174; and compare vol. ii. pp. 313, 316, 317. For instances of its application to the emblem of Ormazd, see Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pl. 17; Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. ii. figs. 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 28; pl. xxv. fig. 6, &c.

[18] See vol. ii. pp. 17, 18.

[19] Flandin, *Voyage*, pls. 164 bis, 166, and 173-176. Compare the woodcut, supra, p. 320.

[20] *Vendidad*, Farg. xix. 30.

[21] See Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. i. pl. 13; Texier, *Description*, tom. ii. pl. 84; and Flandin, *Voyage*, pl. 198.

Figure of a good genius, Pasargadæ.

horns, which, spreading right and left, become a sort of basis for the other forms to rest upon. These consist of two grotesque human-headed figures, one at either side, and of a complex triple ornament between them, clumsily imitated from a far more elegant Egyptian model.

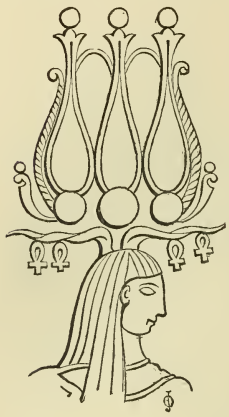


Figure with curious head-dress (Egyptian).

The winged human-headed bulls, which the Persians adopted from the Assyrians, with very slight modifications,[22] were also, it is probable, regarded as emblems of some god or good genius. They would scarcely otherwise have been represented on Persian cylinders as upholding the emblem of Ormazd in the same way that human-headed bulls uphold the similar emblem of Asshur on Assyrian cylinders. Their position too, at Persepolis, where they kept watch over the entrance to the palace,[23] accords with the notion that they represented guardian spirits, objects of the

No. 1.

No. 2.

Persian cylinders.

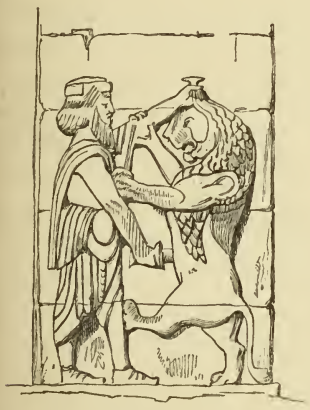
favourable regard of the Persians. Yet this view is not wholly free from difficulty. The bull appears in the bas-reliefs of Persepolis among the evil, or at any rate hostile, powers, which the

[22] The chief modification is in the different shape of the wings, which, in the Persian specimens, have a graceful curve that is wanting in the Assyrian. (Compare the woodcut, supra, p. 296, with the Assyrian forms given in vol. i. pp. 133 and 288.)

[23] Supra, p. 295.

king combats and slays;[24] and though in these representations the animal is not winged or human-headed, yet on some cylinders apparently Persian, the monarch contends with bulls of exactly the same type as that which is assigned in other cylinders to the upholders of Ormazd.[25] It would seem therefore that in this case the symbolism was less simple than usual, the bull in certain combinations and positions representing a god or a good spirit, while in others he was the type of a *deva* or evil genius.

The most common representatives of the Evil Powers of the mythology were lions, winged or unwinged, and monsters of



No. 1.

1. King contending with a lion.

No. 2.

2. King contending with a monster. (Persepolis.)

several different descriptions. At Persepolis the lions which the king stabs or strangles are of the natural shape, and this type is found also upon gems and cylinders; but on these last the king's antagonist is often a winged, while sometimes he is a winged and horned, lion.[1] The monsters are of two principal types. In both the forms of a bird and a beast are commingled;

[24] Supra, p. 334.

[25] Compare the cylinders given by Lajard (*Culte de Mithra*, pl. xiii. fig. 8; pl. l., fig. 6) with No. 1 of the woodcuts on p. 354.

[1] See Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 607; Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pl. xxv. fig. 1; pl. li. fig. 2.

but in the one the bird, and in the other the beast predominates. Specimens are subjoined, taken from Persian gems and cylinders.[2]

Monsters, probably representing evil spirits, from Persian gems or cylinders.

Such seems to have been, in outline, the purer and more ancient form of the Persian religion. During its continuance a fierce iconoclastic spirit animated the princes of the Empire, who took every opportunity of showing their hatred and contempt for the idolatries of the neighbouring nations, burning temples,[3] confiscating or destroying images,[4] scourging or slaying idolatrous priests,[5] putting a stop to festivals,[6] disturbing tombs,[7] smiting with the sword animals believed to be divine incarnations.[8] Within their own dominions the fear of stirring up religious wars compelled them to be moderately tolerant, unless it were after rebellion, when a province lay at their mercy; but when they invaded foreign countries, they were wont to exhibit in the most open and striking way their aversion to materialistic religions. In Greece, during the great invasion, they burned every temple that they came near;[9] in Egypt, on their first attack, they outraged every religious feeling of the people.[10]

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[2] Lajard's great work furnishes numerous specimens besides those given above. (See pl. xix. fig. 8; pl. xlix. fig. 6; pl. lvi. fig. 5, &c.)

[3] Herod. vi. 19, 96, 101; viii. 33, 53; Cic. *De Leg.* ii. 10; Strab. xiv. 1, § 5. That *Greek* temples were not exceptionally treated is evident from Herod. iii. 25, among other places.

[4] Herod. i. 183; iii. 37.

[5] Ibid. i. 183; iii. 27 and 29.

[6] Ibid. iii. 29.

[7] Ibid. i. 187; iii. 16 and 37; Diod. Sic. x. 13, § 2.

[8] Herod. iii. 29.

[9] Strab. l. s. c.; Pausan. x. 35, § 2.

[10] Herod. iii. 16, 27-29 and 37.

It was during this time of comparative purity, when the anti-idolatrous spirit was in full force, that a religious sympathy seems to have drawn together the two nations of the Persians and the Jews. Cyrus evidently identified Jehovah with Ormazd,[11] and, accepting as a divine command the prophecy of Isaiah,[12] undertook to rebuild their temple for a people who, like his own, allowed no image of God to defile the sanctuary. Darius, similarly, encouraged the completion of the work,[13] after it had been interrupted by the troubles which followed the death of Cambyses. The foundation was thus laid for that friendly intimacy between the two peoples, of which we have abundant evidence in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, a friendly intimacy which caused the Jews to continue faithful to Persia to the last, and to brave the conqueror of Issus[14] rather than desert masters who had shown them kindness and sympathy.

The first trace that we have of a corrupting influence being brought to bear on the Persian religion is connected with the history of the Pseudo-Smerdis. According to Herodotus, Cambyses, when he set out on his Egyptian expedition, left a Magus, Patizeithes, at the capital, as comptroller of the royal household.[15] The conferring of an office of such importance on the priest of an alien religion is the earliest indication which we have of a diminution of zeal for their ancestral creed on the part of the Achæmenian kings, and the earliest historial proof of the existence of Magism beyond the limits of Media. Magism was really, it is probable, an older creed than Zoroastrianism in the country where the Persians were settled; but it now, for the first time since the Persian conquest, began to show itself, to thrust itself into high places, and to attract general notice. From being the religion of the old Scythic tribes whom the

[11] Ezra, i. 2, 3. Note especially the phrase, הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים—"He is *the* God."

[12] Isaiah, xliv. 28.

[13] Ezra, vi. 1-12.

[14] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xi. 8, § 3.

[15] Herod. iii. 61. Contrast with the favour thus shown to the Magi the treatment which they had expected to receive, should the Persians supersede the Medes in power (Herod. i. 120—ἀλλοτριοῦται ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον περιϊοῦσα ἐόντα Πέρσην, καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐόντες Μῆδοι, δουλούμεθα καὶ λόγου οὐδένος γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσέων).

Persians had conquered and whom they held in subjection, it had passed into being the religion of great numbers of the Persians themselves. The same causes which had corrupted Zoroastrianism in Media soon after the establishment of the Empire, worked also, though more slowly, in Persia, and a large section of the nation was probably weaned from its own belief, and won over to Magism, before Cambyses went into Egypt.[16] His prolonged absence in that country brought matters to a crisis. The Magi took advantage of it to attempt a substitution of Magism for Zoroastrianism as the religion of the state.[17] When this attempt failed, there was no doubt a reaction for a time, and Zoroastrianism thought itself triumphant. But a foe is generally most dangerous when he is despised. Magism, repulsed in its attempt to oust the rival religion, derived wisdom from the lesson, and thenceforth set itself to sap the fortress which it could not storm. Little by little it crept into favour, mingling itself with the old Arian creed, not displacing it, but only adding to it. In the later Persian system the Dualism of Zoroaster and the Magian elemental worship were jointly professed—the Magi were accepted as the national priests—the rites and ceremonies of the two religions were united—a syncretism not unusual in the ancient world blended into one two creeds originally quite separate and distinct, but in few respects antagonistic[18]—and the name of Zoroaster being still fondly cherished in the memory of the nation, while in their practical religion Magian rites predominated,[19] the mixed religion acquired the name, by which it was known to the later Greeks, of "the Magism of Zoroaster."[20]

The Magian rites have been described in the chapter on the

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[16] In the Behistun inscription, Darius says:—"When Cambyses had proceeded to Egypt, *then* the state became wicked; *then* the lie" (his name for the Magian heresy) "became abounding in the land." (Col. i. Par. 10.) But it is clear that, if within three years of Cambyses's departure matters had gone so far that an actual change of the state-religion could be thought feasible, a considerable part of the nation must have undergone conversion before he set out.

[17] See the Historical Chapter.

[18] Supra, vol. ii. p. 354.

[19] See the accounts of the Persian religion in Herodotus (i. 131, 132, 140) and Strabo (xv. 3, §§ 13-16), which are predominantly—the latter almost exclusively—Magian.

[20] Μαγεία Ζωροάστρου. See the passage of the First Alcibiades quoted at the head of this chapter.

Median Religion.[21] Their leading feature was the fire-worship, which is still cherished among those descendants of the ancient Persians who did not submit to the religion of Islam. On lofty spots in the high mountain-chain which traversed both Media and Persia, fire-altars were erected, on which burnt a perpetual flame, watched constantly lest it should expire,[22] and believed to have been kindled from heaven.[23] Over the altar in most instances a shrine or temple[24] was built; and on these spots day after day the Magi chanted their incantations, displayed their barsoms or divining-rods, and performed their choicest ceremonies. Victims were not offered on these fire-altars. When a sacrifice took place, a fire was laid hard-by with logs of dry wood, stript of their bark, and this was lighted from the flame which burned on the altar.[1] On the fire thus kindled was consumed a small part of the fat of the victim; but the rest was cut into joints, boiled, and eaten or sold by the worshipper.[2] The true offering, which the god accepted, was, according to the Magi, the *soul* of the animal.[3]

If human victims were ever really offered by the Persians as sacrifices, it is to Magian influence that the introduction of this horrid practice must be attributed, since it is utterly opposed to the whole spirit of Zoroaster's teaching. An instance of the practice is first reported in the reign of Xerxes, when Magism, which had been sternly repressed by Darius Hystapsis, began once more to lift its head, crept into favour at court,[4] and obtained a *status* which it never afterwards forfeited. According to Herodotus, the Persians, on their march into Greece, sacrificed, at Ennea Hodoi on the Strymon river, nine youths and nine maidens of the country, by burying them alive.[5] Herodotus seems to have viewed the act as done in propitiation of a god

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[21] Supra, vol. ii. pp. 345-348.

[22] Strab. xv. 3, § 15.

[23] See the authorities quoted in vol. ii. p. 346, note [7].

[24] Σηκός. (Strab. l. s. c.)

[1] This seems to be Strabo's meaning (xv. 3, §§ 14, 15); but it is expressed with some ambiguity.

[2] Herod. i. 132.

[3] Strab. xv. 3, § 13.

[4] Herod. vii. 19, 113, 191. I do not feel justified in rejecting this testimony though it must be admitted that Æschylus, writing soon after Salamis, seems not aware of any priestly Magians having accompanied the expedition.

[5] Herod. vii. 114.

resembling the Grecian Pluto; but it is not at all certain that he interpreted it correctly. Possibly he mistook a vengeance for a religious ceremony. The Brygi, who dwelt at this time in the vicinity of Ennea Hodoi, had given Mardonius a severe defeat on a former occasion;[6] and the Persians were apt to treasure up such wrongs, and visit them, when occasion offered, with extreme severity.[7]

When the Persians had once yielded to the syncretic spirit so far as to unite the Magian tenets and practices with their primitive belief, they were naturally led on to adopt into their system such portions of the other religions, with which they were brought into close contact, as possessed an attraction for them. Before the date of Herodotus they had borrowed from the Babylonians the worship of a Nature-Goddess,[8] whom the Greeks identified at one time with Aphrodité, at another with Artemis, at other (probably) with Heré,[9] and had thus made a compromise with one of the grossest of the idolatries which, theoretically, they despised and detested. The Babylonian Venus, called in the original dialect of her native country Nana, was taken into the Pantheon of the Persians, under the name of Nanæa, Anæa, Anaitis, or Tanata,[10] and became in a little while one of the principal objects of Persian worship. At first idolatry, in the literal sense, was avoided; but Artaxerxes Mnemon, the conqueror of Cunaxa, an ardent devotee of the goddess,[11] not content with the mutilated worship which he found established, resolved to show his zeal by introducing into all the chief cities of the Empire the image of his patroness.

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[6] Herod. vi. 45. The exact position of the Brygi is uncertain; but they cannot have dwelt very far from the Strymon. (See Herod. vii. 185.)

[7] Compare their conduct towards the Naxians (Herod. vi. 96).

[8] Herod. i. 131.

[9] Ibid. i. 199; iii. 8; Diod. Sic. ii. 9, § 5; Plutarch, *Vit. Artax.* c. 23. As the Babylonians themselves confused Nana (or Ishtar) with Beltis (supra, vol. i. p. 139), there was some excuse for the hesitancy of the Greeks.

[10] The form "Nanæa" is found in 2 Maccab. i. 13, 15, and on coins of the Sassanian monarchs. "Anæa" is used by Strabo (xvi. 1, § 4); "Anaitis," or Aneitis, by the same writer (xv. 3, § 15), and also by Pausanias (iii. 16) and Plutarch (*Artax.* c. 27). Polybius calls the goddess "Æna" (x. 27, § 12); Clemens of Alexandria (*Protrept.* 5) calls her "Tanais." The true Persian form of the name seems to have been Tanata. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. p. 161.)

[11] Plutarch, *Vit. Artax.* c. 23.

At Susa, at Persepolis, at Babylon, at Ecbatana, at Damascus, at Sardis, at Bactra,[12] images of Anaitis were set up by his authority for the adoration of worshippers. It is to be feared that at this time, if not before, the lascivious rites were also adopted, which throughout the East constituted the chief attraction of the cult of Venus.[13]

With the idolatry thus introduced, another came soon to be joined. Mithra, so long an object of reverence, if not of actual worship, to the Zoroastrians, was in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, honoured, like Anaitis, with a statue, and advanced into the foremost rank of deities.[14] The exact form which the image took is uncertain; but probability is in favour of the well-known type of a human figure slaying a prostrate bull,[15] which was to the Greeks and Romans the essential symbol of the Mithraic worship. The intention of this oft-repeated group has been well explained by Hyde, who regards it as a representation of the Sun quitting the constellation of Taurus,[16] the time when in the East his fructifying power is the greatest. The specimens which we possess of this group belong to classical art and to times later than Alexander; but we can scarcely suppose the idea to have been occidental. The Western artists would naturally adopt the symbolism of those from whom they took the rites, merely modifying its expression in accordance with their own æsthetic notions.

Towards the close of the Empire two other gods emerged from the obscurity in which the lower deities of the Zoroastrian system were shrouded during the earlier and purer period. Vohu-mano, or Bah-man, and Amerdat, or Amendat, two of the

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[12] Berosus ap. Clem. Alex. l. s. c. The passage of Berosus has received important confirmation by recent excavations on the site of Susa, where an inscription of Mnemon has been found, alluding to his erection of the image of Tanata in a temple at that place. (Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 372.)

[13] Compare pp. 30, 31 supra.

[14] See Loftus, l. s. c. Mnemon is the first of the Persian kings who invokes Mithra to be his protector. His example in this respect is followed by Ochus. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. x. p. 342.)

[15] See the woodcut (supra, p. 173); and for the connection of the symbol with the Mithraitic cult, see Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, pls. lxxv.; lxxviii. fig. 2; lxxx. fig. 1; lxxxii. fig. 1; lxxxiii. &c.

[16] Hyde, *De Vet. Persarum Religione*, c. 4; p. 114.

councillors of Ormazd,[17] became the objects of a worship, which was clearly of an idolatrous character.[18] Shrines were built in their honour,[19] and were frequented by companies of Magi, who chanted their incantations, and performed their rites of divination in these new edifices as willingly as in the old Fire-temples. The image of Bah-man was of wood, and was borne in procession on certain occasions.[20]

Thus, as time went on, the Persian religion continually assimilated itself more and more to the forms of belief and worship which prevailed in the neighbouring parts of Asia. Idolatries of several kinds came into vogue, some adopted from abroad, others developed out of their own system. Temples, some of which had a character of extraordinary magnificence,[21] were erected to the honour of various gods; and the degenerate descendants of pure Zoroastrian spiritualists bowed down to images, and entangled themselves in the meshes of a sensualistic and most debasing Nature-worship. Still, amid whatsoever corruptions, the Dualistic faith was maintained. The supremacy of Ormazd was from first to last admitted. Ahriman retained from first to last the same character and position, neither rising into an object of worship,[1] nor sinking into a mere personification of evil. The inquiries which Aristotle caused to be made, towards the very close of the Empire, into the true nature of the Persian Religion, showed him Ormazd

[17] See above, vol. ii. pp. 334, 335.

[18] Strab. xv. 3, § 15. On the identification of the Omanus and Anadatus of Strabo with Bah-man and Amerdat, see the author's Herodotus, vol. i. p. 537, 2nd edition.

[19] Strab. l. s. c. and xi. 8, § 4.

[20] Ξόανον τοῦ Ὠμάνου πομπεύει (Strabo).

[21] The temple of Anaitis at Ecbatana is described by Polybius (x. 27, § 12) as having its pillars gilt (κεχρυσωμένους), and many of its tiles and bricks of solid silver, while a few of the latter were of gold. The wealth of the temple of the same goddess at Elymais appears from 1 Mac. vi. 2.

[1] According to Plutarch, the Magi of his time addressed themselves, in some of the rites which they performed, to Ahriman, seeking thereby to avert his anger. (*De Isid. et Osir.* p. 369, E.) And, if we regard the story told by Herodotus of the sacrifice of Amestris (vii. 114) as deserving of implicit belief, we must allow the first beginning of this corruption to have been still earlier; for Herodotus calls the sacrifice "a thank-offering to the god who dwells underneath the earth"—an expression, that, according to the Persian system, must mean Ahriman. But Herodotus is scarcely, I think, to be accepted as a competent interpreter of the true motive of an act, of which he can only have heard by rumour long after he quitted Asia.

and Ahriman still recognised as "Principles," still standing in the same hostile and antithetical attitude, one towards the other,[2] which they occupied when the first Fargard of the Vendidad was written, long anterior to the rise of the Persian Power.

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[2] See the passage quoted from Diogenes Laertius, and placed as the heading to the chapter on the Religion of the Medes (supra, vol. ii. p. 322); and compare with it the following fragment of Eudemus, the favourite disciple of Aristotle: — "Μάγοι δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ Ἄρειον γένος, οἱ μὲν τόπον, οἱ δὲ χρόνον καλοῦσι τὸ νοητὸν ἅπαν καὶ ἡνωμένον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ διακριθῆναι καὶ θεὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ δαίμονα κακὸν, καὶ φῶς καὶ σκότος πρὸ τούτων, ὡς ἐνίους λέγειν· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀδιάκριτον φύσιν διακρινομένην ποιοῦσι τὴν δίττην συστοιχίαν τῶν κρειττόνων· τῆς μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Ὡρομάσδην, τῆς δὲ τὸν Ἀρειμάνιον." (Ap. Damasc. *De Princip.* given in Wolf's *Anecdota Græca*, vol. iii. p. 259.)

CHAPTER VII.

CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY.

"I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beast might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great." —DANIEL viii. 4.

Συνέβη τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐνδοξοτάτοις γενέσθαι τῶν βαρβάρων.
STRABO, xv. 3, § 23.

THE history of the Persian EMPIRE dates from the conquest of Astyages by Cyrus, and therefore commences with the year B.C. 558.[1] But the present inquiry must be carried considerably further back, since in this, as in most other cases,[2] the Empire grew up out of a previously existing monarchy. Darius Hystaspis reckons that there had been eight Persian kings of his race previously to himself;[3] and though it is no doubt possible that some of the earlier names may be fictitious, yet we can scarcely suppose that he was deceived, or that he wished to deceive, as to the fact that long anterior to his own reign, or that of his elder contemporary, Cyrus, Persia had been a monarchy, governed by a line of princes of the same clan, or family, with himself. It is our business in this place, before entering upon the brilliant period of the Empire, to cast a retrospective glance over the earlier ages of obscurity, and to collect therefrom such scattered notices as are to be found of the Persians and their princes or kings before they suddenly attracted the general attention of the civilized world by their astonishing achievements under the great Cyrus.

The more ancient of the sacred books of the Jews, while distinctly noticing the nation of the Medes,[4] contain no mention

[1] Supra, vol. ii. p. 420.
[2] Compare vol. i. pp. 155-161; vol. ii. pp. 54-58, 376-383; and vol. iii. pp. 34-42.
[3] *Behistun Inscription*, col. i. par. 4.
[4] Gen. x. 2.

t all of Persia or the Persians.[5] The Zendavesta, the sacred volume of the people themselves, is equally silent on the subject. The earliest appearance of the Persians in history is in the inscriptions of the Assyrian kings, which begin to notice them about the middle of the ninth century, B.C. At this time Shalmaneser II. found them in south-western Armenia,[6] where they were in close contact with the Medes, of whom, however, they seem to have been wholly independent. Like the modern Kurds in this same region, they owned no subjection to a single head, but were under the government of numerous petty chieftains, each the lord of a single town or of a small mountain district. Shalmaneser informs us that he took tribute from twenty-five such chiefs. Similar tokens of submission were paid also to his son and grandson.[7] After this the Assyrian records are silent as to the Persians for nearly a century, and it is not until the reign of Sennacherib that we once more find them brought into contact with the power which aspired to be mistress of Asia. At the time of their re-appearance they are no longer in Armenia, but have descended the line of Zagros and reached the districts which lie north and north-east of Susiana, or that part of the Bakhtiyari chain which, if it is not actually within Persia Proper, at any rate immediately adjoins upon it. Arrived thus far, it was easy for them to occupy the region to which they have given permanent name;[8] for the Bakhtiyari mountains command it and give a ready access to its valleys and plains.

The Persians would thus appear not to have completed their migrations till near the close of the Assyrian period, and it is probable that they did not settle into an organized monarchy much before the fall of Nineveh. At any rate we hear of no Persian ruler of note or name in the Assyrian records, and the reign of petty chiefs would seem therefore to have continued

[5] It was usual among our old commentators to identify Elam (Gen. x. 22) with Persia; but Elam is really Elymais, or (as it was sometimes called from its capital) Susiana. (See Dan. viii. 2.) Persia (פרס) is not mentioned till the times of the Captivity. (Ezek. xxxviii. 5; Dan. v. 28; &c.)

[6] Supra, vol. ii. p. 112. note [1].

[7] Ibid. pp. 114 and 116.

[8] Persia Proper, now called by a slight corruption *Farsistan*, or "the land of the Persians." (See above, p. 85, note [15].)

at least to the time of Asshur-bani-pal, up to which date we have ample records. The establishment, however, about the year B.C. 660, or a little later,[9] of a powerful monarchy in the kindred and neighbouring Media, could not fail to attract attention, and might well provoke imitation in Persia; and the native tradition appears to have been that about this time[10] Persian royalty began in the person of a certain Achæmenes (Hakhamanish), from whom all their later monarchs, with one possible exception,[11] were proud to trace their descent.

The name Achæmenes cannot fail to arouse some suspicion. The Greek genealogies render us so familiar with *heroës eponymi*—imaginary personages, who owe their origin to the mere fact of the existence of certain tribe or race names, to account for which they were invented—that whenever, even in the history of other nations, we happen upon a name professedly personal, which stands evidently in close connection with a tribal designation, we are apt at once to suspect it of being fictitious. But in the East tribal and even ethnic names were certainly sometimes derived from actual persons;[12] and it may be questioned whether the Persians, or the Iranic stock generally, had the notion of inventing personal eponyms.[13] The name Achæmenes, therefore, in spite of its connection with the royal clan name of Achæmenidæ, may stand as perhaps that of a real Persian king,[14] and, if so, as probably that of the

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[9] See vol. ii. p. 383.

[10] Darius reckoned eight kings before himself, of whom Cyrus the Great, his son Cambyses, and the true Smerdis, were probably three. He placed therefore five kings before Cyrus. Allowing to these average reigns of 20 years each, we have B.C. 658 for the traditional commencement of the monarchy.

[11] Darius Codomannus, who, according to some writers, was not a member of the royal clan. (See Strab. xv. 3. § 24.)

[12] *E. g.*, the names "Jew," "Israelite," "Midianite." "Moabite," "Ammonite," "Levite," &c.

[13] I think it may be said with truth that there are no *heroës eponymi* in the Zendavesta, and none in any genuine Persian tradition. The Perses from whom the Greeks derived the nation (Herod. vii. 61), or their kings (Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, § 1; Plat. *Alcib.* i. p. 120, E.; Apollod. ii. 4, § 5), was no real Persian hero. Neither the Zendavesta, nor even the Shahnameh, has a trace of him.

[14] See *Behistun Inscription*, col. i. p. 2; and *Detached Inscriptions*, No. 1. It has been argued that these authorities are valueless, because Darius, though he might know the names of his father and his grandfather, would not be likely to have any trustworthy knowledge of ancestors more remote than these. (*Edinburgh Review*, No. 255, p. 155.) But the force of this reasoning rests wholly on the assumption that the Per-

rst king, the original founder of the monarchy, who united he scattered tribes in one, and thus raised Persia into a power f considerable importance.

The immediate successor of Achæmenes appears to have been is son, Teispes.[1] Of him and of the next three monarchs, the nformation that we possess is exceedingly scanty. The very ames of one or two in the series are uncertain.[2] One tradition ssigns either to the second or the fourth[3] king of the list he establishment of friendly relations with a certain Phar- aces, King of Cappadocia, by an inter-marriage between a ersian princess, Atossa, and the Cappadocian monarch. The xistence of communication at this time between petty countries olitically unconnected, and placed at such a distance from one nother as Cappadocia and Persia, is certainly what we should ot have expected; but our knowledge of the general condition f Western Asia at the period is too slight to justify us in a ositive rejection of the story, which indicates, if it be true, hat even during this time of comparative obscurity, the ersian monarchs were widely known, and that their alliance as thought a matter of importance.

The political condition of Persia under these early monarchs s a more interesting question than either the names of the ings or the foreign alliances which they contracted. According o Herodotus, that condition was one of absolute and unqualified ubjection to the sway of the Medes, who conquered Persia and mposed their yoke upon the people before the year B.C. 634.[4] The native records,[5] however, and the accounts which Xeno-

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sians had no historical documents belonging to the times before Cyrus. To me it seems probable that the Persians formed their alphabet soon after they settled in Zagros, and began at once to use it for historical purposes.

[1] *Behistun Inscription*, col. i. par. 2; Herod. vii. 11.

[2] A gap between Teispes and Cyrus, the grandfather of Cyrus the Great (Herod. i. 111), is filled conjecturally, rather than on any sure grounds, by a supposed Cambyses.

[3] Diod. Sic. xxxi. 19, § 1. Diodorus himself appears to suppose that the tradition refers to Cambyses, the father of the Great Cyrus, who was the fourth king after Teispes. But the genealogy which he gives would seem rather to imply an earlier monarch. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 209, 2nd edition.)

[4] Herod. i. 102.

[5] In the *Behistun Inscription* Darius says—"There are eight of my race who have been kings before me; I am the ninth. For a length of time we have been kings;"—words which imply nine

phon[6] preferred, represent Persia as being at this time a separate and powerful state, either wholly independent of Media, or, at any rate, held in light bonds of little more than nominal dependence. On the whole, it appears most probable that the true condition of the country was that which this last phrase expresses. It may be doubted whether there had ever been a conquest; but the weaker and less developed of the two kindred states owned the suzerainty of the stronger, and though quite unshackled in her internal administration, and perhaps not very much interfered with in her relations towards foreign countries, was, formally, a sort of Median fief, standing nearly in the position in which Egypt now stands to Turkey. The position was irksome to the sovereigns rather than unpleasant to the people. It detracted from the dignity of the Persian monarchs, and injured their self-respect; it probably caused them occasional inconvenience, since from time to time they would have to pay their court to their suzerain; and it seems towards the close of the Median period to have involved an obligation which must have been felt, if not as degrading, at any rate as very disagreeable. The monarch appears to have been required to send his eldest son as a sort of hostage[7] to the court of his superior, where he was held in a species of honourable captivity, not being allowed to quit the court and return home without leave,[8] but being otherwise well treated. The fidelity of the father was probably supposed to be in this way secured, while it might be hoped that the son would be conciliated, and made an attached and willing dependant.

When Persian history first fairly opens upon us in the pages of Xenophon and of Nicolaüs Damascenus, this is the condition of things which we find existing. Cambyses, the father of Cyrus the Great—called Atradates by the Syrian writer—is ruler of Persia,[9] and resides in his native country, while his son

similar, and consequently nine independent, monarchs. Cyrus the Great, on a brick found at Senkereh, calls himself "the powerful king, son of *Cambyses the powerful king*."

[6] *Cyrop.* i. 2, § 1.

[7] See above, vol. ii. p. 421, notes [19] and [20].

[8] Nic. Dam. Fr. 66; p. 402.

[9] He is king, according to Xenophon (*Cyrop.* l. s. c.); satrap, according to Nicolaüs (pp. 399, 405).

Cyrus is permanently, or, at any rate, usually, resident at the Median Court, where he is in high favour with the reigning monarch, Astyages. According to Xenophon, who has here the support of Herodotus, he is Astyages' grandson, his father, Cambyses, being married to Mandané, that monarch's daughter.[10] According to Nicolaüs, who in this agrees with Ctesias,[11] he is in no way related to Astyages, who retains him at his court because he is personally attached to him. In the narrative of the latter writer, which has already been preferred in these volumes,[12] the young prince, while at the court, conceives the idea of freeing his own country by a revolt, and enters into secret communication with his father for the furtherance of his object. His father somewhat reluctantly assents, and preparations are made, which lead to the escape of Cyrus and the commencement of a war of independence. The details of the struggle, as they are related by Nicolaüs, have been already given.[13] After repeated defeats, the Persians finally make a stand at Pasargadæ, their capital, where in two great battles they destroy the power of Astyages, who himself remains a prisoner in the hands of his adversary.

In the course of the struggle the father of Cyrus had fallen, and its close, therefore, presented Cyrus himself before the eyes of the Western Asiatics as the undisputed lord of the great Arian Empire which had established itself on the ruins of the Semitic. Transfers of sovereignty are easily made in the East, where independence is little valued, and each new conqueror is hailed with acclamations from millions. It mattered nothing to the bulk of Astyages' subjects whether they were ruled from Ecbatana or Pasargadæ, by Median or Persian masters. Fate[14] had settled that a single lord was to bear sway over the tribes and nations dwelling between the Persian Gulf and the Euxine; and the arbitrament of the sword had now decided that this single lord should be Cyrus. We may readily believe the statement of Nicolaüs that the nations previously subject to the Medes

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[10] *Cyrop.* l. s. c.
[11] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 2.
[12] See above, vol. ii. p. 422, note [6].
[13] Vol. ii. pp. 422-426.
[14] See Æschyl. *Pers.* 758. Τιμὴν Ζεὺς ἄναξ τήνδ' ὤπασεν, ἓν' ἀνδρα πάσης 'Ασίδος μηλοτρόφου ταγεῖν, ἔχοντα σκῆπτρον εὐθυντηριον.

vied with each other in the celerity and zeal with which they made their submission to the Persian conqueror.[1] Cyrus succeeded at once to the full inheritance of which he had dispossessed Astyages, and was recognised as king by all the tribes between the Halys and the desert of Khorassan.[2]

He was at this time, if we may trust Dino,[3] exactly forty years of age, and was thus at that happy period in life when the bodily powers have not yet begun to decay, while the mental are just reaching their perfection. Though we may not be able to trust implicitly the details of the war of independence which have come down to us, yet there can be no doubt that he had displayed in its course very remarkable courage and conduct. He had intended, probably, no more than to free his country from the Median yoke; by the force of circumstances he had been led on to the destruction of the Median power, and to the establishment of a Persian Empire in its stead. With empire had come an enormous accession of wealth. The accumulated stores of ages, the riches of the Ninevite kings—the "gold," the "silver," and the "pleasant furniture" of those mighty potentates, of which there was "none end"[4]—together with all the additions made to these stores by the Median monarchs, had fallen into his hands, and from comparative poverty he had come *per saltum* into the position of one of the wealthiest—if not of *the* very wealthiest—of princes. An ordinary Oriental would have been content with such a result, and have declined to tempt fortune any more. But Cyrus was no ordinary Oriental. Confident in his own powers, active, not to say restless, and of an ambition that nothing could satiate, he viewed the position which he had won simply as a means of advancing himself to higher eminence. According to Ctesias,[5] he was scarcely seated upon the throne, when he led an expedition to the far north-east against the renowned Bactrians and Sacans; and at any rate,

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[1] Nic. Dam. Fr. 66, p. 406. Οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀφίσταντο καὶ τὰ ἔθνη . . . ὥστε σπουδὴν εἶναι ἑκάστου τὸν ἕτερον φθῆναι θέλοντος.

[2] Nicolaüs (l. s. c.) makes even the Parthians, the Bactrians, and the Sacæ submit at once. But Ctesias (*Exc. Pers.* §§ 2, 3) and Herodotus (i. 153) both contradict him.

[3] Ap. Cic. *De Div.* i. 23.

[4] Nahum ii. 9.

[5] *Exc. Pers.* l. s. c.

whether this be true or no—and most probably it is an anticipation of later occurrences—it is certain that, instead of folding his hands, Cyrus proceeded with scarcely a pause on a long career of conquest, devoting his whole life to the carrying out of his plans of aggression, and leaving a portion of his schemes, which were too extensive for one life to realize, as a legacy to his successor.[6] The quarter to which he really first turned his attention seems to have been the north-west. There, in the somewhat narrow but most fertile tract between the river Halys and the Egean Sea, was a state which seemed likely to give him trouble —a state which had successfully resisted all the efforts of the Medes to reduce it,[7] and which recently, under a warlike prince, had shown a remarkable power of expansion.[8] An instinct of danger warned the scarce firmly-settled monarch to fix his eye at once upon Lydia; in the wealthy and successful Crœsus, the Lydian king, he saw one whom dynastic interests might naturally lead to espouse the quarrel of the conquered Mede, and whose power and personal qualities rendered him a really formidable rival.

The Lydian monarch, on his side, did not scruple to challenge a contest. The long strife which his father had waged with the great Cyaxares had terminated in a close alliance, cemented by a marriage, which made Crœsus and Astyages brothers.[9] The friendship of the great power of Western Asia, secured by this union, had set Lydia free to pursue a policy of self-aggrandisement in her own immediate neighbourhood. Rapidly, one after another, the kingdoms of Asia Minor had been reduced; and, excepting the mountain districts of Lycia and Cilicia,[10] all Asia within the Halys now owned the sway of the Lydian king. Contented with his successes, and satisfied that the tie of relationship secured him from attack on the part of the only power which he had need to fear, Crœsus had for some years given himself up to the enjoyment of his gains and to an ostentatious display of his magnificence.[11] It was a rude shock to the indo-

[6] Herod. i. 153; ii. 1.
[7] Compare vol. ii. pp. 406-411.
[8] Herod. i. 26-28.
[9] See above, vol. ii. p. 411. Compare Herod. i. 74.
[10] Herod. i. 28.
[11] Ibid. i. 29.

lent and self-complacent dreams of a sanguine optimism, which looked that "to-morrow should be as to-day, only much more abundant," when tidings came that revolution had raised its head in the far south-east, and that an energetic prince, in the full vigour of life, and untrammelled by dynastic ties, had thrust the aged Astyages from his throne, and girt his own brows with the Imperial diadem. Crœsus, according to the story, was still in deep grief on account of the untimely death of his eldest son,[12] when the intelligence reached him. Instantly rousing himself from his despair, he set about his preparations for the struggle, which his sagacity saw to be inevitable. After consultation of the oracles of Greece, he allied himself with the Grecian community, which appeared to him on the whole to be the most powerful.[13] At the same time he sent ambassadors to Babylon and Memphis,[14] to the courts of Labynetus and Amasis, with proposals for an alliance offensive and defensive between the three secondary powers of the Eastern world against that leading power whose superior strength and resources were felt to constitute a common danger. His representations were effectual. The kings of Babylon and Egypt, alive to their own peril, accepted his proposals; and a joint league was formed between the three monarchs and the republic of Sparta for the purpose of resisting the presumed aggressive spirit of the Medo-Persians.

Cyrus, meanwhile, was not idle. Suspecting that a weak point in his adversary's harness would be the disaffection of some of his more recently conquered subjects, he sent emissaries into Asia Minor to sound the dispositions of the natives. These emissaries particularly addressed themselves to the Asiatic Greeks,[15] who, coming of a freedom-loving stock, and having been only very lately subdued,[16] would, it was thought, be likely to catch

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[12] Herod. i. 46.

[13] Ibid. i. 69, 70.

[14] Ibid. i. 77. The alliance with Amasis was made before that with the Spartans, probably as early as B.C. 557. That with Labynetus cannot have been made till B.C. 555, since it was not till that year that he became King of Babylon.

[15] Ibid. i. 76. Herodotus distinctly states that these envoys were sent into Asia Minor, before the army of Cyrus began its march.

[16] Probably within ten or twelve years; certainly within fourteen, since the earliest possible date for their conquest is the first year of Crœsus. (Herod. i. 26.)

at an opportunity of shaking off the yoke of their conqueror. But, reasonable as such hopes must have seemed, they were in this instance doomed to disappointment. The Ionians, instead of hailing Cyrus as a liberator, received his overtures with suspicion. They probably thought that they were sure not to gain, and that they might possibly lose, by a change of masters. The yoke of Crœsus had not, perhaps, been very oppressive; at any rate it seemed to them preferable to "bear the ills they had," rather than "fly to others" which might turn out less tolerable.

Disappointed in this quarter, the Persian prince directed his efforts to the concentration of a large army, and its rapid advance into a position where it would be excellently placed both for defence and attack. The frontier province of Cappadocia, which was only separated from the dominions of the Lydian monarch by a stream of moderate size, the Halys, was a most defensible country, extremely fertile and productive,[1] abounding in natural fastnesses,[2] and inhabited by a brave and warlike population. Into this district Cyrus pushed forward his army with all speed, taking, as it would seem, not the short route through Diarbekr, Malatiyah, and Gurun, along which the "Royal Road" afterwards ran,[3] but the more circuitous one by Erzerum, which brought him into Northern Cappadocia, or Pontus, as it was called by the Romans. Here, in a district named Pteria,[4] which cannot have been very far from the coast,[5] he found his adversary, who had crossed the Halys, and taken several Cappadocian towns, among which was the chief city of the Pterians. Perceiving that his troops considerably outnumbered those of Crœsus,[6] he lost no time in giving him battle. The action was fought in the Pterian country, and was stoutly contested, terminating at nightfall without any decisive advantage to either

[1] See above, p. 109.

[2] Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, vol. i. pp. 342-411; Herod. v. 52.

[3] Herod. l. s. c.

[4] Ibid. i. 76. Mr. Grote calls Pteria a city (*History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 164, ed. of 1862); but the only authority for this is Stephen of Byzantium, who wrote towards the close of the 5th century after Christ.

[5] Herodotus speaks of Pteria as "near to Sinope" (l. s. c.), and Stephen expresses himself almost in the same way. It must therefore have lain on or near the coast.

[6] Herod. i. 77.

party. The next day neither side made any movement; and Crœsus, concluding from his enemy's inaction that, though he had not been able to conquer him, he had nothing to fear from his desire of vengeance or his spirit of enterprise, determined on a retreat. He laid the blame of his failure, we are told, on the insufficient number of his troops, and purposed to call for the contingents of his allies, and renew the war with largely augmented forces in the ensuing spring.[7]

Cyrus, on his part, allowed the Lydians to retire unmolested, thus confirming his adversary in the mistaken estimate which he had formed of Persian courage and daring. Anticipating the course which Crœsus would adopt under the circumstances, he kept his army well in hand, and, as soon as the Lydians were clean gone, he crossed the Halys, and marched straight upon Sardis.[8] Crœsus, deeming himself safe from molestation, had no sooner reached his capital than he had dismissed the bulk of his troops to their homes for the winter, merely giving them orders to return in the spring, when he hoped to have received auxiliaries from Sparta, Babylon, and Egypt. Left thus almost without defence, he suddenly heard that his audacious foe had followed on his steps, had ventured into the heart of his dominions, and was but a short distance from the capital. In this crisis he showed a spirit well worthy of admiration. Putting himself at the head of such an army of native Lydians as he could collect at a few hours' notice, he met the advancing foe in the rich plain a little to the east of Sardis,[9] and gave him battle immediately. It is possible that even under these disadvantageous circumstances he might in fair fight have been victorious, for the Lydian cavalry were at this time excellent, and decidedly superior to the Persian.[10] But Cyrus, aware of their merits,

[7] Herod. i. 77.

[8] Ibid. i. 79.

[9] Herodotus locates the battle in the great plain below Sardis towards the *west* (i. 80). But this is incompatible with the direction of Cyrus's march. He must certainly have approached Sardis down the valley of the Hermus, or of its tributary, the Cogamus; and the battle must have been fought either under the walls of the city, or else a few miles to the east, at the junction of the Cogamus with the Hermus. Here the valley "widens" (Fellows' *Asia Minor*, p. 289), and there is a plain, "wide, beautiful, and cultivated" (Chandler, *Travels*, vol. i. p. 289). Strabo probably meant this spot by his "plain of Cyrus" (xiii. 4, §§ 5 and 15).

[10] Herod. i. 79 sub fin.

had recourse to stratagem, and by forming his camels in front, so frightened the Lydian horses that they fled from the field.[11] The riders dismounted and fought on foot, but their gallantry was unavailing. After a prolonged and bloody combat the Lydian army was defeated, and forced to take refuge behind the walls of the capital.

Crœsus now in hot haste sent off fresh messengers to his allies, begging them to come at once to his assistance.[12] He had still a good hope of maintaining himself till their arrival, for his city was defended by walls, and was regarded by the natives as impregnable.[13] An attempt to storm the defences failed; and the siege must have been turned into a blockade but for an accidental discovery. A Persian soldier had approached to reconnoitre the citadel on the side where it was strongest by nature, and therefore guarded with least care,[14] when he observed one of the garrison descend the rock after his helmet, which had fallen from his head, pick it up, and return with it. Being an expert climber, he attempted the track thus pointed out to him, and succeeded in reaching the summit. Several of his comrades followed in his steps; the citadel was surprised, and the town taken and plundered.

Thus fell the greatest city of Asia Minor after a siege of fourteen days.[15] The Lydian monarch, it is said, narrowly escaped with his life from the confusion of the sack;[16] but, being fortunately recognised in time, was made prisoner, and brought before Cyrus. Cyrus at first treated him with some harshness,[17] but soon relented, and with that clemency which

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[11] Herod. i. 80; Xen. *Cyrop.* vii. 1, § 47. The Turks in their wars with the Servians are said on one occasion to have contemplated having recourse to this same stratagem. (*Frontier Lands of the Christian and the Turk*, vol. ii. p. 380.)

[12] Herod. i. 81.

[13] Tradition said that one of the concubines of King Meles gave birth to a lion, and the Telmessian soothsayers predicted, that, if the monstrous birth were carried round the city, Sardis would be impregnable. Meles, therefore, had the lion taken round the defences, but gave orders to omit one part, where the rock was so steep that he thought the spell superfluous. (Herod. i. 84.) Here it was that the Persians mounted.

[14] Herodotus says that on this side the citadel was "wholly unguarded" (οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος); but the very fact that a soldier dropped his helmet over the precipice shows that some of the garrison were located in this quarter.

[15] Herod. i. 84.

[16] Ibid. i. 85.

[17] The tale in Herodotus (i. 86, 87),

was a common characteristic of the earlier Persian kings,[18] assigned him a territory for his maintenance,[19] and gave him an honourable position at Court, where he passed at least thirty years,[20] in high favour, first with Cyrus, and then with Cambyses. Lydia itself was absorbed at once into the Persian Empire, together with most of its dependencies, which submitted as soon as the fall of Sardis was known. There still, however, remained a certain amount of subjugation to be effected. The Greeks of the coast, who had offended the great king by their refusal of his overtures,[21] were not to be allowed to pass quietly into the condition of tributaries; and there were certain native races in the south-western corner of Asia Minor which declined to submit without a struggle to the new conqueror.[1] But these matters were not regarded by Cyrus as of sufficient importance to require his own personal superintendence. Having remained at Sardis for a few weeks, during which time he received an insulting message from Sparta, whereto he made a menacing reply,[2] and having arranged for the government of the newly-conquered province and the transmission of its treasures to Ecbatana, he quitted Lydia for the interior, taking Crœsus with him, and proceeded towards the Median capital. He was bent on prosecuting without delay his schemes of conquest in other quarters—schemes of a grandeur and a comprehensiveness unknown to any previous monarch.[3]

Scarcely, however, was he departed when Sardis became the

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amplified by Nicolas of Damascus (Fr. 68) is rightly rejected by historians on account of its improbability. (See Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 167; Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 165.) But, as Ctesias agrees with Herodotus in stating that Crœsus was at first severely treated (*Exc. Pers.* § 4), we must regard the stories of his ill-usage as having some foundation.

[18] See below, p. 394, note[3].

[19] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 4, ad fin.; Justin, i. 9. This statement is so probable that we may accept it upon somewhat weak authority.

[20] The most probable date of the fall of Sardis is B.C. 554. Crœsus was in Egypt with Cambyses at least as late as B.C. 523. (Herod. iii. 36.)

[21] Supra, p. 373.

[1] Herod. i. 171.

[2] Ibid. i. 152, 153. It is perhaps doubtful whether we ought to believe this story. As the Spartans had clearly not the slightest intention of interfering by force of arms in Asia, they are not very likely to have made a threat which could have no effect but to exasperate the conqueror. The anecdotical details of Herodotus have rarely much historical value.

[3] Ἥ τε Βαβυλὼν οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος, καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος, καὶ Σάκαι τε, καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. (Herod. i. 153, ad fin.)

scene of an insurrection. Pactyas, a Lydian, who had been entrusted with the duty of conveying the treasures of Crœsus and his more wealthy subjects to Ecbatana, revolted against Tabalus,[4] the Persian commandant of the town, and being joined by the native population and numerous mercenaries, principally Greeks,[5] whom he hired with the treasure that was in his hands, made himself master of Sardis, and besieged Tabalus in the citadel. The news reached Cyrus while he was upon his march; but, estimating the degree of its importance aright, he did not suffer it to interfere with his plans. He judged it enough to send a general with a strong body of troops to put down the revolt, and continued his own journey eastward.[6] Mazares, a Mede, was the officer selected for the service. On arriving before Sardis, he found that Pactyas had relinquished his enterprise and fled to the coast,[7] and that the revolt was consequently at an end. It only remained to exact vengeance. The rebellious Lydians were disarmed.[8] Pactyas was pursued with unrelenting hostility, and demanded, in succession, of the Cymæans, the Mytilenæans, and the Chians, of whom the last-mentioned surrendered him.[9] The Greek cities which had furnished Pactyas with auxiliaries were then attacked, and the inhabitants of the first which fell, Priêné, were one and all sold as slaves.[10]

Mazares soon afterwards died, and was succeeded by Harpagus, another Mede, who adopted a somewhat milder policy towards the unfortunate Greeks.[11] Besieging their cities one by one, and taking them by means of banks or mounds piled up against the walls,[12] he, in some instances, connived at the inhabitants escaping in their ships,[13] while, in others, he

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[4] Herod. i. 154. [5] Ibid. i. 161.

[6] Ibid. i. 156, 157.

[7] Charon Lampsac. Fr. 1; Herod. i. 157.

[8] This is all that can be regarded as historical in the story told by Herodotus (i. 155, 156) of the advice which Crœsus gave to Cyrus on this occasion, and of the latter's adoption of it. (See the remarks of Mr. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 171, ed. of 1862.)

[9] Herod. i. 158-160. According to Herodotus, the Chians were bribed by the gift of a tract of land, known as the Atarnean plain, situated on the coast of Asia Minor, opposite Lesbos.

[10] Ibid. i. 161. [11] Ibid. i. 162.

[12] Αἴρεε τὰς πόλιας χώμασι (ibid). See above, p. 185.

[13] Herod. i. 164 and 168. The Phocæans and the Teians fled respectively to Alalia and Abdera.

allowed them to take up the ordinary position of Persian subjects, liable to tribute and military service, but not otherwise molested.[14] So little irksome were such terms to the Ionians of this period that even those who dwelt in the islands off the coast, with the single exception of the Samians, though they ran no risk of subjugation, since the Persians did not possess a fleet,[15] accepted voluntarily the same position, and enrolled themselves among the subjects of Cyrus.[16]

One Greek continental town alone suffered nothing during this time of trouble. When Cyrus refused the offers of submission, which reached him from the Ionian and Æolian Greeks after his capture of Sardis, he made an exception in favour of Miletus,[17] the most important of all the Grecian cities in Asia. Prudence, it is probable, rather than clemency, dictated this course, since to detach from the Grecian cause the most powerful and influential of the states was the readiest way of weakening the resistance they would be able to make. Miletus singly had defied the arms of four successive Lydian kings,[18] and had only succumbed at last to the efforts of the fifth, Crœsus. If her submission had been now rejected, and she had been obliged to take counsel of her despair, the struggle between the Greek cities and the Persian generals might have assumed a different character.

Still more different might have been the result, if the cities generally had had the wisdom to follow a piece of advice which the great philosopher and statesman of the time, Thales, the Milesian, is said to have given them. Thales suggested that the Ionians should form themselves into a confederation, to be governed by a congress which should meet at Teos, the several cities retaining their own laws and internal independence,[19] but being united for military purposes into a single community. Judged by the light which later events, the great Ionian revolt especially, throw upon it, this advice is seen to have been of

[14] Herod. i. 169. [15] Ibid. i. 143.
[16] Ibid. i. 169.
[17] Ibid. i. 141, 143, and 169.
[18] Ibid. i. 14, 15, 17-22.
[19] This seems to be the true meaning of the somewhat obscure passage of Herodotus (i. 170)—*τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἧσσον νομίζεσθαι, κατάπερ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν*, which is so understood both by Schweighæuser and by Dindorf.

the greatest importance. It is difficult to say what check, or even reverse, the arms of Persia might not have at this time sustained, if the spirit of Thales had animated his Asiatic countrymen generally; if the loose Ionic Amphictyony, which in reality left each state in the hour of danger to its own resources, had been superseded by a true federal union, and the combined efforts of the thirteen Ionian communities[20] had been directed to a steady resistance of Persian aggression and a determined maintenance of their own independence. Mazares and Harpagus would almost certainly have been baffled, and the Great King himself would probably have been called off from his eastern conquests to undertake in person a task which after all he might have failed to accomplish.

The fall of the last Ionian town left Harpagus free to turn his attention to the tribes of the south-west which had not yet made their submission—the Carians, the Dorian Greeks, the Caunians, and the people of Lycia. Impressing the services of the newly-conquered Ionians and Æolians,[21] he marched first against Caria, which offered but a feeble resistance.[22] The Dorians of the continent, Myndians, Halicarnassians, and Cnidians, submitted still more tamely without any struggle at all; but the Caunians[23] and Lycians showed a different spirit. These tribes, which were ethnically allied,[24] and of a very peculiar type,[25] had never yet, it would seem, been subdued by any conqueror.[26] Prizing highly the liberty they had enjoyed

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[20] These were Miletus, Myus, Priêné, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæa, Samos, Chios, Erythræ, and Smyrna. (Herod. i. 142, 150.)

[21] Herod. i. 171.

[22] The only Carian people who gave Harpagus any serious trouble were the Pedasians, who defended themselves for some time in the mountain-range of Lida (ib. i. 175).

[23] Ibid. i. 176, ad fin. Mr. Grote is wrong in stating that "neither Carians *nor Caunians*, offered any serious resistance." (*History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 178.)

[24] This is evident from the researches made in this part of Asia Minor, particularly by Sir C. Fellows, which have shown that "from the ancient Caunus in the west, as far as Cape Caledonia in the east, is to be traced the same art, sculpturing the rocks, building the tombs, inscribing the same language, and using the same mythology." (Fellows, *Essay on the relative Dates of the Lycian Monuments*, p. 5.)

[25] The Lycian language remains a puzzle to philologists, who can say little more than that it is Indo-European in its grammar, while in its vocabulary it stands quite by itself, having scarcely any analogies to any known tongue.

[26] Herodotus expressly tells us that the Lycians were not subjected by Crœ-

so long, they defended themselves with desperation. When they were defeated in the field they shut themselves up within the walls of their chief cities, Caunus and Xanthus, where, finding resistance impossible, they set fire to the two places with their own hands, burned their wives, children, slaves, and valuables, and then sallying forth sword in hand fell on the besiegers' lines, and fought till they were all slain.[1]

Meanwhile Cyrus was pursuing a career of conquest in the far east. It was now, according to Herodotus, who is, beyond all question, a better authority than Ctesias for the reign of Cyrus, that the reduction of the Bactrians and the Sacans, the chief nations of what is called by moderns Central Asia, took place.[2] Bactria was a country which enjoyed the reputation of having been great and glorious at a very early date. In one of the most ancient portions of the Zendavesta it was celebrated as "*Bakhdi eredhwô-drafsha*," or "Bactria with the lofty banner;"[3] and traditions not wholly to be despised made it the native country of Zoroaster.[4] There is good reason to believe that, up to the date of Cyrus, it had maintained its independence, or at any rate that it had been untouched by the great monarchies which for above seven hundred years had borne sway in the western parts of Asia.[5] Its people were of the Iranic stock, and retained in their remote and somewhat savage country the simple and primitive habits of the race.[6] Though their arms were of indifferent character,[7] they were among the best soldiers to be found in the East,[8] and always showed themselves a formidable enemy.[9] According to Ctesias, when Cyrus invaded

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sus (i. 28). He also omits the Caunians from the list of that monarch's conquests.

[1] Herod. i. 176. It was probably the remembrance of this desperate deed that nerved the Xanthians of five centuries later to act in almost exactly the same way when besieged by Brutus. (See Plutarch, *Vit. Brut.* c. 31. Ξάνθιοι μὲν οὖν διὰ πολλῶν χρόνων ὥσπερ εἱμαρμένην περίοδον διαφθορᾶς ἀποδιδόντες, τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀνενεώσαντο τῇ τόλμῃ τύχην.)

[2] Compare Herod. i. 153 and 177.

[3] See above, vol. ii. p. 432, § 7.

[4] Justin, i. 2; Cephalion, Fr. 1; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6; Arnob. *adv. Gent.* i. 52.

[5] See above, vol. ii. pp. 234 and 428.

[6] Strab. xi. 11, § 3; Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iv. 15, § 18.

[7] The Bactrians in the army of Xerxes carried only bows and spears of no great length. (Herod. vii. 64.)

[8] Herod. viii. 113; Arrian, *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* p. 27; Diod. Sic. ii. 5, § 3.

[9] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 13; Strab. xi. 11, § 1.

them, they fought a pitched battle with his army, in which the victory was with neither party. They were not, he said, reduced by force of arms at all, but submitted voluntarily when they found that Cyrus had married a Median princess.[10] Herodotus, on the contrary, seems to include the Bactrians among the nations which Cyrus *subdued*,[11] and probability is strongly in favour of this view of the matter. So warlike a nation is not likely to have submitted unless to force; nor is there any ground to believe that a Median marriage, had Cyrus contracted one,[12] would have made him any the more acceptable to the Bactrians.[13]

On the conquest of Bactria followed, we may be tolerably sure, an attack upon the Sacæ. This people, who must certainly have bordered on the Bactrians,[14] dwelt probably either on the Pamir Steppe, or on the high plain of Chinese Tartary, east of the Bolor range—the modern districts of Kashgar and Yarkand.[15] They were reckoned excellent soldiers.[16] They fought with the bow, the dagger, and the battle-axe,[17] and were equally formidable on horseback and on foot.[18] In race they were probably Tatars or Turanians, and their descendants or their congeners are to be seen in the modern inhabitants of these regions. According to Ctesias, their women took the field in almost equal numbers with their men; and the mixed army which resisted Cyrus amounted, including both sexes, to half a million.[19] The king who commanded them was a certain Amorges, who was married to a wife called Sparethra. In an engagement with the Persians he fell into the enemy's hands, whereupon Sparethra put herself

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[10] Ctesias, *Exc. Pers.* § 2.

[11] Herod. i. 177.

[12] The marriage of Cyrus with Amytis, a daughter of Astyages, which Ctesias asserts, has probably no better foundation than that of his father with Mandané, another daughter of the same king, which Ctesias denies. The two stories are merely two different modes of connecting the great Persian conqueror with the line of Median kings, composed with the object of soothing the national vanity of the Medes. (See above, vol. ii. p. 419.)

[13] Since there is really no reason to believe that Bactria had formed any part of the Median Empire.

[14] See Herod. i. 153; vii. 64; ix. 113; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 2, 3; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8; Strab. xi. 8, § 4.

[15] See above, p. 107.

[16] Herod. vi. 113; vii. 184; viii. 113; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 3; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 13.

[17] Herod. vii. 64.

[18] Herod. l. s. c.; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii 8.

[19] Ctesias make the men amount to 300,000, and the women to 200,000. (*Exc. Pers.* l. s. c.)

at the head of the Sacan forces, defeated Cyrus, and took so many prisoners of importance, that the Persian monarch was glad to release Amorges in exchange for them. The Sacæ, however, notwithstanding this success, were reduced, and became subjects and tributaries of Persia.[20]

Among other countries subdued by Cyrus in this neighbourhood, probably about the same period, may be named Hyrcania, Parthia, Chorasmia, Sogdiana, Aria (or Herat), Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, and Gandaria. The brief epitome, which we possess, of Ctesias, omits to make any mention of these minor conquests, while Herodotus sums them all up in a single line;[21] but there is reason to believe that the Cnidian historian gave a methodised account of their accomplishment,[22] of which scattered notices have come down to us in various writers. Arrian relates that there was a city called Cyropolis, situated on the Jaxartes, a place of great strength defended by very lofty walls, which had been founded by the great Cyrus.[23] This city belonged to Sogdiana. Pliny states that Capisa, the chief city of Capisêné, which lay not far from the upper Indus, was destroyed by Cyrus.[24] This place is probably Kafshan, a little to the north of Kabul. Several authors tell us that the Ariaspæ, a people of Drangiana, assisted Cyrus with provisions when he was warring in their neighbourhood,[25] and received from him in return a new name, which the Greeks rendered by "Euergetæ"—"Benefactors."[26] The Ariaspæ must have dwelt near the Hamoon, or Lake of Seistan. We have thus traces of the conqueror's pre-

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[20] Herod. iii. 93. Compare the Inscriptions of Darius.

[21] Τὰ ἄνω τῆς Ἀσίης Κῦρος ἀνάστατα ἐποίεε, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. (Herod. i. 177.)

[22] Several notices of nations belonging to this part of Asia are quoted by different writers from Ctesias, more especially from his tenth book, which seem to have belonged to his account of the campaigns of Cyrus in these regions. (See Apollon. *Hist. Mirab.* 20; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Ἀυρβαῖοι and Χωράμνιοι; Ælian, *Nat. An.* xvii. 34; &c.)

[23] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iv. 3. Compare Strab. xi. 11, § 4; and Q. Curt. vii. 6.

[24] Plin. *H. N.* vi. 23. Compare Arrian, *Hist. Ind.* i. 2, where the reduction of the entire tract between the Cabul river and the Indus—the modern Kohistan and Kaferistan—is ascribed to Cyrus.

[25] Strab. xv. 2, § 10; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 27; Diod. Sic. xvii. 81, § 1; Q. Curt. vii. 3.

[26] The Persian word was probably that which Herodotus represents by Orosangæ. (See Herod. viii. 85.)

sence in the extreme north on the Jaxartes, in the extreme east in Affghanistan, and towards the south as far as Seistan and the Helmend; nor can there be any reasonable doubt that he overran and reduced to subjection the whole of that vast tract which lies between the Caspian on the west, the Indus Valley and the desert of Tartary towards the east, the Jaxartes or Sir Deria on the north, and towards the south the Great Deserts of Seistan and Khorassan.

More uncertainty attaches to the reduction of the tract lying south of these deserts. Tradition said that Cyrus had once penetrated into Gedrosia on an expedition against the Indians, and had lost his entire army in the waterless and trackless desert;[27] but there is no evidence at all that he reduced the country. It appears to have been a portion of the empire in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, but whether that monarch, or Cambyses, or the great founder of the Persian power conquered it, cannot at present be determined.

The conquest of the vast tract lying between the Caspian and the Indus, inhabited (as it was) by a numerous, valiant, and freedom-loving population, may well have occupied Cyrus for thirteen or fourteen years. Alexander the Great spent in the reduction of this region, after the inhabitants had in a great measure lost their warlike qualities, as much as five years, or half the time occupied by his whole series of conquests.[1] Cyrus could not have ventured on prosecuting his enterprises, as did the Macedonian prince, continuously and without interruption, marching straight from one country to another without once revisiting his capital. He must from time have returned to Ecbatana or Pasargadæ;[2] and it is on the whole most probable that, like the Assyrian monarchs,[3] he marched out from home on a fresh expedition almost every year. Thus, it need cause us

[27] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vi. 24; Strab. xv. 1, § 5. This latter writer regards the tradition as worthless. (Ἡμῖν δὲ τίς ἂν δικαία γένοιτο πίστις ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης στρατείας τοῦ Κύρου; Ibid. § 6.)

[1] The reduction of the north-eastern provinces occupied Alexander from B.C. 330 to 326. His entire career of conquest was included between B.C. 334 and B.C. 325.

[2] The absence of an Oriental monarch from his capital for more than one, or at the most two years, produces almost certainly a revolution. (See below, p. 397.)

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 463.

no surprise that fourteen years were consumed in the subjugation of the tribes and nations beyond the Iranic desert to the north and the north-east, and that it was not till B.C. 539, when he was nearly sixty years of age, that the Persian monarch felt himself free to turn his attention to the great kingdom of the south.

The expedition of Cyrus against Babylon has been described already.[4] Its success added to the empire the rich and valuable provinces of Babylonia, Susiana, Syria, and Palestine, thus augmenting its size by about 240,000 or 250,000 square miles. Far more important, however, than this geographical increase was the removal of the last formidable rival—the complete destruction of a power which represented to the Asiatics the old Semitic civilisation, which with reason claimed to be the heir and the successor of Assyria,[5] and had a history stretching back for a space of nearly two thousand years. So long as Babylon—"the glory of kingdoms,"[6] "the praise of the whole earth"[7]—retained her independence, with her vast buildings, her prestige of antiquity, her wealth, her learning, her ancient and grand religious system, she could scarcely fail to be, in the eyes of her neighbours, the first power in the world, if not in mere strength, yet in honour, dignity, and reputation. Haughty and contemptuous herself to the very last,[8] she naturally imposed on men's minds, alike by her past history and her present pretensions; nor was it possible for the Persian monarch to feel that he stood before his subjects as indisputably the foremost man upon the earth until he had humbled in the dust the pride and arrogance of Babylon. But, with the fall of the Great City, the whole fabric of Semitic greatness was shattered. Babylon became "an astonishment and a hissing"[9]—all her prestige vanished—and Persia stepped manifestly into the place, which Assyria had occupied for so many centuries, of absolute and unrivalled mistress of Western Asia.

The fall of Babylon was also the fall of an ancient, widely

[4] Vol. iii. pp. 67-73.

[5] Herod. i. 178. Throughout his work Herodotus regards the Babylonians as "Assyrians" (i. 106, 188, 193; iii. 155; vii. 63).

[6] Is. xiii. 19.

[7] Jerem. li. 41.

[8] Herod. i. 190. Λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίας οὐδένα. Compare Dan. v. 1-4.

[9] Jerem. ii. 37.

spread, and deeply venerated religious system. Not, of course, that the religion suddenly disappeared or ceased to have votaries, but that, from a dominant system, supported by all the resources of the state, and enforced by the civil power over a wide extent of territory,[10] it became simply one of many tolerated beliefs, exposed to frequent rebuffs and insults,[11] and at all times overshadowed by a new and rival system—the comparatively pure creed of Zoroastrianism. The conquest of Babylon by Persia was, practically, if not a death-blow, at least a severe wound, to that sensuous idol-worship which had for more than twenty centuries been the almost universal religion in the countries between the Mediterranean and the Zagros mountain range. The religion never recovered itself—was never reinstated. It survived, a longer or a shorter time, in places. To a slight extent it corrupted Zoroastrianism;[12] but, on the whole, from the date of the fall of Babylon it declined. "Bel bowed down; Nebo stooped;"[13] "Merodach was broken in pieces."[14] Judgment was done upon the Babylonian graven images;[15] and the system, of which they formed a necessary part, having once fallen from its proud pre-eminence, gradually decayed and vanished.

Parallel with the decline of the old Semitic idolatry was the advance of its direct antithesis, pure spiritual Monotheism. The same blow which laid the Babylonian religion in the dust struck off the fetters from Judaism.[16] Purified and refined by the precious discipline of adversity, the Jewish system, which Cyrus, feeling towards it a natural sympathy, protected, upheld, and replaced in its proper locality, advanced from this time in influence and importance, leavening little by little the foul mass of superstition and impurity which came in contact with it. Proselytism grew more common. The Jews spread themselves wider. The return from the captivity, which Cyrus authorised almost immediately after the capture of Babylon, is the starting-

[10] Dan. iii. 1-29.
[11] Herod. i. 183; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 16.
[12] See above, p. 359.
[13] Is. xlvi. 1.
[14] Jerem. l. 2.
[15] Ibid. li. 52.
[16] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22; Ezra, i. 1-11. Compare Is. xliv. 28; xlv. 1-4.

point from which we may trace a gradual enlightenment of the heathen world by the dissemination of Jewish beliefs and practices[17]—such dissemination being greatly helped by the high estimation in which the Jewish system was held by the civil authority, both while the empire of the Persians lasted, and when power passed to the Macedonians.

On the fall of Babylon its dependencies seem to have submitted to the conqueror, with a single exception. Phœnicia, which had never acquiesced contentedly either in Assyrian or in Babylonian rule, saw, apparently, in the fresh convulsion that was now shaking the East, an opportunity for recovering autonomy.[18] It was nearly half a century since her last struggle to free herself had terminated unsuccessfully.[19] A new generation had grown up since that time—a generation which had seen nothing of war, and imperfectly appreciated its perils. Perhaps some reliance was placed on the countenance and support of Egypt, which, it must have been felt, would view with satisfaction any obstacle to the advance of a power wherewith she was sure, sooner or later, to come into collision. At any rate, it was resolved to make the venture. Phœnicia, on the destruction of her distant suzerain, quietly resumed her freedom; abstained from making any act of submission to the conqueror; while, however, at the same time, she established friendly relations for commercial purposes with one of the conqueror's vassals, the prince who had been sent into Palestine to re-establish the Jews at Jerusalem.[1]

It might have been expected that Cyrus, after his conquest of Babylon, would have immediately proceeded towards the

[17] Nehem. xiii. 4, 16, 23; Zech. ii. 11; vii. 2; viii. 22, 23. Compare Döllinger, *Gentile and Jew*, vol. ii. pp. 294-296 (Darnell's translation).

[18] Mr. Grote supposes that Phœnicia, as well as Judæa, yielded to Cyrus. (*History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 184, edit. of 1862.) But the statement which Herodotus (iii. 34) puts into the mouth of Crœsus—"that Cambyses excelled his father, since he possessed all his father's territories, and had added to them Egypt *and the sea*"—is sufficient to show that Herodotus at any rate regarded the submission of Phœnicia as made to Cambyses. (See Dahlmann's *Life of Herodotus*, p. 113, E. T.)

[19] See above, p. 53.

[1] Ezra iii. 3. The expression at the close of this verse—"according to the grant that they had of Cyrus, king of Persia"—refers, not to any grant from Cyrus of Phœnician timber, but to the *money* grant which enabled the Jews to purchase it. (Compare Ezra vi. 4.)

south-west. The reduction of Egypt had, according to Herodotus, been embraced in the designs which he formed fifteen years earlier.[2] The non-submission of Phœnicia must have been regarded as an act of defiance which deserved signal chastisement. It has been suspected that the restoration of the Jews was prompted, at least in part, by political motives, and that Cyrus, when he re-established them in their country, looked to finding them of use to him in the attack which he was meditating upon Egypt.[3] At any rate, it is evident that their presence would have facilitated his march through Palestine and given him a *point d'appui*, which could not but have been of value. These considerations make it probable than an Egyptian expedition would have been determined on, had not circumstances occurred to prevent it.

What the exact circumstance were, it is impossible to determine. According to Herodotus,[4] a sudden desire seized Cyrus to attack the Massagetæ, who bordered his Empire to the north-east. He led his troops across the Araxes (Jaxartes?), defeated the Massagetæ by stratagem in a great battle, but was afterwards himself defeated and slain, his body falling into the enemy's hands, who treated it with gross indignity.[5] According to Ctesias,[6] the people against whom he made his expedition were the Derbices, a nation bordering upon India. Assisted by Indian allies, who lent them a number of elephants, this people engaged Cyrus, and defeated him in a battle, wherein he received a mortal wound. Reinforced, however, by a body of Sacæ, the Persians renewed the struggle, and gained a complete victory, which was followed by the submission of the nation.[7] Cyrus, however, died of his wound on the third day after the first battle.[8]

This conflict of testimony clouds with uncertainty the entire closing scene of the life of Cyrus. All that we can lay down

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[2] Herod. i. 153.

[3] Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 173.

[4] Herod. i. 201. Ὡς τῷ Κύρῳ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι.

[5] Herod. i. 208-214.

[6] Ctesias, *Exc. Pers.* § 6.

[7] Ibid. § 7.

[8] Ibid. § 8. Ἐτελεύτησε τρίτῃ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ τραύματος ἡμέρᾳ.

as tolerably well established is, that instead of carrying out his designs against Egypt, he engaged in hostilities with one of the nations on his north-eastern frontier, that he conducted the war with less than his usual success, and in the course of it received a wound of which he died (B.C. 529), after he had reigned nine-and-twenty years. That his body did not fall into the enemy's hands appears, however, to be certain from the fact that it was conveyed into Persia Proper and buried at Pasargadæ.[9]

It may be suspected that this expedition, which proved so disastrous to the Persian monarch, was not the mere wanton act which it appears to be in the pages of our authorities. The nations of the north-east were at all times turbulent and irritable, with difficulty held in check by the civilised power that bore rule in the south and west. The expedition of Cyrus, whether directed against the Massagetæ or the Derbices, was probably intended to strike terror into the barbarians of these regions, and was analogous to those invasions which were undertaken under the wisest of the Roman Emperors[10] across the Rhine and Danube against Germans, Goths, and Sarmatæ. The object of such inroads was not to conquer, but to alarm—it was hoped by an imposing display of organised military force to deter the undisciplined hordes of the prolific North from venturing across the frontier and carrying desolation through large tracts of the Empire. Defensive warfare has often an aggressive look. It may have been solely with the object of protecting his own territories from attack that Cyrus made his last expedition across the Jaxartes, or towards the upper Indus.[11]

The character of Cyrus, as represented to us by the Greeks, is the most favourable that we possess of any early Oriental monarch. Active, energetic, brave, fertile in stratagems,[12] he

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[9] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vi. 29; Strab. xv. 3, § 7; Q. Curt. x. 1. Compare above, p. 318.

[10] As Tiberius (Tacit. *Ann.* ii. 6-26), Probus, Julian the Apostate, and others.

[11] The Derbices of Ctesias, who are in direct contact with Sacia and India, must belong to the region between the Upper Oxus and the Upper Indus.

[12] Herod. i. 80, 186, 211; Nic. Dam. Fr. 66, p. 403.

has all the qualities required to form a successful military chief. He conciliates his people by friendly and familiar treatment,[13] but declines to spoil them by yielding to their inclinations when they are adverse to their true interests.[14] He has a ready humour, which shows itself in smart sayings and repartees,[15] that take occasionally the favourite Oriental turn of parable or apologue.[16] He is mild in his treatment of the prisoners that fall into his hands,[17] and ready to forgive even the heinous crime of rebellion.[18] He has none of the pride of the ordinary eastern despot, but converses on terms of equality with those about him.[19] We cannot be surprised that the Persians, contrasting him with their later monarchs, held his memory in the highest veneration,[20] and were even led by their affection for his person to make his type of countenance their standard of physical beauty.[21]

The genius of Cyrus was essentially that of a conqueror, not of an administrator. There is no trace of his having adopted anything like a uniform system for the government of the provinces which he subdued. In Lydia he set up a Persian governor, but assigned certain important functions to a native;[22] in Babylon he gave the entire direction of affairs into the hands of a Mede, to whom he allowed the title and style of king;[23] in Judæa he appointed a native, but made him merely "governor" or "deputy;"[1] in Sacia, he maintained as tributary king the monarch who had resisted his arms.[2] Policy may have dictated

[13] Herod. i. 126; iii. 89.

[14] Ibid. ix. 122.

[15] Ibid. i. 126, 127, 141, 153, &c. Plut. *Apophth.* p. 172, E. F.

[16] The best of the sayings ascribed to Cyrus is the following: When the Ionian Greeks, who a little before had refused his overtures, came after the fall of Sardis to offer their submission, Cyrus replied to them:—"A fisherman wanted the fish to dance for him, so he played a tune on his flute, but the fish kept still. Then he took his net and drew them out on the shore, and they all began to leap and dance. But the fisherman said — 'A truce to your dancing now, since you would not dance when I wanted you.'"

[17] Beros. 14, ad fin.; Herod. i. 130, 208, 213; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 2.

[18] Herod. i. 155, 156.

[19] Ibid. i. 87-90, 155, 209.

[20] Ibid. iii. 89; Xen. *Cyrop.* i. 2, § 1; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vi. 29; &c.

[21] Plut. *Apophth.* p. 172, E; *Polit.* p. 821, E.

[22] Herod. i. 153. (See above, p. 376.)

[23] Dan. v. 31; ix. 1. These passages clearly imply that "Darius the Mede" ruled with a delegated authority. Hence he did not occur in the list of Babylonian kings.

[1] Ezra v. 14; Haggai i. 1, 14; ii. 2.

[2] Ctesias, *Exc. Pers.* §§ 3 and 7.

the course pursued in each instance, which may have been suited to the condition of the several provinces; but the variety allowed was fatal to consolidation, and the monarchy, as Cyrus left it, had as little cohesion as any of those by which it was preceded.

Though originally a rude mountain-chief, Cyrus, after he succeeded to Empire, showed himself quite able to appreciate the dignity and value of art. In his constructions at Pasargadæ he combined massiveness with elegance, and manifested a taste at once simple and refined.[3] He ornamented his buildings with reliefs of an ideal character.[4] It is probably to him that we owe the conception of the light tapering stone shaft, which is the glory of Persian architecture. If the more massive of the Persepolitan buildings are to be ascribed to him,[5] we must regard him as having fixed the whole plan and arrangement which was afterwards followed in all Persian palatial edifices.

In his domestic affairs Cyrus appears to have shown the same moderation and simplicity which we observe in his general conduct. He married, as it would seem, one wife only, Cassandané, the daughter of Pharnaspes, who was a member of the royal family.[6] By her he had issue two sons and at least three daughters. The sons were Cambyses and Smerdis;[7] the daughters Atossa, Artystoné, and one whose name is unknown to us.[8] Cassandané died before her husband, and was deeply mourned by him.[9] Shortly before his own death he took the precaution formally to settle the succession.[10] Leaving the

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[3] See above, pp. 313-319.

[4] Supra, p. 353.

[5] Ælian represents Cyrus as the founder of the Persepolitan palace. (*Hist. An.* i. 59.) It has been already observed that there are edifices on the platform having the appearance of being considerably more ancient than those which the inscriptions prove to have been constructed by Darius Hystaspis. (Supra, pp. 294, 295.) The short reign of Cambyses can hardly have sufficed for the erection of these antique edifices, which are, therefore, in all probability, the work of Cyrus. These buildings are the Great Central Propylæa, the South-Eastern Palace, and the Hall of a Hundred Columns.

[6] Herod. ii. 1; iii. 2. Pharnaspes was also (according to Herodotus) the father of Otanes the conspirator (ib. iii. 68).

[7] Ibid. iii. 30; *Behistun Inscr.* col. i. par. 10, § 5.

[8] Herod. iii. 31 and 88.

[9] Ibid. ii. 1.

[10] Ibid. i. 208; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 8; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 7, § 11.

general inheritance of his vast dominions to his elder son, Cambyses, he declared it to be his will that the younger should be entrusted with the actual government of several large and important provinces.[11] He thought by this plan to secure the well-being of both the youths, never suspecting that he was in reality consigning both to untimely ends, and even preparing the way for an extraordinary revolution.

The ill effect of the unfortunate arrangement thus made appeared almost immediately. Cambyses was scarcely settled upon the throne before he grew jealous of his brother, and ordered him to be privately put to death.[12] His cruel orders were obeyed, and with so much secrecy that neither the mode of the death, nor even the fact, was known to more than a few. Smerdis was generally believed to be still alive; and thus an opportunity was presented for personation—a form of imposture very congenial to Orientals, and one which has often had very disastrous consequences. We shall find in the sequel this opportunity embraced, and results follow of a most stirring and exciting character.

It required time, however, to bring to maturity the fruits of the crime so rashly committed. Cambyses, in the meanwhile, quite unconscious of danger, turned his attention to military matters, and determined on endeavouring to complete his father's scheme of conquest by the reduction of Egypt. Desirous of obtaining a ground of quarrel less antiquated than the alliance, a quarter of a century earlier, between Amasis and Crœsus, he demanded that a daughter of the Egyptian king should be sent to him as a secondary wife. Amasis, too timid to refuse, sent a damsel named Nitetis, who was not his daughter; and she, soon after her arrival, made Cambyses acquainted with the fraud.[13] A ground of quarrel was thus

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[11] So Ctesias and Xenophon, who, however, differ entirely as to the provinces assigned to Smerdis.

[12] The Behistun inscription shows that Smerdis was put to death before Cambyses started for Egypt. (See col. i. par. 10.)

[13] This is the account of the matter which Herodotus deliberately prefers, after weighing the different versions of the story (iii. 1). It is recommended by its internal probability no less than by his authority. To make it thoroughly consistent with likelihood,

secured, which might be put forward when it suited his purpose; and meanwhile every nerve was being strained to prepare effectually for the expedition. The difficulty of a war with Egypt lay in her inaccessibility. She was protected on all sides by seas or deserts; and, for a successful advance upon her from the direction of Asia, it was desirable both to obtain a quiet passage for a large army through the desert of El-Tij, and also to have the support of a powerful fleet in the Mediterranean. This latter was the paramount consideration. An army well supplied with camels might carry its provisions and water through the desert, and might intimidate or overpower the few Arab tribes which inhabited it;[14] but, unless the command of the sea was gained and the navigation of the Nile closed, Memphis might successfully resist attack.[15] Cambyses appears to have perceived with sufficient clearness the conditions on which victory depended, and to have applied himself at once to securing them. He made a treaty with the Arab Sheikh who had the chief influence over the tribes of the desert;[16] and at the same time he set to work to procure the services of a powerful naval force. By menaces or negotiations he prevailed upon the Phœnicians to submit themselves to his yoke,[17] and having thus obtained a fleet superior to that of Egypt, he commenced hostilities by robbing her of a dependency[18] which possessed considerable naval strength, in this way still further increasing the disparity between his own fleet and that of his enemy. Against the combined ships of Phœnicia, Cyprus, Ionia, and Æolis, Egypt was powerless, and her fleets seem to have quietly yielded the command of the sea. Cambyses was

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we have only to suppose that Nitetis was the granddaughter rather than the daughter of Apries. For other versions of the story, see Herod. iii. 2, 3; and Dino, Fr. 11. Ctesias, according to Athenæus (*Deipn.* xiii. 10; p. 560, D.) agreed with Herodotus.

[14] The desert has never proved an obstacle of any importance to an invading army. It was frequently crossed and recrossed by the Egyptians themselves, by the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Greeks under Alexander, the Seleucidæ, the Ptolemies, the Romans, and the Arabs, no less than by the Persians. In modern times it has been passed by armies under Napoleon I. and Ibrahim Pacha.

[15] Compare the long resistance to Artaxerxes (infra, p. 473), when the sea-communication was kept open by the Athenian fleet.

[16] Herod. iii. 7.

[17] Ibid. iii. 19 and 34.

[18] Cyprus. (Compare Herod. ii. 182 with iii. 19.) On the naval strength of Cyprus, see Herod. vi. 6; vii. 90.

thus able to give his army the support of a naval force, as it marched along the coast, from Carmel probably to Pelusium; and when, having defeated the Egyptians at the last-named place, he proceeded against Memphis, he was able to take possession of the Nile,[19] and to blockade the Egyptian capital both by land and water.

It appears that four years were consumed by the Persian monarch in his preparations for his Egyptian expedition. It was not until B.C. 525 that he entered Egypt at the head of his troops,[20] and fought the great battle which decided the fate of the country. The struggle was long and bloody. Psammenitus,[21] who had succeeded his father Amasis, had the services, not only of his Egyptian subjects, but of a large body of mercenaries besides, Greeks and Carians.[22] These allies were zealous in his cause, and are said to have given him a horrible proof of their attachment. One of their body had deserted to the Persians some little time before the expedition, and was believed to have given important advice to the invader. He had left his children behind in Egypt; and these his former comrades now seized, and led out in front of their lines, where they slew them before their father's eyes, and, having so done, mixed their blood in a bowl with water and wine, and drank, one and all, of the mixture.[23] The battle followed immediately after; but, in spite of their courage and fanaticism, the Egyptian army was completely defeated.[24] According to Ctesias, fifty thousand fell on the vanquished side, while the victors lost no more than seven thousand.[1] Psammenitus, after his defeat, threw himself into Memphis, but, being blockaded by land and prevented from receiving supplies from the sea,[2] after a stout resistance, he surrendered. The captive monarch received the respectful

[19] Herod. iii. 13.

[20] This date depends upon the nearly concurrent testimony of Diodorus (i. 68), Eusebius (*Chron. Can.* ii. p. 334), and Manetho (ibid. i. 20; p. 105).

[21] Manetho called this king Psammicherites (Fr. 66); Ctesias (*Exc. Pers.* § 9) called him Amyrtæus. He was probably a Psamatik, who took the title of Neit-se—"son of Neith"—like his father.

[22] Herod. iii. 11.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 9; Herod. l. s. c.

[1] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* l. s. c.

[2] The occupation of the Nile by the Persian fleet during the whole period of Cambyses' stay in Egypt is indicated sufficiently by Herod iii. 13 and 25, ad fin.

treatment which Persian clemency usually accorded to fallen sovereigns.[3] Herodotus even goes so far as to intimate that, if he had abstained from conspiracy, he would probably have been allowed to continue ruler of Egypt,[4] exchanging, of course, his independent sovereignty for a delegated kingship held at the pleasure of the Lord of Asia.

The conquest of Egypt was immediately followed by the submission of the neighbouring tribes, The Libyans of the desert tract which borders the Nile valley to the west, and even the Greeks of the more remote Barca and Cyrêné sent gifts to the conqueror and consented to become his tributaries.[5] But Cambyses placed little value on such petty accessions to his power. Inheriting the grandeur of view which had characterised his father, he was no sooner master of Egypt than he conceived the idea of a magnificent series of conquests in this quarter,[6] whereby he hoped to become Lord of Africa no less than of Asia, or at any rate to leave himself without a rival of any importance on the vast continent which his victorious arms had now opened to him. Apart from Egypt, Africa possessed but two powers capable by their political organisation and their military strength, of offering him serious resistance. These were Ethiopia and Carthage—the one the great power of the South, the equal, if not even the superior, of Egypt[7]—the other the great power of the West—remote, little known, but looming larger for the obscurity in which she was shrouded, and attractive from her reputed wealth. The views of Cambyses comprised the reduction of both these powers, and also the conquest of the oasis of Ammon. As a good Zoroastrian, he was naturally anxious to exhibit the superiority of Ormazd to all the "gods of the nations;" and, as the temple of Ammon in the oasis had the greatest repute of all the African shrines,[8] this design would be best accomplished by its pillage and destruction. It is probable that he further

[3] Herod. iii. 15. Ctesias says he was removed to Susa (*Exc. Pers.* § 9); but this is incompatible with his subsequent revolt and execution.

[4] Herod. l. s. c.

[5] Herod. iii. 13; iv. 165; Diod. Sic. x. 14. The latter writer says that both Libyans and Cyrenæans had previously fought on the Egyptian side against Cambyses.

[6] Herod iii. 17.

[7] See above, p. 132, note [9].

[8] Herod. i. 46.

looked to the subjugation of all the tribes on the north coast between the Nile valley and the Carthaginian territory; for he would undoubtedly have sent an army along the shore to act in concert with his fleet,[9] had he decided ultimately on making the expedition. An unexpected obstacle, however, arose to prevent him. The Phœnicians, who formed the main strength of his navy, declined to take any part in an attack on Carthage, since the Carthaginians were their colonists, and the relations between the two people had always been friendly. Cambyses did not like to force their inclinations, on account of their recent voluntary submission; and, as, without their aid, his navy was manifestly unequal to the proposed service, he felt obliged to desist from the undertaking.[10]

While the Carthaginian scheme was thus nipped in the bud, the enterprises which Cambyses attempted to carry out led to nothing but disaster. An army, fifty thousand strong, dispatched from Thebes against Ammon perished to a man amid the sands of the Libyan desert.[11] A still more numerous force, led by Cambyses himself towards the Ethiopian frontier, found itself short of supplies on its march across Nubia,[12] and was forced to return, without glory, after suffering considerable loss.[13] It become evident that the abilities of the Persian monarch were not equal to his ambition—that he insufficiently appreciated the difficulties and dangers of enterprises—while a fatal obstinacy prevented him from acknowledging and retrieving an error while retrieval was possible. The Persians, we may be sure, grew dispirited under such a leader; and the Egyptians

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[9] Herodotus speaks only of the fleet (iii. 19); but Cambyses must have been well aware that a fleet alone could not reduce such a place as Carthage.

[10] Herod. l. s. c.

[11] Ibid. iii. 25, 26. Compare Diod. Sic. x. 13, § 3.

[12] It is clear that the disasters which Herodotus relates (iii. 25) took place in the passage of the Nubian desert between lat 23° and 19°, where the Nile makes its great bend to the west. Cambyses followed the ordinary caravan route, which quits the Nile at Korosko in lat. 22° 44′ and rejoins it at Abu Hamed in lat. 19° 10′—the route taken by Burckhardt in 1814, by Bruce in 1772, and by Sir S. Baker in 1861. (See Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, part. i. p. 171; Baker, *Albert Nyanza*, vol. i. p. 4.)

[13] Πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τοῦ στρατοῦ. Herod. iii. 25. The loss could not have been very great, or the revolt, which the Egyptians attempted, would not have been unsuccessful. Nor would a portion of the Ethiopians have been, as they were, subdued (ib. iii. 97).

naturally took heart. It seems to have been shortly after the return of Cambyses from his abortive expedition against Ethiopia that symptoms of an intention to revolt began to manifest themselves in Egypt. The priests declared an incarnation of Apis, and the whole country burst out into rejoicings.[14] It was probably now that Psammenitus, who had hitherto been kindly treated by his captor, was detected in treasonable intrigues, condemned to death, and executed.[15] At the same time, the native officers who had been left in charge of the city of Memphis were apprehended and capitally punished.[16] Such stringent measures had all the effect that was expected from them; they wholly crushed the nascent rebellion: they left, however, behind them a soreness, felt alike by the conqueror and the conquered, which prevented the establishment of a good understanding between the Great King and his new subjects. Cambyses knew that he had been severe and that his severity had made him many enemies; he suspected the people, and still more suspected the priests, their natural leaders; he soon persuaded himself that policy required in Egypt a departure from the principles of toleration which were ordinarily observed towards their subjects by the Persians and a sustained effort on the part of the civil power to bring the religion, and its priests, into contempt. Accordingly, he commenced a series of acts calculated to have this effect. He stabbed the sacred calf, believed to be incarnate Apis; he ordered the body of priests who had the animal in charge, to be publicly scourged; he stopped the Apis festival by making participation in it a capital offence;[17] he opened the receptacles of the dead, and curiously examined the bodies contained in them;[1] he intruded himself into the chief sanctuary at Memphis, and publicly scoffed at the grotesque image of Phtha; finally, not content with outraging in the same way the inviolable temple of the Cabeiri, he wound up his

[14] Herod. iii. 27. The priests could no doubt declare an incarnation of Apis whenever they pleased, since they were the sole judges of the "signs" by which the presence of the god was known. (Ibid. ch. 28.)

[15] Ibid. iii. 15. [16] Ibid. ch. 27.

[17] Ibid. ch. 29. Compare Plut. *De Is. et Osir.*, who says that Cambyses killed the Apis calf and gave it to the dogs.

[1] Herod. iii. 37.

insults by ordering that their images should be burnt.[2] These injuries and indignities rankled in the minds of the Egyptians, and probably had a large share in producing that bitter hatred of the Persian yoke which shows itself in the later history on so many occasions; but for the time the policy was successful; crushed beneath the iron heel of the conqueror—their faith in the power of their gods shaken, their spirits cowed, their hopes shattered—the Egyptian subjects of Cambyses made up their minds to submission. The Oriental will generally kiss the hand that smites him, if it only smite hard enough. Egypt became now for a full generation the obsequious slave of Persia, and gave no more trouble to her subjugator than the weakest, or the most contented, of the provinces.

The work of subjection completed, Cambyses, having been absent from his capital longer than was at all prudent, prepared to return home. He had proceeded on his way as far as Syria,[3] when intelligence reached him of a most unexpected nature. A herald suddenly entered his camp and proclaimed, in the hearing of the whole army, that Cambyses, son of Cyrus, had ceased to reign, and that the allegiance of all Persian subjects was henceforth to be paid to Smerdis, son of Cyrus. At first, it is said, Cambyses thought that his instrument had played him false, and that his brother was alive and had actually seized the throne; but the assurances of the suspected person, and a suggestion which he made, convinced him of the contrary, and gave him a clue to the real solution of the mystery. Prexaspes, the nobleman inculpated, knew that the so-called Smerdis must be an impostor, and suggested his identity with a certain Magus, whose brother had been intrusted by Cambyses with the general direction of his household and the care of the palace. He was probably led to make the suggestion by his knowledge of the resemblance borne by this person to the murdered prince,[4] which

[2] Herod. iii. 37.

[3] Ibid. iii. 62. The particular part of Syria cannot be fixed. Herodotus says it was a town called Ecbatana, which Stephen of Byzantium identifies with Batanea or Bashan; but this is quite out of the usual route. Pliny (*H. N.* v. 19) says that there was a town on Mount Carmel called Acbatana, which, as far as the situation goes, is suitable; but we have no other evidence of the existence of such a place.

[4] Herodotus regards the idea as suggested by the fact that this Magus was

was sufficiently close to make personation possible. Cambyses was thus enabled to appreciate the gravity of the crisis, and to consider whether he could successfully contend with it or no. Apparently, he decided in the negative. Believing that he could not triumph over the conspiracy which had decreed his downfall, and unwilling to descend to a private station—perhaps even uncertain whether his enemies would spare his life—he resolved to fly to the last refuge of a dethroned king, and to end all by suicide.[5] Drawing his short sword from its sheath, he gave himself a wound, of which he died in a few days.[6]

It is certainly surprising that the king formed this resolution. He was at the head of an army, returning from an expedition, which, if not wholly successful, had at any rate added to the empire an important province. His father's name was a tower of strength, and, if he could only have exposed the imposture that had been practised on them, he might have counted confidently on rallying the great mass of the Persians to his cause. How was it that he did not advance on the capital, and at least strike one blow for empire? No clear and decided response can be made to this inquiry; but we may indistinctly discern a number of causes which may have combined to produce in the monarch's mind the feeling of despondency whereto he gave way. Although he returned from Egypt a substantial conqueror, his laurel wreath was tarnished by ill-success; his army, weakened by its losses, and dispirited by its failures, was out of heart; it had no trust in his capacity as a commander, and could not be expected to fight with enthusiasm on his behalf. There is also reason to believe that he was generally unpopular on account of his haughty and tyrannical temper, and his contempt of law and

really named Smerdis; but this, which in itself would be very unlikely, is disproved by the Behistun Inscription, which tells us (col. i. par. 11, § 2) that his real name was Gomates.

[5] *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 11, § 10. The term "*uvamarshiyush*" seems to be correctly explained by Spiegel as "von selbst sterbend." (See his Glossary, *Keilinschriften*, p. 190.)

[6] I follow the authority of Herodotus (iii. 64-66) in these details, merely adding the fact stated by Darius in the Behistun Inscription, that the self-inflicted wound was intentional. The account of Ctesias, that Cambyses died from a wound which he gave himself accidentally as he was carving wood for his amusement at Babylon (Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 12), shows how the event was softened down in the later traditions of the Persians.

usage, where they interfered with the gratification of his desires. Though we should do wrong to accept as true all the crimes laid to his charge by the Egyptians, who detested his memory,[7] we cannot doubt the fact of his incestuous marriage with his sister, Atossa,[8] which was wholly repugnant to the religious feelings of his nation. Nor can we well imagine that there was no foundation at all for the stories of the escape of Crœsus,[9] the murder of the son of Prexaspes,[10] and the execution in Egypt on a trivial charge of twelve noble Persians.[11] His own people called Cambyses a "despot" or "master," in contrast with Cyrus, whom they regarded as a "father," because, as Herodotus says, he was "harsh and reckless," whereas his father was mild and beneficent.[12] Further, there was the religious aspect of the revolution, which had taken place, in the background. Cambyses may have known that in the ranks of his army there was much sympathy with Magism,[13] and may have doubted whether, if the whole conspiracy were laid bare, he could count on anything like a general adhesion of his troops to the Zoroastrian cause. These various grounds, taken together, go far towards accounting for a suicide which at first sight strikes us as extraordinary, and is indeed almost unparalleled.[14]

Of the general character of Cambyses little more need be said. He was brave, active, and energetic, like his father; but he lacked his father's strategic genius, his prudence, and his fertility in resources. Born in the purple, he was proud and haughty,[15] careless of the feelings of others, and impatient of

[7] Compare the remark of Heeren (*Manual of Ancient History*, ii. § 8; p. 94, E. T.)—"We ought to be particularly on our guard against all the evil that is related of Cambyses, inasmuch as our information respecting that prince is derived entirely from his enemies, the Egyptian priests."

[8] Atossa, who survived Salamis (Æschyl. *Pers. passim*) was actually in part contemporary with Herodotus, who can scarcely be supposed ignorant of the main facts of her history. She married, according to him, first Cambyses, then the Pseudo-Smerdis, and finally Darius. (Herod. iii. 31, 68, and 88.)

[9] Herod. iii. 36. [10] Ibid. ch. 35.

[11] Ibid. l. s. c. [12] Ibid. iii. 89.

[13] See above, p. 358. Many of his troops were probably Medes, and therefore open professors of Magism.

[14] Suicides at the last moment, when there was an immediate prospect of falling into the enemy's hands, were not uncommon in the East. (See vol. ii. p. 232, note [4]; and compare above, p. 380). But suicide when no danger pressed, and the chance of battle had not even been tried, was, to say the least, exceedingly rare.

[15] Ὀλίγωρος. Herod. iii. 89. Ὑπερήφανος. Diod. Sic. x. 13, § 1.

admonition or remonstrance.[16] His pride made him obstinate in error;[17] and his contempt of others led on naturally to harshness, and perhaps even to cruelty.[18] He is accused of "habitual drunkenness,"[1] and was probably not free from the intemperance which was a common Persian failing;[2] but there is not sufficient ground for believing that his indulgence was excessive, much less that it proceeded to the extent of affecting his reason. The "madness of Cambyses," reported to and believed in by Herodotus, was a fiction of the Egyptian priests, who wished it to be thought that their gods had in this way punished his impiety.[3] The Persians had no such tradition, but merely regarded him as unduly severe and selfish.[4] A dispassionate consideration of all the evidence on the subject leads to the conclusion that Cambyses lived and died in the possession of his reason, having neither destroyed it through inebriety nor lost it by the judgment of Heaven.[5]

The death of Cambyses (B.C. 522) left the conspirators, who had possession of the capital, at liberty to develope their projects, and to take such steps as they thought best for the consolidation and perpetuation of their power. The position which they occupied was one of peculiar delicacy. On the one hand, the impostor had to guard against acting in any way which

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[16] Herod. iii. 34-36.

[17] Ibid. ch. 25.

[18] The execution of Smerdis may have been a political necessity; but it was, at any rate, indicative of a stern temper, which did not allow the domestic affections to interfere with strict justice. The measures of repression whereby revolt was stopped in Egypt were severe almost to cruelty. The command said to have been given to the troops sent against the Ammonians, that they should enslave the entire nation (Herod. iii. 25; Diod. Sic. x. 13, § 3), had nothing to justify it, and must be pronounced (if it be regarded as a reality) most barbarous. Cambyses was, no doubt, rightly called by the Persians *χαλεπός* — whether he deserves the *ὠμὸς* of Diodorus (l. s. c.) is, perhaps, open to question.

[1] Herod. iii. 34. Moderns re-echo the charge. (Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 177; Niebuhr, *Vorträge über alte Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 153.)

[2] Supra, p. 236.

[3] Herod. iii. 30. *Καμβύσης δὲ, ὡς λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη.*

[4] Ibid. iii. 89; *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 10.

[5] Mr. Grote accepts the madness of Cambyses as an established fact. (*History of Greece*, vol. iii. pp. 188, 189.) Bishop Thirlwall, with more judgment, suggests that "the actions ascribed to him are not more extravagant than those recorded of other despots whose minds were only disturbed by the possession of arbitrary power." (*History of Greece*, l. s. c.) If "the actions ascribed to him" are compatible with real sanity, much more may we conclude that his actual conduct was that of a sane person. (See above, p. 399, note [7].)

would throw suspicion on his being really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. On the other, he had to satisfy the Magian priests, to whom he was well known, and on whom he mainly depended for support, if his imposture should be detected. These priests must have desired a change of the national religion, and to effect this must have been the true aim and object of the revolution.[6] But it was necessary to proceed with the utmost caution. An open proclamation that Magism was to supersede Zoroastrianism would have seemed a strange act in an Achæmenian prince, and could scarcely have failed to arouse doubts which might easily terminate in discovery. The Magian brothers shrank from affronting this peril, and resolved, before approaching it, to obtain for the new government an amount of general popularity, which would make its overthrow in fair fight difficult. Accordingly the new reign was inaugurated by a general remission of tribute and military service for the space of three years[7]—a measure which was certain to give satisfaction to all the tribes and nations of the empire, except the Persians. Persia Proper was at all times exempt from tribute,[8] and was thus, so far, unaffected by the boon granted; while military service was no doubt popular with the ruling nation, for whose benefit the various conquests were effected.[9] Still Persia could scarcely take umbrage at an inactivity which was to last only three years, while to the rest of the empire the twofold grace accorded must have been thoroughly acceptable.

Further to confirm his uncertain hold upon the throne, the Pseudo-Smerdis took to wife all the widows of his predecessor.[10] This is a practice common in the East;[11] and there can be no doubt that it gives a new monarch a certain prestige in the eyes of his people. In the present case, however, it involved a danger. The wives of the late king were likely to be acquainted with the person of the king's brother; Atossa, at any rate, could not fail to know him intimately. If the Magus allowed them to associate together freely, according to the ordinary practice,

[6] Supra, p. 358.
[7] Herod. iii. 67.
[8] Ibid. ch. 97.
[9] See above, p. 241.
[10] Herod. iii. 68.
[11] 2 Sam. xvi. 22; Herod. iii. 88; Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, p. 436, &c.

they would detect his imposture, and probably find a way to divulge it. He therefore introduced a new system into the seraglio. Instead of the free intercourse one with another which the royal consorts had enjoyed previously, he established at once the principle of complete isolation. Each wife was assigned her own portion of the palace; and no visiting of one wife by another was permitted.[12] Access to them from without was altogether forbidden, even to their nearest relations; and the wives were thus cut off wholly from the external world, unless they could manage to communicate with it by means of secret messages.[13] But precautions of this kind, though necessary, were in themselves suspicious; they naturally suggested an inquiry into their cause and object. It was a possible explanation of them, that they proceeded from an extreme and morbid jealousy; but the thought could not fail to occur to some, that they might be occasioned by the fear of detection.

However, as time went on, and no discovery was actually made, the Magus grew bolder, and ventured to commence that reformation of religion which he and his order had so much at heart. He destroyed the Zoroastrian temples in various places, and seems to have put down the old worship, with its hymns in praise of the Zoroastrian deities.[14] He instituted Magian rites in lieu of the old ceremonies, and established his brother Magians as the priest-caste of the Persian nation.[15] The changes introduced were no doubt satisfactory to the Medes, and to many of the subject races throughout the empire. They were even agreeable to a portion of the Persian people, who leant towards a more material worship and a more gorgeous ceremonial than had contented their ancestors. If the faithful worshippers of Ormazd saw them with dismay, they were too timid to resist, and tacitly acquiesced in the religious revolution.[16]

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[12] Herod. iii. 68.

[13] Ibid. ch. 69.

[14] See *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 14, §§ 5 and 6. The destruction of the temples is clearly asserted. About the prohibition of the worship there is some doubt. (See Spiegel, *Keilinschriften*, pp. 83, 84.)

[15] The vengeance taken on the Magi generally at his death (Herod. iii. 79) implies this.

[16] *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 13.

In one remote province the change gave a fresh impulse to a religious struggle which was there going on, adding strength to the side of intolerance. The Jews had now been engaged for fifteen or sixteen years in the restoration of their temple, according to the permission granted them by Cyrus. Their enterprise was distasteful to the neighbouring Samaritans,[17] who strained every nerve to prevent its being brought to a successful issue, and as each new king mounted the Persian throne, made a fresh effort to have the work stopped by authority. Their representations had had no effect upon Cambyses;[18] but when they were repeated on the accession of the Pseudo-Smerdis, the result was different. An edict was at once sent down to Palestine, reversing the decree of Cyrus, and authorising the inhabitants of Samaria to interfere forcibly in the matter, and compel the Jews to desist from building.[19] Armed with this decree, the Samaritan authorities hastened to Jerusalem, and "made the Jews to cease by force and power."[20]

These revelations of a leaning towards a creed diverse from that of the Achæmenian princes, combined with the system of seclusion adopted in the palace—a system not limited to the seraglio, but extending also to the person of the monarch, who neither quitted the palace precincts himself, nor allowed any of the Persian nobles to enter them[1]—must have turned the suspicions previously existing into a general belief and conviction that the monarch seated on the throne was not Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, but an impostor. Yet still there was for a while no outbreak. It mattered nothing to the provincials, who ruled them, provided that order was maintained, and that the boons granted them at the opening of the new reign were not revoked or modified. Their wishes were no doubt in favour of the prince who had remitted their burthens:[2] and in

[17] The Samaritans, it must be admitted, had first proposed to unite with the Jews in building the temple (Ezra, iv. 2). It was when this overture—which was thought dangerous to the purity of religion—was rejected, that they became the implacable enemies of the Jews.

[18] Ezra iv. 6. [19] Ibid. verses 7-22.

[20] Ibid. verse 23.

[1] Herod. iii. 68.

[2] Ibid. ch. 67.

Media a peculiar sympathy would exist towards one who had exalted Magism.[3] Such discontent as was felt would be confined to Persia, or to Persia and a few provinces of the north-east, where the Zoroastrian faith may have maintained itself.[4]

At last, among the chief Persians, rumours began to arise. These were sternly repressed at the outset, and a reign of terror was established, during which men remained silent through fear.[5] But at length some of the principal nobles, convinced of the imposture, held secret counsel together, and discussed the measures proper to be adopted under the circumstances.[6] Nothing, however, was done until the arrival at the capital[7] of a personage felt by all to be the proper leader of the nation in the existing crisis. This was Darius, the son of Hystaspes, a prince of the blood royal,[8] who probably stood in the direct line of the succession, failing the issue of Cyrus. At the early age of twenty he had attracted the attention of that monarch, who suspected him even then of a design to seize the throne.[9] He was now about twenty-eight years[10] of

[3] This is probably the sole truth contained in the view, suggested by a few casual expressions in Herodotus and strongly favoured by many modern historians (Heeren, *As. Nat.* i. p. 346; E. T.; Niebuhr, *Vorträge über alte Geschichte*, i. p. 157; Grote, *History of Greece*, iii. p. 192, ed. of 1862), that the reign of the Pseudo-Smerdis had a Median character, and was in fact a recovery of their old political supremacy by the Medes. Herodotus himself is not consistent in the maintenance of this view, which is at variance with his statements in i. 130. The great inscription of Darius is quite fatal to it, since it shows, first, that Gomates was a Persian by birth, being a native of Pissiachada, near Parga (*Fahraj*) in the country between Shiraz and Kerman; and second, that Persia took the most prominent part in establishing his rule. The ground of the mistake in moderns lies in their supposition that all Magi were Medes, which is a complete misconception. The Magi were spread from Cappadocia (Strab. xv. 3, § 15) to the borders of Kerman (*Behist. Inscr.* col. i. 11, § 3), being everywhere the priest-caste of the pre-Arian inhabitants. The only peculiarity of their position in Media was that there they had been adopted into the national tribes, and had become the priests of the conquering nation.

[4] Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Aria, Zarangia, Sattagydia, Gandaria, remain faithful to Darius through all the subsequent troubles. In this region, the original seat of the religion, a sympathy with the Zoroastrian champion is shown that we look for elsewhere in vain.

[5] *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 13, §§ 3-5.

[6] Herod. iii. 70.

[7] *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 13, § 6; Herod. l. s. c.

[8] Herod. vii. 11; *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 1.

[9] Herod. i. 209, 210.

[10] Herodotus says he was about twenty (ἡλικίην ἐς εἴκοσί κου μάλιστα ἔτεα) at the time of the expedition against the Massagetæ (B.C. 529). This would make him about twenty-eight in B.C. 522.

age, and therefore at a time of life suited for vigorous enterprise; which was probably the reason why his father, Hystaspes, who was still alive,[11] sent him to the capital, instead of proceeding thither in person. Youth and vigour were necessary qualifications for success in a struggle against the holders of power; and Hystaspes no longer possessed those advantages. He therefore yielded to his son that headship of the movement to which his position would have entitled him; and, with the leadership in danger, he yielded necessarily his claim to the first place, when the time of peril should be past and the rewards of victory should come to be apportioned.

Darius, on his arrival at the capital,[12] was at once accepted as head of the conspiracy, and with prudent boldness determined on pushing matters to an immediate decision. Overruling the timidity of a party among the conspirators, who urged delay,[13] he armed his partisans, and proceeded, without a moment's pause, to the attack. According to the Greek historians, he and his friends entered the palace in a body, and surprised the Magus in his private apartments, where they slew him after a brief struggle.[14] But the authority of Darius discredits the Greek accounts, and shows us, though with provoking brevity, that the course of events must have been very different. The Magus was not slain in the privacy of his palace, at Susa or Ecbatana, but met his death in a small and insignificant fort in the part of Media called "the Nisæan plain,"[15] or, more briefly, "Nisæa," whither he appears to have fled with a band of followers.[16] Whether he was first attacked in the capital, and escaping threw himself into this stronghold, or receiving timely warning of his danger withdrew to it before

[11] Herod. iii. 70; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 15; *Behist. Inscr.* col. ii. par. 16.

[12] I am compelled to use this vague phrase from the impossibility of determining what the capital city of the Pseudo-Smerdis was. Herodotus imagines it to be Susa; but the palace there seems to have been founded by Darius. (Plin. *H. N.* vi. 27, § 133; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 372.) I incline to think that Cyrus, Cambyses, and the Pseudo-Smerdis, all held their court principally or solely at Ecbatana.

[13] Herod. iii. 71-76.

[14] Ibid. iii. 77-79; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 14. The particulars of the struggle are related quite differently by the two writers.

[15] Supra, vol. ii. pp. 261, 262.

[16] *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 13, §§ 9, 10.

the outbreak occurred, or merely happened to be at the spot when the conspirators decided to make their attempt, we have no means of determining. We only know that the scene of the last struggle was Sictachotes, in Media; that Darius made the attack accompanied by six Persian nobles of high rank;[17] and that the contest terminated in the slaughter of the Magus and of a number of his chief adherents, who were involved in the fall of their master.[18]

Nor did the vengeance of the successful conspirators stop here. Speeding to the capital, with the head of the Magus in their hands, and exhibiting everywhere this proof at once of the death of the late king and of his imposture, they proceeded to authorise, and aid in carrying out, a general massacre of the Magian priests, the abettors of the late usurpation.[19] Every Magus who could be found was poniarded by the enraged Persians; and the caste would have been well-nigh exterminated, if it had not been for the approach of night. Darkness brought the carnage to an end; and the sword, once sheathed, was not again drawn. Only, to complete the punishment of the ambitious religionists who had insulted and deceived the nation, the day of the massacre was appointed to be kept annually as a solemn festival, under the name of the Magophonia: and a law was passed that on that day no Magus should leave his house.[20]

The accession of Darius to the vacant throne now took place (Jan. 1, B.C. 521). According to Herodotus it was preceded by a period of debate and irresolution, during which the royal authority was, as it were, in commission among the Seven: and in this interval he places not only the choice of a king, but an actual discussion on the subject of the proper form of government to be established.[21] Even his contemporaries, however, could see that this last story was unworthy of credit;[22] and it may be questioned whether any more reliance ought to be

[17] *Behist. Inscr.* col. iv. par. 18. Ctesias (*Exc. Pers.* l. s. c.), Herodotus (iii. 70-79), and Plato (*Leg.* iii. p. 695, C.), agree on this point with the inscription.

[18] *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 13, § 9.

[19] Herod. iii. 79.

[20] Ibid. Compare Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 15.

[21] Herod. iii. 80-87.

[22] Ibid. iii. 80; vi. 43.

placed on the remainder of the narrative. Probably the true account of the matter is, that, having come to a knowledge of the facts of the case, the heads of the seven great Persian clans or families,[23] met together in secret conclave and arranged all their proceedings beforehand. No government but the monarchial could be thought of for a moment, and no one could assert any claim to be king but Darius. Darius went into the conspiracy as a pretender to the throne: the other six were simply his "faithful men,"[24] his friends and well-wishers. While, however, the six were far from disputing Darius's right, they required and received for themselves a guarantee of certain privileges, which may either have belonged to them previously, by law or custom, as the heads of the great clans, or may have been now for the first time conceded. The king bound himself to choose his wives from among the families of the conspirators only, and sanctioned their claim to have free access to his person at all times without asking his permission.[1] One of their number, Otanes, demanded and obtained even more. He and his house were to remain "free,"[2] and were to receive yearly a magnificent *kaftan*, or royal present.[3] Thus, something like a check on unbridled despotism was formally and regularly established; a hereditary nobility was acknowledged; the king became to some extent dependent on his grandees; he could not regard himself as the sole fountain of honour; six great nobles stood round the throne as its

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[23] The supposition of Heeren (*As. Nat.* i. p. 348) and Niebuhr (*Vorträge über alte Geschichte*, i. p. 348) that the Seven already occupied this position, though receiving no confirmation from the inscriptions, is entitled to consideration. The following are arguments in its favour:—1. Herodotus calls the Seven ἄνδρας τοὺς Περσέων πρώτους before the death of the Pseudo-Smerdis (iii. 77). 2. The inter-marriage law, supposed by Herodotus to have dated from the accession of Darius, appears to have prevailed previously. At least, all the known marriages of the earlier period would have come under it —*e. g.* Atossa and Pharnaces, an ancestor of Otanes (Diod. Sic. xxxi. 26, § 1); Cyrus and Cassandané, a sister of Otanes (Herod. ii. 1; iii. 68); Cambyses and Phædima, a daughter of Otanes (ib. iii. 68); Darius and a sister of Gobryas (ib. vii. 2).

[24] *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 13, § 9.

[1] Herod. iii. 84, 118.

[2] Ibid. ch. 83. It is uncertain what exactly we are to understand by this; but there can be no doubt that it involved some real privileges.

[3] Ibid. ch. 84. Ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ἔτεος ἑκάστου, καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δωρεὴν, ἣ γίνεται ἐν Πέρσῃσι τιμιωτάτη.

supports; but their position was so near the monarch that they detracted somewhat from his prestige and dignity.

The guarantee of these privileges was, we may be sure, given, and the choice of Darius as king made, before the attack upon the Magus began. It would have been madness to allow an interval of anarchy. When Darius reached the capital, with the head of the Pseudo-Smerdis in his possession, he no doubt proceeded at once to the palace and took his seat upon the vacant throne. No opposition was offered to him. The Persians gladly saw a scion of their old royal stock installed in power. The provincials were too far off to interfere. Such malcontents as might be present would be cowed by the massacre that was going on in the streets. The friends and intimates of the fallen monarch would be only anxious to escape notice. The reign of the new king no doubt commenced amid those acclamations which are never wanting in the East when a sovereign first shows himself to his subjects.

The measures with which the new monarch inaugurated his reign had for their object the re-establishment of the old worship. He rebuilt the Zoroastrian temples which the Magus had destroyed, and probably restored the use of the sacred chants and the other accustomed ceremonies.[4] It may be suspected that his religious zeal proceeded often to the length of persecution, and that the Magian priests were not the only persons who, under the orders which he issued, felt the weight of the secular arm.[5] His Zoroastrian zeal was soon known through the provinces; and the Jews forthwith resumed the building of their temple,[6] trusting that their conduct would be consonant with his wishes. This trust was not misplaced: for, when the Samaritans once more interfered and tried to induce the new king to put a stop to the work, the only result was

[4] *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 14, §§ 5, 6.

[5] Darius does not say that he persecuted; but he exhorts his succesors in the strongest terms to put to death all "liars" (*Behist. Inscr.* col. iv. par. 5, § 3; par. 14, §§ 2, 3); by which he seems to mean all renegades from the Zoroastrian faith.

[6] Ezra v. 2; Haggai i. 14. According to Jewish modes of reckoning, the "four-and-twentieth day of the sixth month of the second year of Darius" would be September, B.C. 521—eight and a half months after Darius's accession.

a fresh edict, confirming the old decree of Cyrus, forbidding interference, and assigning a further grant of money, cattle, corn, &c., from the royal stores, for the furtherance of the pious undertaking.[7] Its accomplishment was declared to be for the advantage of the king and his house, since, when the temple was finished, sacrifices would be offered in it to "the God of Heaven," and prayer would be made "for the life of the king and of his sons."[8] Such was the sympathy which still united pure Zoroastrianism with the worship of Jehovah.

But the reign, which, so far, might have seemed to be auspiciously begun, was destined ere long to meet opposition, and even to encounter armed hostility, in various quarters. In the loosely organized empires of the early type,[9] a change of sovereign, especially if accompanied by revolutionary violence, is always regarded as an opportunity for rebellion. Doubt as to the condition of the capital paralyzes the imperial authority in the provinces; and bold men, taking advantage of the moment of weakness, start up in various places, asserting independence, and seeking to obtain for themselves kingdoms out of the chaos which they see around them. The more remote provinces are especially liable to be thus affected, and often revolt successfully on such an occasion. It appears that the circumstances under which Darius obtained the throne were more than usually provocative of the spirit of disaffection and rebellion. Not only did the governors of remote countries, like Egypt and Lydia, assume an attitude incompatible with their duty as subjects,[10] but everywhere, even in the very heart of the empire, insurrection raised its head; and for six long years the new king was constantly employed in reducing one province after another to obedience. Susiana, Babylonia, Persia itself, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Hyrcania, Parthia, Margiana, Sagartia, and Sacia, all revolted during this space, and were successively chastised and recovered. It may be suspected that the religious element entered into some of these struggles,[11]

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[7] Ezra vi. 8, 9.

[8] Ezra vi. 10.

[9] See above, vol. ii. pp. 235 and 236.

[10] Herod. iii. 126; iv. 166. Compare below, p. 415.

[11] This seems to be implied in the moral reflections which Darius appends

and that the unusual number of the revolts and the obstinate character of many of them were connected with the downfall of Magism and the restoration of the pure Zoroastrian faith, which Darius was bent on effecting. But this explanation can only be applied partially.[12] We must suppose, besides, a sort of contagion of rebellion—an awakening of hopes, far and wide, among the subject nations, as the rumour that serious troubles had broken out reached them, and a resolution to take advantage of the critical state of things, spreading rapidly from one people to another.

A brief sketch of these various revolts must now be given. They commenced with a rising in Susiana, where a certain Atrines assumed the name and state of king, and was supported by the people.[13] Almost simultaneously a pretender appeared in Babylon, who gave out that he was the son of the late king, Nabonidus, and bore the world-renowned name of Nebuchadnezzar.[14] Darius, regarding this second revolt as the more important of the two, while he dispatched a force to punish the Susianians, proceeded in person against the Babylonian pretender. The rivals met at the river Tigris, which the Babylonians held with a naval force, while their army was posted on the right bank, ready to dispute the passage. Darius, however, crossed the river in their despite, and defeating the troops of his antagonist, pressed forward against the capital. He had nearly reached it, when the pretender gave him battle for the second time at a small town on the banks of the Euphrates. Fortune again declared in favour of the Persians, who drove the host of their enemy into the water and destroyed great numbers. The *soi-disant* Nebuchadnezzar escaped with a few horsemen and threw himself into Babylon; but the city was ill-prepared for a siege, and was soon taken, the pretender

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to his account of the revolts and their suppression, where the crime against which he protests is not rebellion, but "lying"—*i.e.* false religion. (*Behist. Inscr.* col. iv. *passim.*)

[12] The two revolts of Babylon, for instance, must have been wholly unconnected with Magism.

[13] *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 16, §§ 2-7.

[14] Ibid. §§ 8-13. I suspect that Nabonidus had actually a son of this name, borne him by Nitocris, and named after his grandfather, the great Nebuchadnezzar. (See p. 66, note [9]; and compare below, p. 414.)

falling into the hands of his enemy, who caused him to be executed.[1]

Meanwhile, in Susiana, Atrines, the original leader of the rebellion, had been made prisoner by the troops sent against him, and, being brought to Darius while he was on his march against Babylon, was put to death.[2] But this severity had little effect. A fresh leader appeared in the person of a certain Martes, a Persian;[3] who, taking example from the Babylonian rebel, assumed a name which connected him with the old kings of the country,[4] and probably claimed to be their descendant. But the hands of Darius were now free by the termination of the Babylonian contest, and he was able to proceed towards Susiana himself. This movement, apparently, was unexpected; for when the Susianians heard of it, they were so alarmed that they laid hands on the pretender and slew him.[5]

A more important rebellion followed. Three of the chief provinces of the empire, Media, Armenia, and Assyria, revolted in concert. A Median monarch was set up, who called himself Xathrites, and claimed descent from the great Cyaxares; and it would seem that the three countries immediately acknowledged his sway. Darius, seeing how formidable the revolt was, determined to act with caution. Settling himself at the newly-conquered city of Babylon, he resolved to employ his generals against the rebels, and in this way to gauge the strength of the outbreak, before adventuring his own person into the fray. Hydarnes, one of the Seven conspirators,[6] was sent into Media with an army, while Dadarses, an Armenian, was

[1] *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 19; col. ii. par. 1. As this was the only siege of Babylon conducted by Darius in person, it should have been the occasion of the romantic incidents related by Herodotus towards the close of his Third Book (chs. 150-159), if those incidents had been historical; but there is every reason to believe that they belong to Oriental romance. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 441, note [1], 2nd edition.)

Incidents probably consequent upon this siege are the opening of the tomb of Nitocris, and the attempted plunder of the image of Bel, related by Herodotus in his First Book (chs. 183 and 187).

[2] *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 17.

[3] Ibid. col. ii. par. 3.

[4] The name assumed by Martes is expressed in the Persian by *Imanish* (Imanes). This is probably a representation of the old *Umman*, which is found in so many royal Susianian names towards the close of the Assyrian empire. (See above, vol. ii. p. 205, note [2].)

[5] *Behist. Inscr.* col. ii. par. 4.

[6] Herod. iii. 70; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 14; *Behist. Inscr.* col. iv. par. 18, § 7.

dispatched into Armenia, and Vomises, a Persian, was ordered to march through Assyria into the same country. All three generals were met by the forces of the pretender, and several battles were fought,[7] with results that seem not to have been very decisive. Darius claims the victory on each occasion for his own generals; but it is evident that his arms made little progress, and that, in spite of several small defeats, the rebellion maintained a bold front, and was thought not unlikely to be successful. So strong was this feeling that two of the eastern provinces, Hyrcania and Parthia, deserted the Persian cause in the midst of the struggle, and placed themselves under the rule of Xathrites.[8] Either this circumstance, or the general position of affairs, induced Darius at length to take the field in person. Quitting Babylon, he marched into Media, and, being met by the pretender near a town called Kûdrûs, he defeated him in a great battle.[9] This is no doubt the engagement of which Herodotus speaks, and which he rightly regards as decisive.[10] The battle of Kûdrûs gave Ecbatana into the hands of Darius, and made the Median prince an outcast and a fugitive. He fled towards the East, probably intending to join his partisans in Hyrcania and Parthia, but was overtaken in the district of Rhages and made prisoner by the troops of Darius.[11] The king treated his captive with extreme severity. Having cut off his nose, ears, and tongue, he kept him for some time chained to the door of his palace, in order that there might be no doubt of his capture. When this object had been sufficiently secured, the wretched sufferer was allowed to end his miserable existence. He was crucified in his capital city, Ecbatana, before the eyes of those who had seen his former glory.[12]

The rebellion was thus crushed in its original seat, but it had

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[7] *Behist. Inscr.* col. ii. par. 6 to par. 11.

[8] *Behist. Inscr.* col. ii. par. 16.

[9] Ibid. col. ii. par. 12.

[10] Μῆδοι . . . ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου, ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφθησαν μάχῃ νικηθέντες.—Herod. i. 130.

[11] *Behist. Inscr.* col. ii. par. 13.

[12] So far as any substratum of historical truth is to be discerned in the Book of Judith, the allusion would be to this rebellion, its suppression, and its further consequences. Arphaxad, who dwelt at Ecbatana, and was taken at Rhages, represents Xathrites, whose real name was Phraortes; Nabuchodonosor is Darius. The notes of time (iv. 3 and 6) suit this period.

still to be put down in the countries whereto it had extended itself. Parthia and Hyrcania, which had embraced the cause of the pretender, were still maintaining a conflict with their former governor, Hystaspes, Darius's father.[13] Darius marched as far as Rhages to his father's assistance, and dispatched from that point a body of Persian troops to reinforce him. With this important aid Hystapses once more gave the rebels battle, and succeeded in defeating them so entirely that they presently made their submission.[14]

Troubles, meanwhile, had broken out in Sagartia. A native chief, moved probably by the success which had for a while attended the Median rebel who claimed to rule as the descendant and representative of Cyaxares, came forward with similar pretensions, and was accepted by the Sagartians as their monarch. This revolt, however, proved unimportant. Darius suppressed it with the utmost facility by means of a mixed army of Persians and Medes, whom he placed under a Median leader, Tachamaspates. The pretender was captured and treated almost exactly in the same way as the Mede whose example he had followed. His nose and ears were cut off; he was chained for a while at the palace door; and finally he was crucified at Arbela.[15]

Another trifling revolt occurred about the same time in Margiana. The Margians rebelled and set up a certain Phrates, a native, to be their king. But the satrap of Bactria, within whose province Margiana lay, quelled the revolt almost immediately.[1]

Hitherto, however thickly troubles had come upon him, Darius could have the satisfaction of feeling that he was contending with foreigners, and that his own nation at any rate was faithful and true. But now this consolation was to be taken from him. During his absence in the provinces of the north-east, Persia itself revolted against his authority, and

[13] *Behist. Inscr.* col. ii. par. 16.
[14] Ibid. col. iii. par. 1 and 2.
[15] Ibid. col. ii. par. 14. It is curious to find that Arbela, which had been a favourite city for executions under the Assyrian monarchs, retained the same character under the Persians, while under the Parthians it became a place of royal sepulture. (Dio Cass. lxxviii. 1.)
[1] *Behist. Inscr.* col. iii. par. 3 and 4.

acknowledged for king an impostor, who, undeterred by the fate of Gomates, and relying on the obscurity which still hung over the end of the real Smerdis, assumed his name, and claimed to be the legitimate occupant of the throne.[2] The Persians at home were either deceived a second time, or were willing to try a change of ruler;[3] but the army of Darius, composed of Persians and Medes, adhered to the banner under which they had so often marched to victory, and enabled Darius, after a struggle of some duration, to re-establish his sway.[4] The impostor suffered two defeats at the hands of Artabardes, one of Darius's generals, while a force which he had detached to excite rebellion in Arachosia was engaged by the satrap of that province and completely routed.[5] The so-called Smerdis was himself captured, and suffered the usual penalty of unsuccessful revolt, crucifixion.[6]

Before, however, these results were accomplished — while the fortune of war still hung in the balance—a fresh danger threatened. Encouraged by the disaffection which appeared to be so general, and which had at length reached the very citadel of the Empire, Babylon revolted for the second time. A man, named Aracus, an Armenian by descent, but settled in Babylonia, headed the insurrection, and, adopting the practice of personation so usual at the time, assumed the name and style of "Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabonidus." Less alarmed on this occasion than at the time of the first revolt, the king was content to send a Median general against the new pretender. This officer, who is called Intaphres, speedily chastised the rebels, capturing Babylon, and taking Aracus prisoner. Crucifixion was again the punishment awarded to the rebel leader.[7]

A season of comparative tranquillity seems now to have set in; and it may have been in this interval that Darius found

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[2] *Behist. Inscr.* col. iii. par. 5.

[3] It is possible that the second Pseudo-Smerdis, like the first, favoured Magism. There was undoubtedly a party amongst the Persians themselves to whom the Zoroastrian zeal of Darius was distasteful.

[4] *Behist. Inscr.* col. iii. par. 6.

[5] Ibid. col. iii. par. 9 to par. 12.

[6] Ibid. par. 8. Compare above, pp. 246, 412, 413.

[7] *Behist. Inscr.* par. 13 and 14.

time to chastise the remoter governors, who, without formally declaring themselves independent, or assuming the title of king, had done acts savouring of rebellion. Orœtes, the governor of Sardis, who had comported himself strangely even under Cambyses, having ventured to entrap and put to death an ally of that monarch's, Polycrates of Samos,[8] had from the time of the Magian revolution assumed an attitude quite above that of a subject. Having a quarrel with Mitrobates, the governor of a neighbouring province, he murdered him and annexed his territory.[9] When Darius sent a courier to him with a message the purport of which he disliked, he set men to waylay and assassinate him.[10] It was impossible to overlook such acts; and Darius must have sent an army into Asia Minor, if one of his nobles had not undertaken to remove Orœtes in another way. Arming himself with several written orders bearing the king's seal, he went to Sardis, and gradually tried the temper of the guard which the satrap kept round his person. When he found them full of respect for the royal authority, and ready to do whatever the king commanded, he produced an order for the governor's execution, which they carried into effect immediately.[11]

The governor of Egypt, Aryandes, had shown a guilty ambition in a more covert way.[12] Understanding that Darius had issued a gold coinage of remarkable purity, he, on his own authority and without consulting the king, issued a silver coinage of a similar character.[13] There is reason to believe that he even placed his name upon his coins;[14] an act which to the Oriental mind distinctly implied a claim of independent

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[8] Herod. iii. 120-125. For the alliance between Cambyses and Polycrates, see Herod. iii. 44.

[9] Ibid. iii. 126. [10] Ibid. l. s. c.

[11] Ibid. iii. 128.

[12] It is doubtful whether the affair of Aryandes ought to be placed as early as this. Probability is in favour of his having assumed his quasi-sovereignty during the time of general disturbance; but his revolt, or at any rate its punishment, is made to fall by Herodotus (iv. 145) after Darius's Scythian expedition, which cannot well be placed before B.C. 510; but the authority of Herodotus for the date of an outlying event in the earlier part of the reign of Darius is not very great.

[13] Herod. iv. 166.

[14] Persian coins have been found bearing on one side a legend which has been read as AT|A or Δ\\AT|A. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 25, note [1], 2nd edition.)

sovereignty. Darius taxed him with a design to revolt, and put him to death on the charge, apparently without exciting any disturbance.[15]

Still, however, the Empire was not wholly tranquillized. A revolt in Susiana, suppressed by the conspirator Gobryas, and another among the Sacæ of the Tigris, quelled by Darius in person, are recorded on the rock of Behistun, in a supplementary portion of the Inscription.[16] We cannot date, unless it be by approximation, these various troubles; but there is reason to believe that they were almost all contained within a space not exceeding five or six years. The date of the Behistun Inscription is fixed by internal evidence to about B.C. 516-515—in other words, to the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Darius.[17] Its erection seems to mark the termination of the first period of the reign, or that of disturbance, and the commencement of the second period, or that of tranquillity, internal progress, and patronage of the fine arts by the monarch.

It was natural that Darius, having with so much effort and difficulty reduced the revolted provinces to obedience, should proceed to consider within himself how the recurrence of such a time of trouble might be prevented. His experience had shown him how weak were the ties which had hitherto been thought sufficient to hold the Empire together, and how slight an obstacle they opposed to the tendency, which all great empires have, to disruption. But, however natural it might be to desire a remedy for the evils which afflicted the State, it was not easy to devise one. Great empires had existed in Western Asia for above seven hundred years,[18] and had all suffered more or less from the same inherent weakness; but no one had as yet invented a cure, or even (so far as appears) conceived the idea of improving on the rude system of imperial sway which the first conqueror had instituted. It remained for Darius, not only to desire, but to design—not only to design,

[15] Herod. iv. 166.

[16] See col. v. of the Inscription.

[17] The evidence is that of the monthly dates given throughout the Inscription, which indicate to one acquainted with the ancient Persian calendar the lapse of some five or six years. (See *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xi. pp. 189-191.)

[18] Supra, vol. ii. p. 50.

but to bring into action—an entirely new form and type of government. He has been well called "the true founder of the Persian state."[1] He found the Empire a crude and heterogeneous mass of ill-assorted elements, hanging loosely together by the single tie of subjection to a common head; he left it a compact and regularly organized body, united on a single well-ordered system, permanently established everywhere.

On the nature and details of this system it will be necessary to speak at some length. It was the first, and probably the best, instance of that form of government which, taking its name from the Persian word for provincial ruler,[2] is known generally as the system of "satrapial" administration. Its main principles were, in the first place, the reduction of the whole Empire to a quasi-uniformity by the substitution of one mode of governing for several; secondly, the substitution of fixed and definite burthens on the subject in lieu of variable and uncertain calls; and thirdly, the establishment of a variety of checks and counterpoises among the officials to whom it was necessary that the crown should delegate its powers, which tended greatly to the security of the monarch and the stability of the kingdom. A consideration of the modes in which these three principles were applied will bring before us in a convenient form the chief points of the system.

Uniformity, or a near approach to it, was produced, not so much by the abolition of differences as by superadding one and the same governmental machinery in all parts of the Empire. It is an essential feature of the satrapial system that it does not aim at destroying differences, or assimilating to one type the various races and countries over which it is extended. On the contrary, it allows, and indeed encourages, the several nations to retain their languages, habits, manners, religion, laws, and modes of local government. Only it takes care to place above all these things a paramount state authority,

[1] Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 185. (Compare Niebuhr, *Vorträge über alte Geschichte*, vol. i. p. 159.)

[2] The word *khshatrapâ*, or *khshatrapâva* (Spiegel), is found twice in the inscriptions of Darius. (*Behist. Inscr.* col. iii. par. 3, § 4; par. 9, § 2.) The Greeks adopted it from the Persians. (Herod. iii. 89.)

which is one and the same everywhere, whereon the unity of the kingdom is dependent. The authority instituted by Darius was that of his satraps. He divided the whole empire into a number of separate governments—a number which must have varied at different times, but which seems never to have fallen short of twenty.[3] Over each government he placed a satrap, or supreme civil governor, charged with the collection and transmission of the revenue, the administration of justice, the maintenance of order, and the general supervision of the territory. These satraps were nominated by the king at his pleasure from any class of his subjects,[4] and held office for no definite term, but simply until recalled, being liable to deprivation or death at any moment, without other formality than the presentation of the royal *firman*.[5] While, however, they remained in office they were despotic—they represented the Great King, and were clothed with a portion of his majesty—they had palaces (*βασίλεια*),[6] Courts, body-guards,[7] parks or "paradises,"[8] vast trains of eunuchs and attendants, well-filled seraglios.[9] They wielded the power of life and death.[10] They assessed the tribute on the several towns and villages within their jurisdiction at their pleasure, and appointed deputies—called sometimes, like themselves, satraps[11]—over cities or districts within their province, whose office was regarded as one of great dignity. They exacted from the provincials, for their own support and that of their Court, over and above the tribute due to the crown, whatever sum they regarded them as capable

[3] Herodotus says the number of satrapies was twenty, including therein India (iii. 89-94). Darius, in the Behistun Inscription, makes the provinces twenty-three, without India, but including Persia. In an inscription at Persepolis, where India occurs but Persia is omitted, he makes them either twenty-three or twenty-four. Finally, in the legend upon his tomb, which was no doubt later, he enumerates twenty-nine.

[4] No doubt they were generally persons of high rank, and Persians; but the case of Xenagoras, the Halicarnassian Greek, shows that members of the subject nations might be appointed. (Herod. ix. 107.)

[5] Ibid. iii. 128; Thucyd. i. 129; Xen. *Hell.* iii. 4, § 25.

[6] Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 7; *Hell.* iv. 1 § 15.

[7] Herod. iii. 127.

[8] Xen. *Hell.* iv. 1, § 15; *Œcon.* iv 20; *Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 12.

[9] Ælian. *Var. Hist.* xii. 1; Xen. *Hell* iii. 1, § 10.

[10] Xen. *Anab.* i. 1, § 7; Herod. vi. 4 This, of course, implied the power o inflicting the minor punishment o mutilation. (Xen. *Anab.* i. 9, § 13.)

[11] Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1, §§ 10-12; Ælian *Var. Hist.* l. s. c.

of furnishing. Favours, and even justice, had to be purchased from them by gifts.[12] They were sometimes guilty of gross outrages on the persons and honour of their subjects.[13] Nothing restrained their tyranny but such sense of right as they might happen to possess, and the fear of removal or execution if the voice of complaint reached the monarch.

Besides this uniform civil administration, the Empire was pervaded throughout by one and the same military system. The services of the subject nations as soldiers were, as a general rule, declined, unless upon rare and exceptional cases.[14] Order was maintained by large and numerous garrisons of foreign troops—Persians and Medes[15]—quartered on the inhabitants, who had little sympathy with those among whom they lived, and would be sure to repress sternly any outbreak. All places of much strength were occupied in this way; and special watch was kept upon the great capitals, which were likely to be centres of disaffection.[16] Thus a great standing army, belonging to the conquering race, stood everywhere on guard throughout the Empire, offending the provincials no doubt by their pride, their violence, and their contemptuous bearing, but rendering a native revolt under ordinary circumstances hopeless.

Some exceptions to the general uniformity had almost of necessity to be made in so vast and heterogeneous an empire as the Persian. Occasionally it was thought wise to allow the continuance of a native dynasty in a province: and the satrap had in such a case to share with the native prince a divided authority. This was certainly the case in Cilicia,[17] and probably in Paphlagonia[18] and Phœnicia.[19] Tribes also, included within the geographical limits of a satrapy, were sometimes

[12] Xen. *Anab.* i. 9, § 22; *Hell.* l. s. c.

[13] Ibid. *Ages.* iii. § 3. Ælian (l. s. c.) speaks of fathers as *often* compelled by satraps to yield their daughters to be inmates of the satrapial harems (*τυράννων βιασαμένων ἢ σατραπῶν πολλάκις*).

[14] On occasion of a great war, offensive or defensive, a levy *en masse* of the subject populations was called for. (Herod. vii. 19, 21, 61 *et seqq.*; Æsch. *Pers.* 12-64; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8.)

[15] Or perhaps Persians, Medes, and Hyrcanians. (See above, p. 242, note [4].)

[16] As Memphis (Herod. iii. 91), Sardis (ib. v. 101), and Babylon (ib. i. 192).

[17] See Herod. vii. 98; Æsch. *Pers.* 328; Xen. *Anab.* i. §§ 12-27.

[18] Xen. *Hell.* iv. 1, § 1; Theopomp. Fr. 198.

[19] Herod. vii. 98.

recognised as independent; and petty wars were carried on between these hordes and their neighbours.[20] Robber bands in many places infested the mountains,[21] owning no allegiance to any one, and defied alike the satrap and the standing army.

The condition of Persia Proper was also purely exceptional. Persia paid no tribute,[22] and was not counted as a satrapy. Its inhabitants were, however, bound, when the king passed through their country, to bring him gifts according to their means.[1] This burthen may have been felt sensibly by the rich, but it pressed very lightly on the poor, who, if they could not afford an ox or a sheep, might bring a little milk or cheese, a few dates, or a handful of wild fruit.[2] On the other hand, the king was bound, whenever he visited Pasargadæ, to present to each Persian woman who appeared before him a sum equal to twenty Attic drachmas, or about sixteen shillings of our money.[3] This custom commemorated the service rendered by the sex in the battle wherein Cyrus first repulsed the forces of Astyages.

The substitution of definite burthens on the subject in lieu of variable and uncertain charges was aimed at, rather than effected, by the new arrangement of the revenue which is associated with the name of Darius. This arrangement consisted in fixing everywhere the amount of tribute in money and in kind which each satrapy was to furnish to the crown. A definite money payment, varying, in ordinary satrapies, from 170 to 1000 Babylonian silver talents,[4] or from 42,000*l.* to 250,000*l.* of our money, and amounting, in the exceptional case of the Indian satrapy, to above a million sterling,[5] was required annually by the sovereign, and had to be remitted by the satrap to the capital. Besides this, a payment, the nature and amount of which was also fixed, had to be made in kind, each

[20] As the Pisidians (Xen. *Anab.* i. 1, § 11) and the Uxians (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 17).

[21] Strabo enumerates under this category the five tribes of the Mardians, the Uxians, the Elymæans, the Cossæans, and the Paretaceni (xi. 13, § 6). Some of them were said even to have levied a "black-mail" upon the Persian monarch. (Nearch. ap. eund. l. s. c.)

[22] Herod. iii. 97.

[1] Ælian, *Var. Hist.* i. 31; Herod. l. s. c.

[2] Ælian, l. s. c.

[3] Nic. Dam. Fr. 66; p. 406.

[4] Herod. iii. 90-94.

[5] Ibid. ch. 95.

province being required to furnish that commodity, or those commodities, for which it was most celebrated. This latter burthen must have pressed very unequally on different portions of the Empire, if the statement of Herodotus be true, that Babylonia and Assyria paid one-third of it.[6] The payment seems to have been very considerable in amount. Egypt had to supply grain sufficient for the nutriment of 120,000 Persian troops quartered in the country.[7] Media had to contribute 100,000 sheep, 4000 mules, and 3000 horses; Cappadocia, half the above number of each kind of animal; Armenia furnished 20,000 colts;[8] Cilicia gave 360 white horses and a sum of 140 talents (35,000*l.*) in lieu of further tribute in kind.[9] Babylonia, besides corn, was required to furnish 500 boy eunuchs.[10] These charges, however, were all fixed by the crown, and may have been taken into consideration in assessing the money payment, the main object of the whole arrangement evidently being to make the taxation of each province proportionate to its wealth and resources.

The assessment of the taxation upon the different portions of his province was left to the satrap. We do not know on what principles he ordinarily proceeded, or whether any uniform principles at all were observed throughout the Empire. But we find some evidence that, in places at least, the mode of exaction and collection was by a land-tax.[11] The assessment upon individuals, and the actual collection from them, devolved, in all probability, on the local authorities, who distributed the burthen imposed upon their town, village, or district as they thought proper.[12] Thus the foreign oppressor did not come into direct contact with the mass of the conquered people, who no doubt paid the calls made upon them with less reluctance through the medium of their own proper magistrates.

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[6] Herod. i. 192. The proportion is so enormous that we may well suspect the statement of error. Perhaps Babylonia paid one-third of the *corn* required from the provinces.

[7] Ibid. iii. 91.

[8] Strab. xi. 13, § 8; 14, § 9.

[9] This seems to be the fact somewhat obscurely intimated by Herodotus (iii. 90).

[10] Herod. iii. 92.

[11] Herod. vi. 42.

[12] There is no positive proof of this, but it is the usual custom in the East; and if the Persian system had been different, we should probably have had some indication of it.

If the taxation of the subject had stopped here, he would have had no just ground of complaint against his rulers. The population of the Empire cannot be estimated at less than forty millions of souls.[13] The highest estimate of the value of the entire tribute, both in money and kind, will scarcely place it at more than ten millions sterling.[14] Thus far then the burthen of taxation would certainly not have exceeded five shillings a head per annum. Perhaps it would not have reached half that amount.[15] But, unhappily, neither was the tribute the sole tax which the crown exacted from its subjects, nor had the crown the sole right of exacting taxation. Persian subjects in many parts of the Empire paid, besides their tribute, a water-rate, which is expressly said to have been very productive.[16] The rivers of the Empire were the king's; and when water was required for irrigation, a state officer superintended the opening of the sluices, and regulated the amount of the precious fluid which might be drawn off by each tribe or township. For the opening of the sluices a large sum was paid to the officer, which found its way into the coffers of the state.[17] Further, it appears that such things as fisheries—and if so, probably salt-works, mines, quarries, and forests—were regarded as crown property, and yielded large sums to the revenue.[18] They appear to have been farmed to responsible persons, who undertook to pay at a certain fixed rate, and made what profit they could by the transaction. The price of commodities thus farmed would be greatly enhanced to the consumer.

By these means the actual burthen of taxation upon the

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[13] This is probably about the present population of the countries included in the old Persian Empire. It gives an average of twenty to the square mile, which is less than we now find in any country in Europe except Norway.

[14] Mr. Grote's estimate of the money tribute (*History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 201) at a little more than four and a quarter millions sterling (4,254,000*l.*). is a high one. No one probably would regard the tribute in kind as exceeding the value of the money tribute.

[15] I should myself incline to estimate the population of the empire at fifty millions, and the money tribute at about three and a half millions. I should suppose the value of the tribute in kind to have been somewhat less—say two and a half millions. This would make the average taxation less than two shillings and fivepence a head.

[16] Herod. iii. 117, *ad fin.*

[17] Ibid. A similar practice prevails in modern Persia. (See Chardin, *Voyage en Perse*, tom. iii. p. 100; Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, vol. ii. p. 660.)

[18] Herod. ii. 149; iii. 91.

subject was rendered to some extent uncertain and indefinite, and the benefits of the fixed tribute system were diminished. But the chief drawback upon it has still to be mentioned. While the claims of the crown upon its subjects were definite and could not be exceeded, the satrap was at liberty to make any exactions that he pleased beyond them. There is every reason to believe that he received no stipend, and that, consequently, the burthen of supporting him, his body-guard, and his Court was intended to fall on the province which had the benefit of his superintendence. Like a Roman proconsul, he was to pay himself out of the pockets of his subjects; and, like that class of persons, he took care to pay himself highly. It has been calculated that one satrap of Babylon drew from his province annually in actual coin a sum equal to 100,000*l.* of our money.[1] We can scarcely doubt that the claims made by the provincial governors were, on the average, at least equal to those of the crown; and they had the disadvantage of being irregular, uncertain, and purely arbitrary.

Thus, what was gained by the new system was not so much the relief of the subject from uncertain taxation as the advantage to the crown of knowing beforehand what the revenue would be, and being able to regulate its expenditure accordingly. Still a certain amount of benefit did undoubtedly accrue to the provincials from the system; since it gave them the crown for their protector. So long as the payments made to the state were irregular, it was, or at least seemed to be, for the interest of the crown to obtain from each province as much as it could anyhow pay.[2] When the state dues were once fixed, as the crown gained nothing by the rapacity of its officers, but rather lost, since the province became exhausted, it was interested in checking greed, and seeing that the provinces were administered by wise and good satraps.

The control of its great officers is always the main difficulty

[1] Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, vol. i. p. 411, E. T. (Compare Herod. i. 192.)

[2] The oppression under which modern Persia suffers is attributable in a great measure to the revenue not being fixed. The monarch is thus interested in the exactions of his officers, and is very unlikely to check or punish them. (See Chardin, *Voyage*, tom. ii. pp. 300, 308, and 309.)

of a despotic government, when it is extended over a large space of territory and embraces many millions of men. The system devised by Darius for checking and controlling his satraps was probably the best that has ever yet been brought into operation. His plan was to establish in every province at least three officers holding their authority directly from the crown, and only responsible to it, who would therefore act as checks one upon another. These were the satrap, the military commandant, and the secretary. The satrap was charged with the civil administration, and especially with the department of finance. The commandant was supreme over the troops.[3] The office of the secretary is less clearly defined; but it probably consisted mainly in keeping the Court informed by dispatches of all that went on in the province.[4] Thus, if the satrap were inclined to revolt, he had, in the first place, to persuade the commandant, who would naturally think that, if he ran the risk, it might as well be for himself; and, further, he had to escape the lynx eyes of the secretary, whose general right of superintendence gave him entrance everywhere, and whose prospects of advancement would probably depend a good deal upon the diligence and success with which he discharged the office of "King's Eye," and "Ear."[5] So, if the commandant were ambitious of independent sway, he must persuade the satrap, or he would have no money to pay his troops; and he too must blind the secretary, or else bribe him into silence. As for the secretary, having neither men nor money at his command, it was impossible that he should think of rebellion.

But the precautions taken against revolt did not end here. Once a year, according to Xenophon,[6] or more probably at

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[3] That this was the original idea of satrapial government is asserted very positively by Xenophon. (*Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 3.) A modified continuation of the system to his own day is implied in Xen. *Œcon.* iv. 9, 10. The narrative of Herodotus is, I think, on the whole, in favour of the view that the commandants were independent under Darius. (See particularly v. 25, 116-122; vi. 42, 43. 94.) Bishop Thirlwall, however, seems to doubt if the separation of the civil from the military power was ever carried out in act. (*History of Greece*, vol. ii. pp. 187, 188.)

[4] On the office of secretary, see Herod. iii. 128. It has its counterpart in modern Persia. (Chardin, tom. ii. p. 302.)

[5] Supra, p. 213, note [3].

[6] *Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 16. Xenophon says the system continued to his day (ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει).

irregular intervals, an officer came suddenly down from the court with a commission to inspect a province. Such persons were frequently of royal rank, brothers or sons of the king. They were accompanied by an armed force, and were empowered to correct whatever was amiss in the province, and in case of necessity to report to the crown the insubordination or incompetency of its officers. If this system had been properly maintained, it is evident that it would have acted as a most powerful check upon misgovernment, and would have rendered revolt almost impossible.

Another mode by which it was sought to secure the fidelity of the satraps and commanders was by choosing them from among the king's blood relations,[7] or else attaching them to the crown by marriage with one of the princesses.[8] It was thought that the affection of sons and brothers would be a restraint upon their ambition, and that even connections by marriage would feel that they had an interest in upholding the power and dignity of the great house with which they had been thought worthy of alliance. This system, which was extensively followed by Darius, had on the whole good results, and was at any rate preferable to that barbarous policy of prudential fratricide which has prevailed widely in Oriental governments.

The system of checks, while it was effectual for the object at which it specially aimed, had one great disadvantage. It weakened the hands of authority in times of difficulty. When danger, internal or external, threatened, it was an evil that the powers of government should be divided, and the civil authority lodged in the hands of one officer, the military in those of another. Concentration of power is needed for rapid and decisive action, for unity of purpose, and secrecy both of plan and of execution. These considerations led to a modification of the original idea of satrapial government, which was adopted

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[7] Herod. iii. 70; v. 25; vi. 94; vii. 7, 2, 82; ix. 113; *Behist. Inscr.* col. iii. ar. 16; Thucyd. i. 115; Ctes. *Exc. ers.* § 38; Xen. *Anab.* i. 9, § 7; Diod. ic. xi. 69, § 2, &c.

[8] Herod. v. 116; vi. 43; vii. 73; Xen. *Hell.* v. 1, § 28; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 16. Compare the proposal of Pausanias (Thucyd. i. 128).

partially at first—in provinces especially exposed to danger, internal or external[9]—but which ultimately became almost universal.[10] The offices of satrap, or civil administrator, and commandant, or commander of the troops, were vested in the same person, who came in this way to have that full and complete authority which is possessed by Turkish pashas and modern Persian khans or beys—an authority practically uncontrolled. This system was advantageous for the defence of a province against foes; but it was dangerous to the stability of the Empire, since it led naturally to the occurrence of formidable rebellions.

Two minor points in the scheme of Darius remain to be noticed, before this account of his governmental system can be regarded as complete. These are his institution of posts, and his coinage of money.

In Darius's idea of government was included rapidity of communication. Regarding it as of the utmost importance that the orders of the Court should be speedily transmitted to the provincial governors, and that their reports and those of the royal secretaries should be received without needless delay, he established along the lines of route[1] already existing between the chief cities of the Empire, a number of post-houses, placed at regular intervals, according to the estimated capacity of a horse to gallop at his best speed without stopping.[2] At each post-house were maintained, at the cost of the state, a number

[9] As in the Lydian and Phrygian satrapies, which were exposed to attacks from the Greeks, and in Egypt, where the sullen temper of the natives continually threatened rebellion.

[10] See Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8; and compare Xen. *Œcon.* iv. § 11.

[1] Some writers ascribe to Darius a "system of roads" (Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 204), or at any rate the construction of a "high road" between Sardis and Susa (Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 185); but this is a mode of speech very liable to misconception. Roads, in our sense of the term, are still scarcely existent in Western Asia, where lines of route, marked merely by the footprints of travellers, take their place. No material has been laid down along these routes, nor have even the spade and pickaxe been used excepting where the routes cross the mountains.

[2] This seems to be the meaning of the ἡμερεσίη ὁδὸς of Herodotus (viii. 98), which is better explained by Xenophon (*Cyrop.* viii. 6, § 17). It was not the distance a horse ridden gently could accomplish in the entire day, but the distance that he could bear to be galloped once a day. From the account which Herodotus gives of the post-route between Sardis and Susa (v. 52), we may gather that the Persians fixed this distance at about fourteen miles.

of couriers and several relays of horses. When a dispatch was to be forwarded it was taken to the first post-house along the route, where a courier received it, and immediately mounting on horseback galloped with it to the next station. Here it was delivered to a new courier, who, mounted on a fresh horse, took it the next stage on its journey; and thus it passed from hand to hand till it reached its destination. According to Xenophon, the messengers travelled by night as well as by day; and the conveyance was so rapid that some even compared it to the flight of birds.[3] Excellent inns or caravanserais[4] were to be found at every station; bridges or ferries were established upon all the streams; guard-houses occurred here and there, and the whole route was kept secure from the brigands who infested the Empire.[5] Ordinary travellers were glad to pursue so convenient a line of march; it does not appear, however, that they could obtain the use of post-horses, even when the government was in no need of them.

The coinage of Darius consisted, it is probable, both of a gold and a silver issue. It is not perhaps altogether certain that he was the first king of Persia who coined money;[6] but, if the term "daric" is really derived from his name,[7] that alone would be a strong argument in favour of his claim to priority. In any case, it is indisputable that he was the first Persian king who coined on a large scale,[8] and it is further certain that his gold coinage was regarded in later times as of peculiar value on account of its purity.[9] His gold darics appear to have contained, on an average, not quite 124 grains of pure metal, which would make their value about twenty-two shillings of our

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[3] Cyrop. viii. 7, § 18.

[4] Καταλύσιες κάλλισται. (Herod. v. 52.)

[5] See above, p. 420. Herodotus (l. s. c.) expressly assures his readers that the route from Sardis to Susa was "safe."

[6] Mr. Grote assumes this (*History of Greece*, l. s. c.); but it is not implied in Herod. iv. 166.

[7] The derivation from *dara*, a supposed old Persian word for "king," falls with the discovery that the Achæmenian Persians had no such word. The theory of derivation from an earlier Darius has only the weak authority of a Scholiast to support it. (Schol. ad Aristoph. *Eccles.* 598.)

[8] How large the scale was may be seen by the story of Pythius, who had nearly four millions of darics in his possession shortly after the accession of Xerxes. (Herod. vii. 28.)

[9] Herod. iv. 166.

money. They were of the type usual at the time both in Lydia and in Greece—flattened lumps of metal, very thick in comparison with the size of their surface, irregular, and rudely stamped.[10] The silver darics were similar in general character but exceeded the gold in size. Their weight was from 224 to 230 grains, and they would thus have been worth not quite three shillings of our money. It does not appear that any other kinds of coin besides these were ever issued from the Persian mint. They must therefore, it would seem, have satisfied the commercial needs of the people.

From this review of the governmental system of Darius we must now return to the actions of his later life. The history of an Oriental monarchy must always be composed mainly of a series of biographies; for, as the monarch is all in all in such communities, his sayings, doings, and character, not only determine, but constitute, the annals of the State. In the second period of his reign, that which followed on the time of trouble and disturbance, Darius (as has been already observed[11]) appears to have pursued mainly the arts of peace. Bent on settling and consolidating his Empire, he set up everywhere the satrapial form of government, organized and established his posts, issued his coinage, watched over the administration of justice,[12] and in various ways exhibited a love of order and method, and a genius for systematic arrangement. At the same time he devoted considerable attention to ornamental and architectural works, to sculpture, and to literary composition. He founded the royal palace at Susa, which was the main residence of the later kings.[13] At Persepolis he certainly erected one very important building; and it is on the whole most probable that he designed—if he did not live to execute—the *Chehl Minar* itself—the chief of the magnificent structures upon the great central platform.[14] The massive platform itself,

[10] The only darics that can be assigned to the reign of Darius Hystaspis are those that have the figure of a king with a bow and javelin on one side, and an irregular depression, or *quadratum incusum*, on the other. (See above, p. 343.)

[11] See above, p. 416.

[12] Herod. vii. 194.

[13] Plin. *H. N.* vi. 27; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 372.

[14] See the arguments of Sir H. Rawlinson to this effect in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xi. p. 321.

with its grand and stately steps, is certainly of his erection, for it is inscribed with his name.[15] He gave his works all the solidity and strength that is derivable from the use of huge blocks of a good hard material. He set the example of ornamenting the stepped approach to a palace with elaborate bas-reliefs.[16] He designed and caused to be constructed in his own lifetime,[17] the rock-tomb at Nakhsh-i-Rustam, in which his remains were afterwards laid. The rock-sculpture at Behistun was also his work. In attention to the creation of permanent historical records he excelled all the Persian kings, both before him and after him. The great Inscription of Behistun has no parallel in ancient times for length, finish, and delicacy of execution,[18] unless it be in Assyria or in Egypt. The only really historical inscription at Persepolis is one set up by Darius.[19] He was the only Persian king, except perhaps one,[20] who placed an inscription upon his tomb. The later monarchs in their records do little more than repeat certain religious phrases and certain forms of self-glorification which occur in the least remarkable inscriptions of their great predecessor. He alone oversteps those limits, and presents us with geographical notices and narratives of events profoundly interesting to the historian.

During this period of comparative peace, which may have extended from about B.C. 516 to B.C. 508 or 507,[1] the general tranquillity was interrupted by at least one important expedition. The administrational merits of Darius are so great that they have obscured his military glories, and have sent him down to posterity with the character of an unwarlike monarch—if not a mere "peddler," as his subjects said,[2] yet, at any rate, a mere consolidator and arranger. But the son of Hystaspes was no carpet prince. He had not drawn the sword against his

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[15] *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xi. pp. 272, 273.

[16] See the woodcuts, pp. 286 and 289.

[17] Ctesias, *Exc. Pers.* § 15.

[18] *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xi. p. 193.

[19] Ibid. pp. 279-282.

[20] *I. e.* Cyrus. See the authorities quoted above, p. 232, note [22].

[1] See Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. ii. p. 379. Mr. Grote's date of B.C. 516-515 for the Scythian expedition, for which he alleges Thucyd. vi. 59, appears to me improbable.

[2] Κάπηλος. (Herod. iii. 89.)

domestic foes to sheath it finally and for ever when his triumph over them was completed. On the contrary, he regarded it as incumbent on him to carry on the aggressive policy of Cyrus and Cambyses, his great predecessors, and like them to extend in one direction or another the boundaries of the Empire.[3] Perhaps he felt that aggression was the very law of the Empire's being, since if the military spirit was once allowed to become extinct in the conquering nation, they would lose the sole guarantee of their supremacy. At any rate, whatever his motive, we find him, after he had snatched a brief interval of repose, engaging in great wars both towards his eastern and his western frontier—wars which in both instances had results of considerable importance.

The first grand expedition was towards the East.[4] Cyrus, as we have seen,[5] had extended the Persian sway over the mountains of Affghanistan and the highlands from which flow the tributaries of the Upper Indus. From these eminences the Persian garrisons looked down on a territory possessing every quality that could attract a powerful conqueror. Fertile, well-watered, rich in gold, peopled by an ingenious yet warlike race,[6] which would add strength no less than wealth to its subjugators, the Punjab lay at the foot of the Sufeid Koh and Suliman ranges, inviting the attack of those who could swoop down when they pleased upon the low country. It was against this region that Darius directed his first great aggressive effort.[7] Having explored the course of the Indus from Attock to the sea by means of boats,[8] and obtained, we may suppose, in this way some

[3] Herod. iii. 134.

[4] An insignificant expedition had been sent against Samos, probably as early as B.C. 517. The island was reduced and barbarously treated. (Herod. iii. 141-149.)

[5] Supra, p. 382.

[6] Herod. iii. 102; viii, 113; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iv. 25; v. 17, &c.

[7] The approximate date of the Indian expedition is gathered from a comparison of the three lists of Persian provinces contained in the inscriptions of Darius. In the earliest, that of Behistun, India does not appear at all. It was, therefore, not conquered by B.C. 516. In the second, that of Persepolis, India appears, a solitary addition to the earlier list. In the third, that of Nakhsh-i-Rustam, India is mentioned, together with a number of new provinces, among which is "Scythia beyond the sea." We see by this that the Indian preceded the Scythian expedition. If that took place B.C. 508, the Indian must have fallen between B.C. 515 and B.C. 509.

[8] Herod. iv. 44. This exploration was conducted by a certain Scylax, a native

knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, he led or sent an expedition into the tract, which in a short time succeeded in completely reducing it. The Punjab, and probably the whole valley of the Indus,[9] was annexed, and remained subject till the later times of the Empire. The results of this conquest were the acquisition of a brave race, capable of making excellent soldiers, an enormous increase of the revenue, a sudden and vast influx of gold into Persia, which led probably to the introduction of the gold coinage,[10] and the establishment of commercial relations with the natives, which issued in a regular trade carried on by coasting-vessels between the mouths of the Indus and the Persian Gulf.[11]

The next important expedition—one probably of still greater magnitude—took exactly the opposite direction. The sea which bounded the Persian dominion to the west and the north-west narrowed in two places to dimensions not much exceeding those of the greater Asiatic rivers. The eye which looked across the Thracian Bosphorus or the Hellespont seemed to itself to be merely contemplating the opposite bank of a pretty wide stream. Darius, consequently, being master of Asia Minor, and separated by what seemed to him so poor a barrier from fertile tracts of vast and indeed indefinite extent, such as were nowhere else to be found on the borders of his Empire, naturally turned his thoughts of conquest to this quarter. His immediate desire was, probably, to annex Thrace; but he may have already entertained wider views, and have looked to embracing in his dominions the lovely isles and coasts of Greece also, so making good the former threats of Cyrus.[13] The story of the voyage and escape of Democedes, related by Herodotus with such

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of Caryanda in Caria, who is said to to have written an account of his voyage in Greek. A few fragments of this work, perhaps, remain.

[9] I regard the conquest and annexation of Scinde as implied in the continued "use of the sea in those parts" whereof Herodotus speaks (*τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταύτῃ ἐχρᾶτο*, iv. 44, *sub fin.*). A trade could not have been permanently established between the mouths of the Indus and the Persian Gulf unless the Indus itself had been under Persian control; and the command of such a river implies the submission of the natives along its banks.

[10] Herod. iii. 94-96.

[11] Ibid. iv. 44. Compare note [9].

[12] See Herod. vii. 35, and the remark of Blakesley on the passage.

[13] Herod. i. 153; Diod. Sic. ix. 36. See above, p. 376.

amplitude of detail,[14] and confirmed to some extent from other sources,[15] cannot be a mere myth without historical foundation. Nor is it probable that the expedition was designed merely for the purpose of "indulging the exile with a short visit to his native country," or of collecting "interesting information."[16] If by the king's orders a vessel was fitted out at Sidon to explore the coasts of Greece under the guidance of Democedes, which proceeded as far as Crotona in Magna Græcia, we may be tolerably sure that a political object lay at the bottom of the enterprise. It would have exactly the same aim and end as the eastern voyage of Scylax, and would be intended, like that, to pave the way for a conquest. Darius was therefore, it would seem, already contemplating the reduction of Greece Proper, and did not require to have it suggested to him by any special provocation. Mentally, or actually,[17] surveying the map of the world, so far as it was known to him, he saw that in this direction only there was an attractive country readily accessible. Elsewhere his Empire abutted on seas, sandy deserts, or at best barren steppes; here, and here only,[18] was there a rich prize close at hand and (as it seemed) only waiting to be grasped.

But if the aggressive force of Persia was to be turned in this direction, if the stream of conquest was to set westward along the flanks of Rhodopé and Hæmus, it was essential to success, and even to safety, that the line of communication with Asia should remain intact. Now, there lay on the right flank of an army marching into Europe a vast and formidable power, known to be capable of great efforts,[19] which, if allowed to feel

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[14] Herod. iii. 136-138.

[15] As by the story which Athenæus tells of a Crotoniat custom which grew up out of the circumstances of the escape. (*Deipn.* xii. p. 522, A.)

[16] Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 193.

[17] Maps appear to have been invented before this time, by Anaximander (Strab. i. 1, § 11; Agathem. i. 1; Diog. Laert. ii. 1).

[18] If this remark requires any qualification, it would be with respect to the extreme east. The possession of the Punjab opens the way to the valley of the Ganges, and thence to the conquest of the entire Indian peninsula. Darius might conceivably have made the attempt which the soldiers of Alexander declined and those of Baber effected; but the Persian possession of the Punjab was too recent for that country to have been a convenient basis of operations.

[19] See above, pp. 129, 130; and compare vol. ii. pp. 221-227.

itself secure from attack, might be expected at any time to step in, to break the line of communication between the east and west, and to bring the Persians who should be engaged in conquering Pæonia, Macedonia, and Greece, into imminent danger. It is greatly to the credit of Darius that he saw this peril—saw it and took effectual measures to guard against it. The Scythian expedition was no insane project of a frantic despot,[1] burning for revenge, or ambitious of an impossible conquest. It has all the appearance of being a well-laid plan, conceived by a moderate and wise prince, for the furtherance of a great design, and the permanent advantage of his Empire. The lord of South-Western Asia was well aware of the existence beyond his northern frontier of a standing menace to his power. A century had not sufficed to wipe out the recollection of that terrible time when Scythian hordes had carried desolation far and wide over the fairest of the regions that were now under the Persian dominion. What had occurred once might recur. Possibly, as a modern author suggests, "the remembrance of ancient injuries may have been revived by recent aggressions."[2] It was at any rate essential to strike terror into the hordes of the Steppe Region in order that Western Asia might attain a sense of security. It was still more essential to do so, if the north-west was to become the scene of war, and the Persians were to make a vigorous effort to establish themselves permanently in Europe. Scythia, it must be remembered, reached to the banks of the Danube. An invader who aspired to the conquest even of Thrace, was almost forced into collision with her next neighbour.

Darius, having determined on his course, prefaced his expedition by a raid, the object of which was undoubtedly to procure information. He ordered Ariaramnes, satrap of Cappadocia, to cross the Euxine with a small fleet,[3] and, descending suddenly upon the Scythian coast, to carry off a number of prisoners.

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[1] As Mr. Grote regards it. (*History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 224.) The sound judgment of Bp. Thirlwall has seen the matter in a far truer light (*History*, vol. ii. pp. 198, 199.)

[2] Thirlwall, l. s. c.

[3] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 16. The fleet consisted of thirty penteconters, which would convey about 2000 men.

Ariaramnes executed the commission skilfully, and was so fortunate as to make prize of a native of high rank, the brother of a Scythian chief or king. From this person and his companions the Persian monarch was able to obtain all the information which he required. Thus enlightened, he proceeded to make his preparations. Collecting a fleet of 600 ships,[4] chiefly from the Greeks of Asia,[5] and an army estimated at from 700,000 to 800,000 men,[6] which was made up of contingents from all the nations under his rule, he crossed the Bosphorus by a bridge of boats constructed by Mandrocles, a Samian;[7] marched through Thrace along the line of the Little Balkan, receiving the submission of the tribes as he went;[8] crossed the Great Balkan;[9] conquered the Getæ, who dwelt between that range and the Danube;[10] passed the Danube by a bridge, which the Ionian Greeks had made with their vessels just above the apex of the Delta;[11] and so invaded Scythia. The natives had received intelligence of his approach, and had resolved not to risk a battle.[12] They retired as he advanced, and endeavoured to bring his army into difficulties by destroying the forage, driving off the cattle, and filling in the wells. But the commissariat of the Persians was, as usual, well arranged.[13] Darius remained for more than two months[14] in Scythia without incurring any important losses. He succeeded in parading before the eyes of the whole nation the immense military power of his Empire. He no doubt inflicted considerable damage on the hordes, whose herds he must often have captured,[15] and whose supplies of forage he curtailed.[16] It is difficult to say how far he penetrated. Herodotus was informed that he marched east to the Tanais (Don), and thence north to the

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[4] Herod. iv. 87.

[5] Ibid. ch. 89. Τὸ ναυτικὸν ἦγον Ἴωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι.

[6] Herodotus calls the number 700,000 (iv. 87), Ctesias 800,000 (*Exc. Pers.* § 17).

[7] Herod. iv. 88. [8] Ibid. ch. 93.

[9] On the line of route followed by Darius, see a paper in the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. xxiv. pp. 45, et seqq.

[10] Herod. iv. 93. [11] Ibid. ch. 97.

[12] Ibid. ch. 120.

[13] See above, pp. 192, 193.

[14] Herod. iv. 98, 136.

[15] Ibid. ch. 130. Herodotus supposes that the Scythians *allowed* Darius to make these captures; but it is far more probable that they took place in spite of their efforts to place all their cattle out of his reach.

[16] Ibid. chs. 122 and 140.

country of the Budini, where he burnt the staple of Gelonus,[17] which cannot well have been below the fiftieth parallel, and was probably not far from Voronej. It is certainly astonishing that he should have ventured so far inland, and still more surprising that, having done so, he should have returned with his army well nigh intact. But we can scarcely suppose the story that he destroyed the staple of the Greek trade a pure fiction. He would be glad to leave his mark in the country, and might make an extraordinary effort to reach the only town that was to be found in the whole steppe region. Having effected his purpose by its destruction, he would retire, falling back probably upon the coast, where he could obtain supplies from his fleet. It is beyond dispute that he returned with the bulk of his army, having suffered no loss but that of a few invalid troops whom he sacrificed.[18] Attempts had been made during his absence to induce the Greeks, who guarded the bridge over the Danube, to break it, and so hinder his return;[19] but they were unsuccessful. Darius recrossed the river after an interval of somewhat more than two months, victorious according to his own notions, and regarded himself as entitled thenceforth to enumerate among the subject races of his Empire "the Scyths beyond the sea."[20] On his return march through Thrace, he met, apparently, with no opposition. Before passing the Bosphorus, he gave a commission to one of his generals, a certain Megabazus, to complete the reduction of Thrace, and assigned him for the purpose a body of 80,000 men, who remained in Europe while Darius and the rest of his army crossed into Asia.[21]

Megabazus appears to have been fully worthy of the trust reposed in him. In a single campaign (B.C. 506) he overran and subjugated the entire tract between the Propontis and the Strymon, thus pushing forward the Persian dominion to the borders of Macedonia. Among the tribes which he con-

[17] Herod. ch. 123.

[18] Ibid. chs. 135 and 136. Ctesias, however, made the loss of Darius amount to 80,000 men. (*Exc. Pers.* § 17.)

[19] Herod. iv. 133, 136-140.

[20] *Nakhsh-i-Rustam Inscr.*, par. 3, § 7.

[21] Herod. iv. 143.

quered were the Perinthians, Greeks;[22] the Pæti, Cicones, Bistones, Sapæi, Dersæi and Edoni, Thracians;[23] and the Pæoplæ and Siripæones, Pæonians.[24] These last, to gratify a whim of Darius,[25] were transported into Asia. The Thracians who submitted were especially those of the coast, no attempt, apparently, being made to penetrate the mountain fastnesses and bring under subjection the tribes of the interior.[26]

The first contact between Persia and Macedonia possesses peculiar interest from the circumstances of the later history. An ancestor of Alexander the Great sat upon the throne of Macedon when the general of Darius was brought in his career of conquest to the outskirts of the Macedonian power. The kingdom was at this time comparatively small, not extending much beyond Mount Bermius on the one hand, and not reaching very far to the east of the Axius on the other. Megabazus saw in it, we may be sure, not the fated destroyer of the Empire which he was extending, but a petty state which the mere sound of the Persian name would awe into subjection. He therefore, instead of invading the country, contented himself with sending an embassy, with a demand for earth and water, the symbols, according to Persian custom, of submission.[1] Amyntas, the Macedonian king, consented to the demand at once; and though, owing to insolent conduct on the part of the ambassadors, they were massacred with their whole retinue,[2] yet this circumstance did not prevent the completion of Macedonian vassalage. When a second embassy was sent to inquire into the fate of the first, Alexander, the son of Amyntas, who had arranged the massacre, contrived to have the matter hushed up by bribing one of the envoys with a large sum of money and the hand of his sister, Gygæa.[3] Macedonia took up the position

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[22] Herod. v. 2.

[23] Ibid. v. 10. Compare vii. 110.

[24] Ibid. v. 15.

[25] Darius had seen a Pæonian woman of great beauty at Sardis, who bore a pitcher of water, led a horse, and span at the same time. His admiration of the sight induced him, we are told, to require the transportation of the whole people into Asia Minor. (Herod. v. 12-14.)

[26] Compare the expressions in Herod. v. 2, ad fin., and v. 10, ad fin. The latter passage qualifies the former.

[1] Ibid. v. 17.

[2] Ibid. v. 18-20.

[3] Ibid. v. 21; viii. 136.

of a subject kingdom, and owned for her true lord the great monarch of Western Asia.

Megabazus, having accomplished the task assigned him, proceeded to Sardis,[4] where Darius had remained almost, if not quite, a full year. His place was taken by Otanes, the son of Sisamnes,[5] a different person from the conspirator, who rounded off the Persian conquests in these parts by reducing, probably in B.C. 505, the cities of Byzantium, Chalcedon, Antandrus, and Lamponium, with the two adjacent islands of Lemnos and Imbrus. The inhabitants of all were, it appears, taxable, either with having failed to give contingents towards the Scythian expedition, or with having molested it on its return[6]—crimes these, which Otanes thought it right to punish by their general enslavement.

Darius, meanwhile, had proceeded to the seat of government, which appears at this time to have been Susa.[7] He had perhaps already built there the great palace, whose remains have been recently disinterred by English enterprise; or he may have wished to superintend the work of construction. Susa, which was certainly from henceforth the main Persian capital, possessed advantages over almost any other site. Its climate was softer than that of Ecbatana and Persepolis, less sultry than that of Babylon. Its position was convenient for communicating both with the East and with the West. Its people were plastic,[8] and probably more yielding and submissive than the Medes or the Persians. The king, fatigued with his warlike exertions, was glad for a while to rest and recruit himself at Susa, in the tranquil life of the Court. For some years he appears to have conceived no new aggressive project; and he might perhaps have forgotten his designs upon Greece altogether, had not his memory been stirred by a signal and extraordinary provocation.

The immediate circumstances which led to the Ionian Revolt

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[4] Herod. v. 23.
[5] Ibid. v. 25.
[6] Ibid. chs. 26 and 27.
[7] Ibid. ch. 25. Compare chs. 49 and 52.
[8] By Strabo's time Susiana had become an actual part of Persia. (Strab. xv. 3, § 2. Σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ ἡ Σουσὶς μέρος γεγένηται τῆς Περσίδος.)

belong to Greek rather than to Persian history, and have been so fully treated of by the historians of the Hellenic race,[9] that a knowledge of them may be assumed as already possessed by the reader. What is chiefly remarkable about them is, that they are so purely private and personal. A chance quarrel between Aristagoras of Miletus and the Persian Megabates, pecuniary difficulties pressing on the former, and the natural desire of Histiæus, father-in-law of Aristagoras, to revisit his native place, were undoubtedly the direct and immediate causes of what became a great national outbreak. That there must have been other and wider predisposing causes can scarcely be doubted. Among them two may be suggested. The presence of Darius in Asia Minor, and his friendliness towards the tyrants who bore sway in most of the Greek cities,[10] were calculated to elate those persons in their own esteem, and to encourage in them habits and acts injurious or offensive to their subjects. Their tyranny under these circumstances would become more oppressive and galling. At the same time the popular mind could not fail to associate together the native despot and the foreign lord, who (it was clear to all) supported and befriended each other.[11] If the Greeks of Asia, like so many of their brethren in Europe, had grown weary of their tyrants and were desirous of rising against them, they would be compelled to contemplate the chances of a successful resistance to the Persians. And here there were circumstances in the recent history calculated to inspirit them and give them hopes. Six hundred Greek ships, manned probably by 120,000 men, had been lately brought together, and had formed a united fleet.[12] The fate of the Persian land-army had depended on

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[9] Niebuhr, *Vorträge*, vol. i. pp. 375-377; Thirlwall, vol. ii. pp. 207-209; Grote, vol. iii. pp. 241-244.

[10] Herod. v. 11. 24; Thucyd. vi. 59.

[11] Herod. iv. 137; v. 11. Bp. Thirlwall seems to me to go too far when he says that the tyrants had been "forced upon the Ionians by the Persians" (vol. ii. p. 210). Despotic government grew up among the Ionian states quite independently of the Persians (Herod. i. 20; iii. 39); and indeed seems to have been the only form of government for which they were as yet fitted (ib. iii. 143).

[12] No such union of their forces had ever taken place before. From it the Greeks themselves may have first learnt their own strength, while at the same time they acquired the habit of acting together.

their fidelity.[13] It is not surprising that a sense of strength should have been developed, and something like a national spirit should have grown up in such a condition of things.

If this were the state of feeling among the Greeks, the merit of Aristagoras would be, that he perceived it, and, regardless of all class prejudices,[14] determined to take advantage of the chance which it gave him of rising superior to his embarrassments. Throwing himself on the popular feeling, the strength of which he had estimated aright, he by the same act gave freedom to the cities, and plunged his nation into a rebellion against Persia. It was easy for reason to show, when the matter was calmly debated, that the probabilities of success against the might of Darius were small.[15] But the arrest of the tyrants by Aristagoras, and his deliverance of them into the hands of their subjects,[16] was an appeal to passion against which reason was powerless. No State could resist the temptation of getting rid of the tyranny under which it groaned. But the expulsion of the vassal committed those who took part in it to resist in arms the sovereign lord.

In the original revolt appear to have been included only the cities of Ionia and Æolis.[1] Aristagoras felt that some further strength was needed, and determined to seek it in European Greece. Repulsed from Sparta, which was disinclined to so distant an expedition,[2] he applied for aid to cities on which he had a special claim. Miletus counted Athens as her mother state;[3] and Eretria was indebted to her for assistance in her great war with Chalcis.[4] Applying in these quarters Aristagoras succeeded better, but still obtained no very important help. Athens voted him twenty ships,[5] Eretria five;[6] and with the promise of these succours he hastened back to Asia.

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[13] Herod. iv. 137-142.

[14] As son-in-law of Histiæus, Aristagoras would naturally sympathise with the tyrants.

[15] See Herod. v. 36, where Hecatæus represents pure reason apart from passion.

[16] Ibid. v. 37.

[1] Ibid. v. 37, 38.

[2] Ibid. ch. 51. It is scarcely conceivable that Aristagoras should really have proposed to the Spartans a march against Susa. He may, however, have suggested an attack on Sardis.

[3] Ibid. ch. 97. Οἱ Μιλήσιοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶ ἄποικοι. Compare i. 146; Strab. xiv. 1, § 3.

[4] Herod. v. 99.

[5] Ibid. ch. 97.

[6] Ibid. ch. 99.

The European contingent soon afterwards arrived; and Aristagoras, anxious to gain some signal success which should attract men to his cause, determined on a most daring enterprise. This was no less than an attack on Sardis, the chief seat of the Persian power in these parts, and by far the most important city of Asia Minor. Sailing to Ephesus he marched up the valley of the Caÿster, crossed Mount Tmolus, and took the Lydian capital at the first onset. Artaphernes, the satrap, was only able to save the citadel; the invaders began to plunder the town, and in the confusion it caught fire and was burnt. Aristagoras and his troops hastily retreated, but were overtaken before they could reach Ephesus by the Persians quartered in the province, who fell upon them and gave them a severe defeat. The expedition then broke up; the Asiatic Greeks dispersed among their cities; the Athenians and Eretrians took ship and sailed home.[7]

Results followed that could scarcely have been anticipated. The failure of the expedition was swallowed up in the glory of its one achievement. It had taken Sardis—it had burnt one of the chief cities of the Great King. The news spread like wildfire on every side, and was proclaimed aloud in places where the defeat of Ephesus was never even whispered. Everywhere revolt burst out. The Greeks of the Hellespont—not only those of Asia but likewise those of Europe[8]—the Carians and Caunians of the south-western coast,[9]—even the distant Cyprians[10] broke into rebellion; the Scythians took heart and made a plundering raid through the Great King's Thracian territories;[11] vassal monarchs, like Miltiades, assumed independence, and helped themselves to some of the fragments of the Empire that seemed falling to pieces.[12] If a great man,

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[7] Herod. chs. 100-103.

[8] As the Perinthians, Selymbrians, and Byzantines. (Herod. vi. 33.)

[9] Ibid. v. 103.

[10] Ibid. ch. 104. The revolt of Cyprus was especially important, as implying disaffection on the part of a people mainly Phœnician in race (Scylax, *Peripl.* § 103; Theopomp. Fr. 111; Apollodor. iii. 14, § 3), and with strong Phœnician sympathies (Herod. iii. 19). When Cyprus revolted, the allegiance of Phœnicia must have hung trembling in the balance

[11] The date of this inroad is fixed by Herod. vi. 40 to B.C. 495 or 496. The burning of Sardis was in B.C. 499.

[12] Herod. vii. 140.

a Miltiades or a Leonidas, had been at the head of the movement, and if it had been decently supported from the European side,[13] a successful issue might probably have been secured.

But Aristagoras was unequal to the occasion; and the struggle for independence, which had promised so fair, was soon put down. Despite a naval victory gained by the Greeks ever the Phœnician fleet off Cyprus,[14] that island was recovered by the Persians within a year.[15] Despite a courage and a perseverance worthy of a better fate,[16] the Carians were soon afterwards forced to succumb. The reduction of the Hellespontine Greeks and of the Æolians followed.[17] The toils now closed around Ionia, and her cities began to be attacked one by one;[18] whereupon the incapable Aristagoras, deserting the falling cause, betook himself to Europe, where a just Nemesis pursued him: he died by a Thracian sword.[19] After this the climax soon arrived. Persia concentrated her strength upon Miletus,[20] the cradle of the revolt, and the acknowledged chief of the cities; and though her sister states came gallantly to her aid, and a fleet was collected which made it for a while doubtful which way victory might incline,[21] yet all was of no avail. Laziness and insubordination began [22] and treachery completed the work [23] which all the force of Persia might have failed to accomplish; the combined Ionian fleet was totally defeated in the battle of Ladé;[24] and soon after Miletus herself fell.[25] The bulk of her inhabitants were transported into inner Asia and settled upon the Persian Gulf.[26] The whole Ionian coast was ravaged, and

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[13] Herodotus blames the Athenians for taking any part in the insurrection (v. 97). They are far more open to blame for having withdrawn their support on the first check. Had Athens had the wisdom to give the war a hearty support, she might have saved the soil of European Greece from invasion.

[14] Herod. v. 112. [15] Ibid. ch. 116.

[16] Ibid. chs. 118-121.

[17] Ibid. ch. 122. [18] Ibid. ch. 123.

[19] Ibid. chs. 124-126; Thucyd. iv. 102. [20] Herod. vi. 6.

[21] Ibid. ch. 8. The details are here interesting, as showing the relative naval strength of the several states. Chios sent the largest contingent, viz., 100 ships; Miletus sent 80; Lesbos, 70; Samos, 60; Teos, 17; Priêne, 12; Erythræ, 8; Myus and Phocæa, 3 each. Total, 353. The number of ships on the Persian side was 600.

[22] Ibid. chs. 11 and 12.

[23] Ibid. ch. 13. It must be remarked, in mitigation of the Samian treachery, that it followed on the insubordination and laziness, which would alone have ruined the cause.

[24] Ibid. chs. 14 and 15.

[25] Ibid. ch. 18. [26] Ibid. ch. 20.

the cities punished by the loss of their most beautiful maidens and youths.[27] The islands off the coast were swept of their inhabitants.[28] The cities on the Hellespont and Sea of Marmora were burnt.[29] Miltiades barely escaped from the Chersonese with the loss of his son and his kingdom.[30] The flames of rebellion were everywhere ruthlessly trampled out; and the power of the Great King was once more firmly established over the coasts and islands of the Propontis and the Egean Sea.

It remained, however, to take vengeance upon the foreigners who had dared to lend their aid to the king's revolted subjects, and had borne a part in the burning of Sardis. The pride of the Persians felt such interference as an insult of the grossest kind; and the tale may well be true that Darius, from the time that he first heard the news, employed an officer to bid him daily "remember Athens."[31] The schemes which he had formerly entertained with respect to the reduction of Greece recurred with fresh force to his mind; and the task of crushing the revolt was no sooner completed, than he proceeded to attempt their execution. Selecting Mardonius, son of Gobryas the conspirator, and one of his own sons-in-law, for general,[32] he gave him the command of a powerful expedition, which was to advance by way of Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, against Eretria and Athens. At the same time, with a wisdom which we should scarcely have expected in an Oriental, he commissioned him, ere he quitted Asia, to depose the tyrants who bore rule in the Greek cities,[1] and to allow the establishment of democracies in their stead. Such a measure was excellently calculated to preserve the fidelity of the Hellenic population, and to prevent any renewal of disturbance. It gave ample

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[27] Herod. ch. 32. Παῖδας τοὺς εὐειδεστάτους ἐξέταμνον, καὶ ἐποίευν ἀντὶ ἐνορχίων εἶναι εὐνούχους, καὶ παρθένους τὰς καλλιστευούσας ἀνασπαστοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα.

[28] Ibid. ch. 31.

[29] Ibid. ch. 33. This is probably the burning mentioned by Strabo (xiii. 1, § 22), which some supposed to have been a measure of precaution against a possible invasion of Asia Minor by the Scythians.

[30] Herod. vi. 41.

[31] Ibid. v. 105; vi. 94.

[32] Ibid. vi. 43.

[1] Ibid. Herodotus does not actually state that Mardonius was instructed to act as he did; but I cannot conceive that he could have ventured on making such a change without the royal sanction.

employment to unquiet spirits by opening to them a career in their own states,—and it removed the grievance which, more than anything else, had produced the recent rebellion.[2]

Mardonius having effected this change proceeded into Europe. He had a large land force and a powerful navy, and at first was successful both by land and sea. The fleet took Thasos, an island valuable for its mines;[3] and the army forced the Macedonians to exchange their position of semi-independence for that of full Persian subjects, liable to both tribute and military service. But this fair dawn was soon overcast. As the fleet was rounding Athos a terrible tempest arose, which destroyed 300 triremes and more than 20,000 men, some of whom were devoured by sea-monsters, while the remainder perished by drowning. On shore, a night attack of the Brygi, a Thracian tribe dwelling in the tract between the Strymon and the Axius, brought disaster upon the land force, numbers of which were slain, while Mardonius himself received a wound. This disgrace, indeed, was retrieved by subsequent operations, which forced the Brygi to make their submission; but the expedition found itself in no condition to advance further, and Mardonius retreated into Asia.[4]

Darius, however, did not allow failure to turn him from his purpose. The attack of Mardonius was followed within two years by the well-known expedition under Datis (B.C. 490), which, avoiding the dangers of Athos, sailed direct to its object, crossing the Egean by the line of the Cyclades, and falling upon Eretria and Attica.[5] Eretria's punishment[6] warned the Athenians to resist to the uttermost; and the skill of Miltiades, backed by the valour of his countrymen, gave to Athens the great victory of MARATHON.[7] Datis fell back upon Asia,[8] having suffered

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[2] See above, p. 438.

[3] Herod. vi. 46, 47; Arrian, Fr. 11; Eustath. ad. Dionys. Perieg. l. 528.

[4] Herod. vi. 44, 45.

[5] Ibid. vi. 94, 95. According to Herodotus, this line of attack had been pointed out to the Persians by Aristagoras. (Ibid. v. 31.)

[6] Ibid. vi. 101.

[7] It has been thought unnecessary to give the details of this expedition, which may be found in every history of Greece, and are known to most persons. For some interesting points connected with the battle itself, the reader is referred to the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iii. pp. 426-436, 2nd edition.

[8] Herod. vi. 118. According to Cte-

worse disasters than his predecessor, and bore to the king the melancholy tidings that his vast force of from 100,000 to 200,000 men had been met and worsted by 20,000 Athenians and Platæans.

Still Darius was not shaken in his resolution. He only issued fresh orders for the collection of men, ships, and materials.[9] For three years Asia resounded with the din of preparation; and it is probable that in the fourth year a fresh expedition would have been led into Greece, had not an important occurrence prevented it. Egypt, always discontented with its subject position under a race which despised its religion, and perhaps occasionally persecuted it, broke out into open revolt (B.C. 487).[10] Darius, it seems, determined to divide his forces, and proceed simultaneously against both enemies;[11] he even contemplated leading one of the two expeditions in person;[12] but before his preparations were completed, his vital powers failed. He died in the year following the Egyptian revolt (B.C. 486), in the sixty-third year of his age,[13] and the thirty-sixth of his reign, leaving his crown to his eldest son by Atossa, Xerxes.

The character of Darius will have revealed itself with tolerable clearness in the sketch which has been here given of the chief events of his reign. But a brief summary of some of its main points may not be superfluous. Darius Hystaspis was, next to Cyrus, the greatest of the Persian kings; and he was even superior to Cyrus in some particulars. His military talent has been underrated.[14] Though not equal to the founder of the Empire in this respect, he deserves the credit of energy, vigour, foresight, and judicious management in his military expeditions, of promptness in resolving and ability in executing, of

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sias, Datis was killed at Marathon, and the Athenians refused to give up his body. (*Exc. Pers.* § 18.) It seems almost impossible that this could have happened without Herodotus becoming aware of it.

[9] Herod. vii. 1.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid. vii. 2.
[12] Ibid. chs. 2-4.
[13] This is implied in the statement of Herodotus (i. 209), that Darius was 20 years of age in the last year of Cyrus, which was B.C. 529. Ctesias, however, made Darius live 72 years, and reign 31. (*Exc. Pers.* § 19.)
[14] See particularly Mure, *Literature of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 476.

discrimination in the selection of generals,[15] and of a power of combination not often found in Oriental commanders.[16] He was personally brave, and quite willing to expose himself, even in his old age,[17] to dangers and hardships. But he did not unnecessarily thrust himself into peril. He was content to employ generals, where the task to be accomplished did not seem to be beyond their powers; and he appears to have been quite free from an unworthy jealousy of their successes.[18] He was a man of kindly and warm feeling,—strongly attached to his friends;[19] he was clement and even generous towards conquered foes.[20] When he thought the occasion required it, he could be severe;[21] but his inclination was towards mildness and indulgence. He excelled all the other Persian kings in the arts of peace. To him, and him alone, the Empire owed its organization. He was a skilful administrator, a good financier, and a wise and far-seeing ruler. Of all the Persian princes he is the only one who can be called "many-sided." He was organizer, general, statesman, administrator, builder, patron of art and literature, all in one. Without him Persia would probably have sunk as rapidly as she rose, and would be known to us only as one of the many meteor powers which have shot athwart the horizon of the East.

Xerxes, the eldest son of Darius by Atossa, succeeded his father by virtue of a formal act of choice. It was a Persian custom, that the king, before he went out of his dominions on an expedition, should nominate a successor.[22] Darius must have done this before his campaign in Thrace and Scythia; and if Xerxes was then, as is probable, a mere boy, it is impossible that he should have received the appointment.[23]

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[15] Such as Megabazus, Otanes, Hymeas (Herod. v. 116, 122), Mardonius, and others.

[16] See especially the *Behistun Inscription*, col. ii. par. 6 to par. 12.

[17] Herod. vii. 2, 4.

[18] See the anecdotes told of him by Herodotus (iii. 160; iv. 143).

[19] Ibid. iii. 140; v. 11; vi. 30.

[20] Ibid. iv. 204; vi. 20, 119.

[21] See the cases of Intaphernes (Herod. iii. 119); Orœtes (iii. 127, 128); Œobazus (iv. 84); Aryandes (iv. 166); and Sandoces (vii. 194), which last instance illustrates at once the severity and the clemency of the monarch.

[22] Herod. vii. 2. Compare i. 208.

[23] One of the main objects of the law was probably to secure the succession to an adult, competent to govern. As Darius did not marry Atossa till B.C. 521 (Herod. iii. 88), and the Scy-

Artobazanes, the eldest of all Darius's sons, whose mother, daughter of Gobryas, was married to Darius before he becam king,[24] was most likely then nominated, and was thencefort regarded as the heir-apparent. When, however, towards th close of his reign, Darius again proposed to head a foreig expedition, an opportunity occurred of disturbing this arrang ment, of which Atossa, Darius's favourite wife, whose influenc over her husband was unbounded,[1] determined to take advantag According to the law, a fresh signification of the sovereign' will was now requisite; and Atossa persuaded Darius to mak it in favour of Xerxes. The pleas put forward were, first, tha he was the eldest son of *the king*,[2] and secondly, that he wa descended from Cyrus. The latter argument could not fail t have weight. Backed by the influence of Atossa, it prevaile over all other considerations; and hence Xerxes obtained th throne.

If we may trust the informants of Herodotus, it was the wis of Xerxes on his accession to discontinue the preparation against Greece, and confine his efforts to the re-conques of Egypt.[3] Though not devoid of ambition, he may wel have been distrustful of his own powers; and, having bee nurtured in luxury, he may have shrunk from the perils of campaign in unknown regions. But he was surrounded b advisers who had interests opposed to his inclinations, and wh worked on his facile temper till they prevailed on him to tak that course which seemed best calculated to promote thei designs. Mardonius was anxious to retrieve his former failure, and expected, if Greece were conquered, that the rich priz would become his own Satrapy.[5] The refugee princes of th family of Pisistratus hoped to be reinstated under Persia influence as dependent despots of Athens.[6] Demaratus o

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thian expedition was at latest in B.C. 507, Xerxes could not at that time have been more than 13 years old.

[24] Herod. vii. 2.

[1] Ἡ γὰρ Ἄτοσσα εἶχε τὸ πᾶν κράτος. Herod. vii. 3.

[2] *I. e.* The eldest son born to Darius after he became king. [3] Herod. vii. 5.

[4] See above, p. 443. [5] Herod. vii. 6

[6] Ibid. Herodotus assigns considerable weight to the influence of Onesicritus, an oracle-monger, whom the Pisistratidæ had brought with them to Susa; but it is not likely that Xerxes would have put much faith in the oracles of idolaters.

Sparta probably cherished a similar expectation with regard to that capital.[7] The Persian nobles generally, who profited by the spoils of war, and who were still full of the military spirit, looked forward with pleasure to an expedition from which they anticipated victory, plunder, and thousands of valuable captives.[8] The youthful king was soon persuaded that the example of his predecessors required him to undertake some fresh conquest,[9] while the honour of Persia absolutely demanded that the wrongs inflicted upon her by Athens should be avenged.[10] Before, however, turning his arms against Greece, two revolts required his attention. In the year B.C. 485—the second of his reign—he marched into Egypt, which he rapidly reduced to obedience and punished by increasing its burthens.[11] Soon afterwards he seems to have provoked a rebellion of the Babylonians by acts which they regarded as impious, and avenged by killing their satrap, Zopyrus, and proclaiming their independence.[12] Megabyzus, the son of Zopyrus, recovered the city, which was punished by the plunder and ruin of its famous temple and the desolation of many of its shrines.[13]

Xerxes was now free to bend all his efforts against Greece, and, appreciating apparently to the full the magnitude and difficulty of the task, resolved that nothing should be left undone which could possibly be done in order to render success certain. The experience of former years had taught some important lessons. The failure of Datis had proved that such an expedition as could be conveyed by sea across the Egean would be insufficient to secure the object sought, and that the only safe

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[7] Demaratus is not mentioned among those who encouraged the expedition; but he probably hoped something from it. (See Herod. vii. 235.)

[8] Ibid. vii. 18, 19. If there is any truth in the story told by Herodotus of Xerxes' dreams, and the vision seen by Artabanus (vii. 12-18), they must have been the result of contrivance—a contrivance which would imply that the officers about the court favoured the expedition.

[9] Τοῦτο ἐφρόντιζον, ὅκως μὴ λείψομαι τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ἐν τίμῃ τῇδε, μηδὲ ἐλάσσω προσκτήσομαι δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι. (Herod. vii. 8, § 1).

[10] Ibid. § 2. Compare chs. 5, 9, and 11.

[11] Ibid. ch. 7.

[12] Ctesias, *Exc. Pers.* §§ 21, 22.

[13] Ibid. § 22. Compare Herod. i. 183; Strab. xvi. 1, § 5; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* vii. 17; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 3. Arrian places the destruction of the Babylonian temples after the expedition to Greece (ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὀπίσω ἀπενόστησεν); but Ctesias outweighs this late authority.

road for a conqueror whose land force constituted his rea strength, was along the shores of the European continent. Bu if a large army took this long and circuitous route, it must b supported by a powerful fleet; and this involved a new danger The losses of Mardonius off Athos had shown the perils o Egean navigation, and taught the lesson that the naval forc must be at first far more than proportionate to the needs of th army, in order that it might still be sufficient notwithstandin some considerable disasters. At the same time they had indicated one special place of danger, which might be avoided, if prope measures were taken. Xerxes, in the four years which followed on the reduction of Egypt, continued incessantly to make the most gigantic preparations for his intended attack upon Greece,[14] and among them included all the precautions which a wise foresight could devise in order to ward off every conceivable peril. A general order was issued to all the satraps throughout the Empire, calling on them to levy the utmost force of their province for the new war;[15] while, as the equipment of Oriental troops depends greatly on the purchase and distribution of arms by their commander, a rich reward was promised to the satrap whose contingent should appear at the appointed place and time in the most gallant array.[16] Orders for ships and transports of different kinds were given to the maritime states,[17] with such effect that above 1200 triremes[18] and 3000 vessels of an inferior description[19] were collected together. Magazines of corn were formed at various points along the intended line of route.[20] Above all, it was determined to bridge the Hellespont by a firm and compact structure, which it was thought would secure the communication of the army from interruption by the elements; and at the same time it was resolved to cut through the isthmus which joined Mount Athos to the continent, in order to preserve the fleet from disaster at that most perilous part of the proposed voyage. These remarkable works, which made a deep impression

[14] Herod. vii. 20. Ἐπὶ τέσσερα ἔτεα πλήρεα παραρτέετο στρατιήν τε καὶ τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ στρατίῃ.

[15] Ibid. ch. 4.

[16] Ibid. Compare chs. 19 and 26.

[17] Ibid. ch. 21.

[18] Æschyl. *Pers.* 343-345; Herod. vii. 89.

[19] Herod. vii. 97, ad fin.

[20] Ibid. ch. 25.

on the mind of the Greeks, have been ascribed to a mere spirit of ostentation on the part of Xerxes; the vain-glorious monarch wished, it is supposed, to parade his power, and made a useless bridge and an absurd cutting merely for the purpose of exhibiting to the world the grandeur of his ideas and the extent of his resources.[21] But there is no necessity for travelling beyond the line of ordinary human motive in order to discover a reason for the works in question. The bridge across the Hellespont was a mere repetition of the construction by which Darius had passed into Europe when he made his Scythian expedition,[22] and probably seemed to a Persian, not a specially dignified or very wonderful way of crossing so narrow a strait, but merely the natural mode of passage.[1] The only respects in which the bridge of Xerxes differed from constructions with which the Persians were thoroughly familiar, was in its superior solidity and strength. The shore-cables were of unusual size and weight, and apparently of unusual materials;[2] the formation of a double line—of two bridges, in fact, instead of one—was almost without a parallel;[3] and the completion of the work by laying on the ordinary plank-bridge a solid causeway composed of earth and brushwood, with a high bulwark on either side,[4] was probably, if not unprecedented, at any rate very uncommon. Boat-bridges were usually, as they are even now in the East, somewhat rickety constructions, which animals unaccustomed to them could with difficulty be induced to cross. The bridge of Xerxes was a high-road—ὅδισμα, as Æschylus calls it[5]—along which men, horses, and vehicles might pass with as much comfort and facility as they could move on shore.

The utility of such a work is evident. Without it Xerxes

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[21] Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. ii. pp. 251, 252; Herod. vii. 24.

[22] Supra, p. 433; Herod. iv. 88.

[1] See above, pp. 198, 199.

[2] Papyrus and hemp intermixed, in the proportion of two strands of the former to one of the latter. (Herod. vii. 36.)

[3] The ordinary Persian river-bridges were single. (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 5; ii. 4, § 24.) So were the bridges of Darius across the Bosphorus (Herod. iv. 87, 88), and the Danube (ibid. ch. 97). The only double bridge which I find mentioned beside this across the Hellespont was thrown by Xerxes' orders at this same time over the Strymon (Herod. vii. 24 and 114.)

[4] Φραγμὸς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν. (Herod. vii. 36.)

[5] Æschyl. *Pers.* 71. Πολύγομφον ὅδισμα.

must have been reduced to the necessity of embarking in ships, conveying across the strait, and disembarking,[6] not only his entire host, but all its stores, tents, baggage, horses, camels, and sumpter-beasts. If the numbers of his army approached even the lowest estimate that has been formed of them, it is not too much to say that many weeks must have been spent in this operation.[7] As it was, the whole expedition marched across in seven days.[8] In the case of ship conveyance, continual accidents would have happened; the transport would from time to time have been interrupted by bad weather; and great catastrophes might have occurred. By means of the bridge the passage was probably effected without any loss of either man or beast. Moreover, the bridge once established, there was a safe line of communication thenceforth between the army in Europe and the head-quarters of the Persian power in Asia, along which might pass couriers, supplies, and reinforcements, if they should be needed. Further, the grandeur, massiveness, and apparent stability of the work was calculated to impose upon the minds of men, and to diminish their power of resistance by impressing them strongly with a sense of the irresistible greatness and strength of the invader.[9]

The canal of Athos was also quite a legitimate and judicious undertaking. No portion of the Greek coast is so dangerous as that about Athos. Greek boatmen even at the present day refuse to attempt the circumnavigation;[10] and probably any government less apathetic than that of the Turks would at once re-open the old cutting. The work was one of very little difficulty, the breadth of the isthmus being less than a mile and a

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[6] This would have been "easy" in the opinion of Bishop Thirlwall, who can scarcely have realized to himself what the task of embarking and disembarking a million of men, with the necessary accompaniment of baggage, and with 200,000 or 300,000 animals—horses, mules, asses, and camels—would really have been.

[7] A delay of three or four weeks in one place would almost certainly have bred a pestilence, from the accumulation of offal and excrement. Great armies are under a necessity of constant movement.

[8] Herod. vii. 56.

[9] The story of the Hellespontian Greek who, on witnessing the passage of the army over the bridge, addressed Xerxes as "Zeus," is perhaps not true; but it expresses very forcibly the effect on men's minds of the grand way in which everything was done.

[10] Leake, *Northern Greece*, iii. p. 145; Bowen, *Mount Athos*, p. 58.

half, the material sand and marl, and the greatest height of the natural ground above the level of the sea about fifty feet.[11] The construction of a canal in such a locality was certainly better than the formation of a ship-groove or Diolcus—the

Plan of Canal.

substitute for it proposed by Herodotus,[12] not to mention that it is doubtful whether at the time that this cutting was made ship-grooves were known even to the Greeks.[13]

Xerxes, having brought his preparations into a state of

[11] See a paper by Captain Spratt in the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. xvii., from which the chart above, representing the present state of the canal and the adjacent country, is taken.

[12] Herod. vii. 24.

[13] The practice of dragging ships across isthmuses, with or without an artificial run or groove, became common in Greece about 50 or 60 years later (Thucyd. iii. 81; iv. 8; &c.); but there is no evidence that it had commenced at this period.

forwardness, having completed his canal and his bridge—after one failure with the latter, for which the constructors *and the sea* were punished[14]—proceeded, in the year B.C. 481, along the "Royal Road" from Susa to Sardis, and wintered at the Lydian capital.[15] His army is said to have accompanied him;[16] but more probably it joined him in the spring, flocking in, contingent after contingent, from the various provinces of his vast Empire. Forty-nine nations, according to Herodotus,[17] served under his standard; and their contingents made up a grand total of eighteen hundred thousand men.[18] Of these, eighty thousand were cavalry, while twenty thousand rode in chariots or on camels; the remainder served on foot. There are no sufficient means of testing these numbers. Figures in the mouth of an Oriental are vague and almost unmeaning; armies are never really counted: there is no thing as a fixed and definite "strength" of a division or a battalion. Herodotus tells us that a rough attempt at numbering the infantry of the host was made on this occasion; but it was of so rude and primitive a description that little dependence can be placed on the results obtained by it. Ten thousand men were counted, and were made to stand close together; a line was then drawn round them, and a wall built on the line to the height of a man's waist; within the enclosure thus made all the troops in turn entered, and each time that the enclosure appeared to be full, ten thousand were supposed to be within it.[19] Estimated in this way, the infantry was regarded as amounting to 1,700,000.

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[14] See Herod. vii. 35; and compare the remarks of Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. iii. pp. 372, 373.) The subject will be recurred to hereafter.

[15] Herod. vii. 37.

[16] Ibid. ch. 26.

[17] Mr. Grote (iii. p. 387) makes the nations forty-six, and professes to enumerate them, but gives only forty names. Herodotus gave 49, and now gives 48. One name (vii. 76, ad init.) is lost; and one (Caspeiri, vii. 86) is probably corrupt. The remaining 47 are the following: Persians, Medes, Cissians, Hyrcanians, Assyrians, Chaldæans, Bactrians, Sacæ, Indians, Arians, Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians, Dadicæ, Caspians, Sarangians, Pactyes, Utians, Mycians, Paricanians, Arabs, Ethiopians of Africa, Ethiopians of Asia, Libyans, Paphlagonians, Matienians, Ligyes, Mariandynians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, Armenians, Lydians, Mysians, Asiatic Thracians, Cabalians, Milyans, Moschians, Tibarenians, Macronians, Mosynœcians, Mares, Colchians, Alarodians, Sapeirians, Erythræan Islanders, and Sagartians. (Herod. vii. 61-80, and 85.)

[18] Herod. vii. 184.

[19] Ibid. ch. 60.

It is clear that such a mode of counting was of the roughest kind, and might lead to gross exaggeration. Each commander would wish his troops to be thought more numerous than they really were, and would cause the enclosure to appear full when several thousands more might still have found room within it. Nevertheless there would be limits beyond which exaggeration could not go; and if Xerxes was made to believe that the land force which he took with him into Europe amounted to nearly two millions of men, it is scarcely doubtful but that it must have exceeded one million.

The motley composition of such a host has been described in a former chapter.[20] Each nation was armed and equipped after its own fashion, and served in a body, often under a distinct commander.[21] The army marched through Asia in a single column, which was not, however, continuous, but was broken into three portions. The first portion consisted of the baggage animals and about half of the contingents of the nations; the second was composed wholly of native Persians, who preceded and followed the emblems of religion and the king; the third was made up of the remaining national contingents.[1] The king himself rode alternately in a chariot and in a litter. He was preceded immediately by ten sacred horses, and a sacred chariot drawn by eight milk-white steeds. Round him and about him were the choicest troops of the whole army, twelve thousand horse and the same number of foot, all Persians, and those too not taken at random, but selected carefully from the whole mass of the native soldiery. Among them seem to have been the famous "Immortals"—a picked body of 10,000 footmen, always maintained at exactly the same number and thence deriving their appellation.[2]

The line of march from Sardis to Abydos was only partially along the shore. The army probably descended the valley of the Hermus nearly to its mouth, and then struck northward into the Caicus vale, crossing which it held on its way, with

[20] Supra, pp. 187, 188.

[21] The 47 nations, who, according to Herodotus, furnished the foot, were marshalled in 28 bodies, under 28 commanders.

[1] Herod. vii. 40, 41. [2] Ibid. ch. 83.

Mount Kara-dagh (Cané) on the left,[3] across the Atarnean plain, and along the coast to Adramyttium (Adramyti) and Antandros, whence it again struck inland, and, crossing the ridge of Ida, descended into the valley of the Scamander. Some losses were incurred from the effects of a violent thunderstorm amid the mountains;[4] but they cannot have been of any great consequence. On reaching the Scamander the army found its first difficulty with respect to water. That stream was probably low, and the vast host of men and animals were unable to obtain from it a supply sufficient for their wants. This phenomenon, we are told, frequently recurred afterwards;[5] it surprises the English reader, but is not really astonishing,[6] since, in hot countries, even considerable streams are often reduced to mere threads of water during the summer.

Rounding the hills which skirt the Scamander valley upon the east the army marched past Rhœteum, Ophrynium, and Dardanus to Abydos.[7] Here Xerxes, seated upon a marble throne, which the people of Abydos had erected for him on the summit of a hill,[8] was able to see at one glance his whole armament, and to feast his eyes with the sight. It is not likely that any misgivings occurred to him at such a moment.[9] Before him lay his vast host, covering with its dense masses the entire low ground between the hills and the sea; beyond was the strait, and to his left the open sea, white with the sails of four thousand ships; the green fields of the Chersonese smiled invitingly a little further on; while, between him and the opposite shore, the long lines of his bridges lay darkling upon the sea, like a yoke placed upon the neck of a captive.[10] Having seen all, the king gave his special attention to the fleet, which he now perhaps beheld in all its magnitude for the first time. Desirous of knowing which of his subjects were the best sailors,

[3] Herod. ch. 42.

[4] Ibid. ch. 43.

[5] Ibid. vii. 58, 108, 127, 196, &c.

[6] On the possibility of streams like the Scamander proving insufficient to supply the host with drinkable water, see Mr. Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 384.

[7] Herod. vii. 43, ad fin.

[8] Ibid. ch. 44.

[9] The conversation between Xerxes and Artabanus given by Herodotus (vii. 46-52) has no claim to be regarded as historical.

[10] Æschyl. *Pers.* 72, 73. Ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλὼν αὐχένι πόντου.

he gave orders for a sailing-match, which were at once carried out. The palm was borne off by the Phœnicians of Sidon,[11] who must have beaten not only their own countrymen of Tyre but the Greeks of Asia and the islands.

On the next day the passage took place. It was accompanied by religious ceremonies. Waiting for the sacred hour of sunrise, the leader of the host, as the first rays appeared, poured a libation from a golden goblet into the sea, and prayed to Mithra that he might effect the conquest of Europe. As he prayed he cast into the sea the golden goblet, and with it a golden bowl and a short Persian sword. Meanwhile the multitude strewed all the bridge with myrtle boughs, and perfumed it with clouds of incense.[12] The "Immortals" crossed first, wearing garlands on their heads. The king, with the sacred chariot and horses, passed over on the second day.[13] For seven days and seven nights the human stream flowed on without intermission across one bridge, while the attendants and the baggage-train made use of the other. The lash was employed to quicken the movements of laggards.[14] At last the whole army was in Europe, and the march resumed its regularity.

It is unnecessary to follow in detail the advance of the host along the coast of Thrace, across Chalcidicé, and round the Thermaic Gulf into Pieria. If we except the counting of the fleet and army at Doriscus no circumstances of much interest diversified this portion of the march, which lay entirely through territories that had previously submitted to the Great King. The army spread itself over a wide tract of country, marching generally in three divisions,[15] which proceeded by three parallel lines, one along the coast, another at some considerable distance inland, and a third, with which was Xerxes himself, midway between them. At every place where Xerxes stopped along his line of route the natives had, besides furnishing corn for his army, to entertain him and his suite at a great banquet, the cost of which was felt as a heavy burden.[16] Contributions of

[11] Herod. vii. 44. On the superiority of the Sidonian ships, see also chs. 99 and 100.

[12] Ibid. ch. 54.

[13] Ibid. ch. 55.

[14] Ibid. ch. 56.

[15] Ibid. ch. 121.

[16] See above, p. 192; and compare Herod. vii. 118-120.

troops or ships were also required from all the cities and tribes;[17] and thus both fleet and army continually swelled as they advanced onward. In crossing the tract between the Strymon and the Axius some damage was suffered by the baggage-train from lions,[18] which came down from the mountains during the night and devoured many of the camels; but otherwise the march was effected without loss, and the fleet and army reached the borders of Thessaly intact, and in good condition. Here it was found that there was work for the pioneers,[19] and a reconnaissance of the enemy's country before entering it was probably also thought desirable.[20] The army accordingly halted some days in Pieria,[21] while preparations were being made for crossing the Olympic range into the Thessalian lowland.

During the halt intelligence arrived which seemed to promise the invader an easy conquest. Xerxes, while he was staying at Sardis, had sent heralds to all the Grecian states,[22] excepting Athens and Sparta, with a demand for earth and water, the recognised symbols of submission. His envoys now returned, and brought him favourable replies from at least one-third of the continental Greeks—from the Perrhæbians, Thessalians, Dolopians, Magnetians, Achæans of Phthiotis, Enianians, Malians, Locrians, and from most of the Bœotians.[1] Unless it were the insignificant Phocis, no hostile country seemed to intervene between the place where his army lay and the great object of the expedition, Attica. Xerxes, therefore, having first viewed the pass of Tempé, and seen with his own eyes that no enemy lay encamped beyond,[2] passed over the Olympic range by a road cut through the woods by his army, and proceeded southwards across Thessaly and Achæa Phthiotis into Malis,[3]

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[17] Herod. vii. 110, 115, 122, 123, &c.

[18] Col. Mure has denied that the animals intended could be really lions, and has suggested that they were "some species of lynx or wild-cat." (*Literature of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 402.) But Aristotle, who belonged to this district, and was an excellent naturalist, makes the lion a native of the tract (*Hist. An.* vi. 31; viii. 28); and Pliny repeats his statement (*H. N.* viii. 17).

[19] Herod. vii. 131.

[20] The visit of Xerxes to the pass of Tempé (Herod. vii. 128, 130) was probably connected with a desire to reconnoitre.

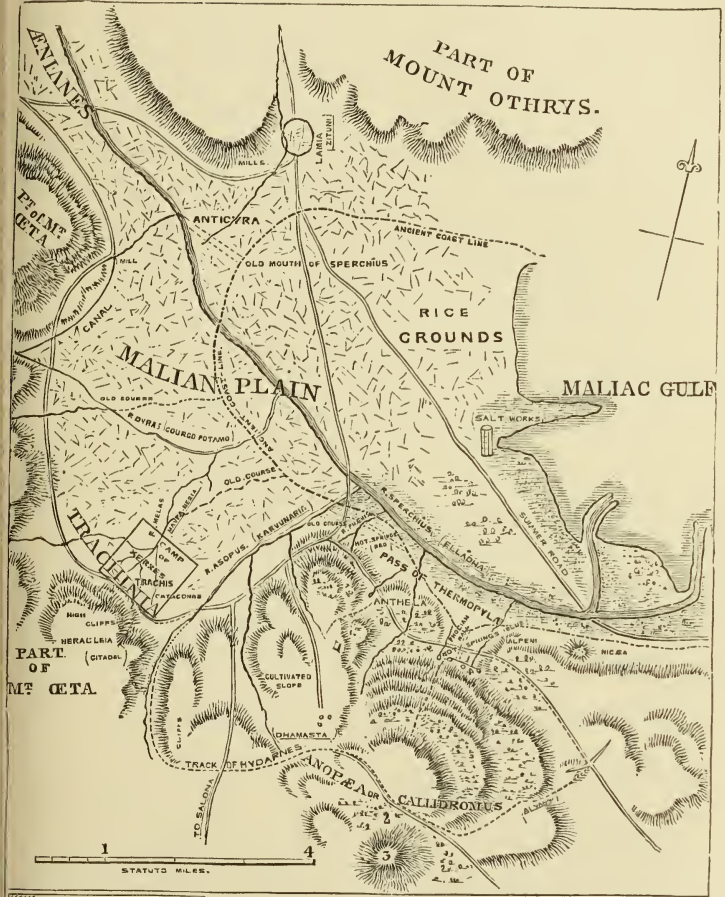
[21] Ἡμέρας συχνάς. (Herod. vii. 131)

[22] Herod. vii. 32. [1] Ibid. vii. 132.

[2] Ibid. chs. 128-130.

[3] Ibid. chs. 196-201.

the fertile plain at the mouth of the Spercheius river. Here, having heard that a Greek force was in the neighbourhood, he pitched his camp not far from the small town of Trachis.



PLAN OF THERMOPYLÆ
AND THE
ADJACENT COUNTRY.

ENLARGED VIEW OF THE PASS.

1. Monument to Leonidas.
2. Turkish Custom-house.
3. Hot Spring.

1. Position of the Greek army.
2. Position of the Phocians.
3. Summit of Callidromus.
4. Site of the Monument to Leonidas.

Thus far had the Greeks allowed the invader to penetrate their country without offering him any resistance. Originally there had been an intention of defending Thessaly, and an army under Evænetus, a Spartan polemarch, and Themistocles, the great Athenian, had proceeded to Tempé, in order to co-operate with the Thessalians in guarding the pass.[4] But the discovery that the Olympic range could be crossed in the place where the army of Xerxes afterwards passed it, had shown that the position was untenable; and it had been then resolved that the stand should be made at the next defensible position,[5] Thermopylæ. Here, accordingly, a force was found—small, indeed, if it be compared with the number of the assailants, but sufficient to defend such a position as that where it was posted against the world in arms. Three hundred Spartans, with their usual retinue of helots,[6] 700 Lacedæmonians,[7] other Peloponnesians to the number of 2800,[8] 1000 Phocians,[9] the same number of Locrians,[10] 700 Thespians, and 400 Thebans,[11] formed an army of 9000 men—quite as numerous a force as could be employed with any effect in the defile they were sent to guard. That defile was a long and narrow pass shut in be tween a high mountain, Callidromus, and the sea, and crossed at one point by a line of wall in which was a single gateway.[12] Unless the command of the sea were gained, or another mode of crossing the mountains discovered, the pass could scarcely be forced.

Xerxes, however, confident in his numbers—after waiting

[4] Herod. chs. 172-174.

[5] Mr. Grote suggests that it might perhaps have been possible to defend both entrances into Thessaly (*History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 418). But the heights of Olympus were in the hands of the Macedonians, and those once gained the host could have descended by half a dozen different routes.

[6] The usual retinue seems to have been seven helots to each Spartan. (Herod. ix. 10.) If this was the proportion observed at Thermopylæ, the helots there would have amounted to 2100. Herodotus, while mentioning the presence of helots (vii. 229, viii. 25), omits them from his list of troops (chs. 202, 203).

[7] Isocrat. *Paneg.* xxv. § 90. Compar Diod. Sic. xi. 4, § 5, where the Lacedæ monians are reckoned at 1000.

[8] Herod. vii. 202.

[9] Ibid. ch. 203; Diod. Sic. xi. 4, § Φωκέων οὐ πολὺ λειπόμενοι τῶν χιλίων

[10] Diod. Sic. l. s. c. Herodotus say the Locrians of Opus came with all the force (παναστρατίῃ): and Pausanias mak their contingent 6000 (x. 20, § 2).

[11] Herod. vii. 202. Diodorus ad 1000 Malians (l. s. c.).

[12] Herod. vii. 176, 200. The cha (p. 457) exhibits at one view both th ancient and the modern condition the pass.

four days at Trachis, probably in the hope that his fleet would join him[13]—proceeded on the fifth day to the assault. First the Medes and Cissians, then the famous "Immortals" were sent into the jaws of the pass against the immovable foe;[14] but neither detachment could make any impression. The long spears,[15] large shields,[16] and heavy armour of the Greeks, their skilful tactics, and steady array, were far more than a match for the inferior equipments and discipline of the Asiatics. Though the attack was made with great gallantry, both on this day and the next,[17] it failed to produce the slightest effect. Very few of the Greeks were either slain or wounded; and it seemed as if the further advance of a million of men was to be stopped by a force less than a hundredth part of their number.

But now information reached Xerxes which completely changed the face of affairs. There was a rough mountain-path leading from Trachis up the gorge of the Asopus and across Callidromus to the rear of the Greek position,[18] which had been unknown to the Greeks when they decided on making their first stand at Thermopylæ,[19] and which they only discovered when their plans no longer admitted of alteration. It was, perhaps, not much more than a goat-track, and apparently they had regarded it as scarcely practicable, since they had thought its defence might be safely entrusted to a thousand Phocians.[20] Xerxes, however, on learning the existence of the track, resolved at once to make trial of it. His Persian soldiers were excellent mountaineers. He ordered Hydarnes to take the "Immortals," and, guided by a native, to proceed

[13] Herodotus represents the delay as arising from an expectation on the part of Xerxes that the Greeks would retreat (vii. 210). But it is more probable that he waited for his fleet, which, if it had been present, might either have galled the Greeks with missiles on their unguarded flank, or have landed a force in their rear.

[14] Herod. vii. 210, 211. Diodorus says the first attack was made by Medes, Cissians, *and Sacæ* (xi. 7, § 2).

[15] Herod. vii. 211.

[16] Diod. Sic. xi. 7, § 3.

[17] Herod. vii. 212; Diod. Sic. xi. 8.

[18] Herod. vii. 216. No sufficient data exist for laying down the *exact* line of this path. In the accompanying chart Col. Leake's views are, generally speaking, followed.

[19] Ibid. ch. 175.

[20] Ibid. ch. 217. The chief error of Leonidas at Thermopylæ appears to have been the insufficient defence of this pathway. Two or three thousand men could probably have defended the pass below as well as 9000, so that 6000 or 7000 might have been spared for the heights.

along the path by night, and descend with early dawn into the rear of the Greeks, who would then be placed between two fires. The operation was performed with complete success. The Phocian guard, surprised at the summit, left the path free while they sought a place of safety.[21] The Greeks in the pass below, warned during the night of their danger, in part fled, in part resolved on death.[22] When morning came, Leonidas, at the head of about half his original army,[23] moved forward towards the Malian plain, and there met the advancing Persians. A bloody combat ensued, in which the Persians lost by far the greater number; but the ranks of the Greeks were gradually thinned, and they were beaten back step by step into the narrowest part of the pass, where finally they all perished, except the four hundred Thebans, who submitted and were made prisoners.[24]

So terminated the first struggle on the soil of Greece between the invaders and the invaded. It seemed to promise that, though at vast cost, Persia would be victorious. If her loss in the three days combat was 20,000 men, as Herodotus states,[25] yet, as that of her enemy was 4000, the proportionate advantage was on her side.[26]

But, for the conquest of such a country as Greece, it was requisite, not only that the invader should succeed on land, but also that he should be superior at sea. Xerxes had felt this, and had brought with him a fleet, calculated, as he imagined, to sweep the Greek navy from the Egean. As far as the Pagasæan Gulf, opposite the northern extremity of Eubœa, his fleet had advanced without meeting an enemy. It had encountered one terrible storm off the coast of Magnesia, and had lost 400 vessels;[27] but this loss was scarcely felt in so vast an armament. When from Aphetæ, at the mouth of

[21] Herod. vii. 218.
[22] Ibid. ch. 219.
[23] The number which remained was probably between 4000 and 5000, consisting of the Spartans, Lacedæmonians, Helots, Thespians, Thebans, and perhaps the Mycenæans. (See Pausan. l. s. c.)
[24] Herod. vii. 223-225, and 233.
[25] Ibid. viii. 24.
[26] The entire population of Greece, including the parts already conquered by Persia, is estimated by Clinton at little more than 3½ millions. (*F. H.* vol. ii. p. 524.) That of the Persian empire cannot have been less than forty millions.
[27] Herod. vii. 188-193

the gulf, the small Greek fleet, amounting to no more than 271 vessels, was seen at anchor off Artemisium, the only fear which the Persian commanders entertained was lest it should escape them.[1] They at once detached 200 vessels to sail round the east coast of Eubœa, and cut off the possibility of retreat.[2] When, however, these vessels were all lost in a storm, and when in three engagements on three successive days, the Greek fleet showed itself fully able to contend against the superior numbers of its antagonist,[3] the Persians themselves could not fail to see that their naval supremacy was more than doubtful. The fleet at Artemisium was not the entire Greek naval force; on another occasion it might be augmented, while their own could scarcely expect to receive reinforcements.[4] The fights at Artemisium foreshadowed a day when the rival fleets would no longer meet and part on equal terms, but Persia would have to acknowledge herself inferior.

Meanwhile, however, the balance of advantage rested with the invaders. The key of Northern Greece was won, and Phocis, Locris, Bœotia, Attica, the Megarid lay open to the Persian army. The Greek fleet could gain nothing by any longer maintaining the position of Artemisium, and fell back towards the south,[5] while its leaders anxiously considered where it should next take up its station. The Persians pressed on both by land and sea. A rapid march through Phocis and Bœotia[6] brought Xerxes to Athens, soon after the Athenians, knowing that resistance would be vain, had evacuated it.[7] The Acropolis, defended by a few fanatics, was taken and burnt.[8]

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[1] Herod. viii. 6.

[2] Ibid. ch. 7.

[3] Ibid. chs. 10-17.

[4] Herodotus, strangely enough, makes the reinforcements received between Cape Sepias and Salamis counterbalance the whole loss both by storm and battle (viii. 66). But as the loss amounted to 50 ships at the least, it is quite impossible that he can have been correctly informed. The only additions the fleet received were from a few cities on the Euripus, from Carystus, and from some of the western Cyclades, as Andros and Tenos. The contribution thus obtained must have been insignificant. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 256, note [4], 2nd edition.)

[5] Herod. viii. 21, 40.

[6] Ibid. chs. 31-34, and 50. During this march (Herod. viii. 35-39), or possibly the next year (Ctesias, *Exc. Pers.* § 27), a detachment was sent to plunder the temple of Apollo at Delphi, which was roughly handled by the Delphians, and forced to retire.

[7] Herod. viii. 41.

[8] Ibid. chs. 51-54. The oracle which bade Athens "trust in her wooden

One object of the expedition was thus accomplished.[9] Athens lay in ruins; and the whole of Attica was occupied by the conqueror. The Persian fleet, too, finding the channel of the Euripus clear, sailed down it, and rounding Sunium, came to anchor in the bay of Phalerum.[10]

In the counsels of the Greeks, all was doubt and irresolution. The army, which ought to have mustered in full force at Thermopylæ and Callidromus, and which, after those passes were forced, might have defended Cithæron and Parnes, had never ventured beyond the Isthmus of Corinth, and was there engaged in building a wall across the neck of land from sea to sea.[11] The fleet lay off Salamis, where it was detained by the entreaties of the Athenians, who had placed in that island the greater part of the non-combatant population; but the inclination was strong on the part of many to withdraw westward and fight the next battle, if a battle must be fought, in the vicinity of the land force, which would be a protection in case of defeat.[12] Could Xerxes have had patience for a few days, the combined fleet would have broken up.[13] The Peloponnesian contingents would have withdrawn to the isthmus; and the Athenians, despairing of success, would probably have sailed away to Italy.[14] But the Great King, when he saw the vast disproportion between his own fleet and that of the enemy, could not believe in the possibility of the Greeks offering a successful resistance. Like a modern emperor,[15] who imagined that, if only he could have been with his fleet, all would necessarily have gone well, Xerxes supposed that by having the sea-fight under his own eye he would be sure of victory.[16] Thus

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walls" was thought by some to intend the palisade which surrounded the Acropolis.

[9] Herod. vii. 5, 8; viii. 68, § 1, sub fin.

[10] Ibid. viii. 66.

[11] Ibid. ch. 71.

[12] Ibid. chs. 56-63, and 74.

[13] There can be no doubt that the views which Herodotus makes Artemisia express (viii. 68, § 2) were perfectly sound. Whether she really expressed them or no is perhaps uncertain.

[14] See the threat of Themistocles: εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσεις, ἡμεῖς μὲν . . . κομιεύμεθα ἐς Σίριν τὴν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ (Herod. viii. 62.) Compare the actual conduct of the Phocæans (Herod. i. 165) and the Teians (ib. i. 168): and the proposal of Aristagoras (ib. v. 124).

[15] Napoleon I. (See Fouché, *Mémoires*, tom. i. p. 293; Las Casas, *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène*, tom. iii. p. 248.)

[16] Herod. viii. 69.

again, as at Artemisium, the only fear felt was lest the Greeks should fly, and in that way escape chastisement. Orders were therefore issued to the Persian fleet to close up at once, and blockade the eastern end of the Salaminian strait,[17] while a detachment repeated the attempted manœuvre at Eubœa, and sailed round the island to guard the channel at its western outlet.[18]

These movements were executed late in the day on which the Persian fleet arrived at Phalerum. During the night intelligence reached the commanders that the retreat of the Greeks was about to commence at once;[19] whereupon the Persian right wing was pushed forward into the strait, and carried beyond the Greek position so as to fill the channel where it opens into the bay of Eleusis.[20] The remainder of the night passed in preparations for the battle on both sides.[21] At daybreak both fleets advanced from their respective shores, the Persians being rather the assailants.[22] Their thousand vessels[23] were drawn up in three lines,[24] and charged their antagonists with such spirit that the general inclination on the part of the Greeks was at first to retreat. Some of their ships had almost touched the shore, when the bold example of one of the captains,[25] or a cry of reproach from unknown lips,[26] produced a revulsion of feeling, and the whole line advanced in good order. The battle was for a short time doubtful;[27] but soon the superiority of Greek naval tactics began to tell. The Persian vessels became entangled one with another, and crashing together broke each

[17] Herod. ch. 70.

[18] Diod. Sic. xi. 17, § 2; Æschyl. *Pers.* 370.

[19] Herod. viii. 75; Æschyl. *Pers.* . 357-362. The intelligence is said to ave been sent by Themistocles.

[20] Herod. viii. 76. On the real cha- acter of the movements which preceded he battle of Salamis, see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 263, note [10], 2nd lition.

[21] Æschyl. *Pers.* ll. 376-385; Herod. iii. 78-83.

[22] Herod. viii. 84. Ἀναγομένοισι δέ φι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο οἱ βάρβαροι.

[23] Æschylus made the number 1207. (*Pers.* ll. 343-345.) So Herodotus, by implication (viii. 66, compared with vii. 89). Ctesias said it exceeded a thousand. (*Exc. Pers.* § 26.)

[24] Æsch. *Pers.* l. 368.

[25] Herod. viii. 84; Æsch. *Pers.* ll. 411-413.

[26] Herod. l. s. c. On the importance of this story, as indicating the hesitation of the Greeks at first, see Mr. Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. iii. p. 473.

[27] Æsch. *Pers.* ll. 414, 415. Τὰ πρῶτα μὲν δὴ ῥεῦμα Περσικοῦ στράτευ ἀντεῖχεν. Compare Diod. Sic. xi. 19, §§ 1, 2.

other's oars.[28] The triple line increased their difficulties. If a vessel, overmatched, sought to retreat, it necessarily came into collision with the ships stationed in its rear. These moreover pressed too eagerly forward, since their captains were anxious to distinguish themselves, in order to merit the approval of Xerxes.[29] The Greeks found themselves able to practise with good effect their favourite manœuvre of the *periplus*,[30] and thus increased the confusion. It was not long before the greater part of the Persian fleet became a mere helpless mass of shattered or damaged vessels. Five hundred are said to have been sunk[31]—the majority by the enemy, but some even by their own friends.[32] The sea was covered with wrecks, and with wretches who clung to them, till the ruthless enemy slew them or forced them to let go their hold.[33]

This defeat was a death-blow to the hopes of Xerxes, and sealed the fate of the expedition. From the moment that he realised to himself the fact of the entire inability of his fleet to cope with that of the Greeks, Xerxes made up his mind to return with all haste to Asia.[34] From over-confidence he fell into the opposite extreme of despair, and made no effort to retrieve his ill fortune. His fleet was ordered to sail straight for the Hellespont, and to guard the bridges until he reached them with his army.[1] He himself retreated hastily along the same road by which he had advanced, his whole army accompanying him as far as Thessaly,[2] where Mardonius was left with 260,000 picked men,[3] to prevent pursuit, and to renew the attempt against Greece in the ensuing year. Xerxes pressed on to the Hellespont, losing vast numbers of his troops by famine and sickness on the way,[4] and finally returned into Asia, not by his

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[28] Æsch. *Pers.* ll. 417, 418.
[29] Herod. viii. 89, ad fin.
[30] Æsch. *Pers.* ll. 419, 420.
[31] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 26. Diodorus says "above 200" (xi. 19, § 3).
[32] Herod. viii. 87.
[33] Æsch. *Pers.* ll. 426-428.
[34] Herod. viii. 97.
[1] Ibid. ch. 107.
[2] Ibid. ch. 113.
[3] Πλῆθος ἔκκριτον στρατοῦ. Æsch. *Pers.* l. 799. Herodotus tells us that Mardonius selected the entire contingents of the Persians, Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians, while from the remainder of the troops he chose out certain individuals.
[4] Herod. viii. 115. Æschylus adds to this that there was a great disaster at the passage of the Strymon, which the army attempted to cross upon the newly formed ice. (*Pers.* ll. 498-509.)

magnificent bridge, which a storm had destroyed, but on board a vessel, which, according to some, narrowly escaped shipwreck during the passage.[5] Even in Asia disaster pursued him. Between Abydos and Sardis, his army suffered almost as much from over-indulgence as it had previously suffered from want;[6] and of the mighty host which had gone forth from the Lydian capital in the spring not very many thousands can have re-entered it in the autumn.

Still, however, there was a possibility that the success, which his own arms had failed to achieve, might reward the exertions of his lieutenants. Mardonius had expressed himself confident that with 300,000 picked soldiers he could overpower all resistance,[7] and make Greece a satrapy of Persia. Xerxes had raised his forces to that amount by sending Artabazus back from Sestos at the head of a *corps d'armée* numbering 40,000 men.[8] The whole army of 300,000 wintered in Thessaly;[9] and Mardonius, when spring came, having vainly endeavoured to detach the Athenians from the Grecian ranks,[10] marched through Bœotia into Attica, and occupied Athens for the second time.[11] Hence he proceeded to menace the Peloponnese, where he formed an alliance with the Argives, who promised him that they would openly embrace the Persian cause.[12] At the same time the Athenians, finding that Sparta took no steps to help them, began to waver in their resistance, and to contemplate accepting the terms which Mardonius was still willing to grant them.[13] The fate of Greece trembled in the balance, and apparently was determined by the accident of a death and a succession, rather than by any wide-spread patriotic feeling or any settled course of policy. Cleombrotus, regent for the young son of Leonidas, died,[14] and his brother Pausanias—a brave, clever,

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[5] For two accounts of the return, see Herod. viii. 117-120. Compare Justin, ii. 13; Juvenal, x. 185.

[6] Herod. viii. 117.

[7] Ibid. ch. 100, ad fin.

[8] The 40,000 were a portion of the troops selected by Mardonius (see note [3]), which had served as an escort to Xerxes as far as the Hellespont. (Herod. viii. 126.)

[9] Ibid. ch. 129. Compare ix. 1.

[10] Ibid. viii. 136, 140-144.

[11] Ibid. ix. 3.

[12] Ibid. ch. 12.

[13] Ibid. ch. 11.

[14] See the remarks of Bp. Thirlwall on the probable time of the death of Cleombrotus. (*History of Greece*, vol. ii. p. 328, note, and p. 330.)

and ambitious man—took his place. We can scarcely be wrong in ascribing—at least in part—to this circumstance the unlooked-for change of policy, which electrified the despondent ambassadors of Athens [15] almost as soon as Pausanias was installed in power. It was suddenly announced that Sparta would take the offensive. Ten thousand hoplites and 40,000 light-armed—the largest army that she ever levied—took the field,[16] and, joined at the isthmus by above 25,000 Peloponnesians,[17] and soon afterwards by almost as many Athenians and Megarians,[18] proceeded to seek the foreigners, first in Attica, and then, in the position to which they had retired,[19] in Bœotia. On the skirts of Cithæron,[20] near Platæa, a hundred and eight thousand Greeks [21] confronted more than thrice their number of Persians and Persian subjects;[22] and now at length the trial was to be made whether, in fair and open fight on land, Greece or Persia would be superior. A suspicion of what the result would be might have been derived from Marathon. But there the Persians had been taken at a disadvantage, when the cavalry, their most important arm, was absent.[23] Here the error of Datis was not likely to be repeated. Mardonius had a numerous and well-armed cavalry, which he handled with no little skill.[24] It remained to be seen, when the general engagement came, whether, with both arms brought fully into play, the vanquished at Marathon would be the victors.

The battle of Platæa was brought on under circumstances very unfavourable to the Greeks. Want of water and a difficulty about provisions had necessitated a night movement on their part.[25] The cowardice of all the small contingents,[26] and

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[15] Herod. ix. 11.

[16] Ibid. chs. 10 and 28.

[17] Ibid. chs. 19 and 28. The Peloponnesian troops at Platæa, exclusive of the Spartans, amounted to 27,200.

[18] Sixteen thousand Athenians (with 1200 Platæans) and six thousand Megarians made up a total of 23,200.

[19] Herod. ix. 13-15. This movement was judicious. It placed the Persians in a friendly country, abounding with forage, gave them a plain and gentle slopes on which to manœuvre, and put the strong town of Thebes close in their rear.

[20] Herod. ix. 19. Ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπωρείης τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος.

[21] Ibid. ch. 30.

[22] Besides his 300,000 native troops, Mardonius had the services of perhaps 50,000 Greek auxiliaries. (Herod. ix. 32, sub fin.)

[23] See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iii. pp. 430-432.

[24] Herod. ix. 20-23, 39, 40, 49.

[25] Ibid. ch. 50.

[26] Ibid. ch. 52. The Tegeatæ, who

the obstinacy of an individual Spartan,[27] disconcerted the whole plan of the operation, and left the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians at daybreak separated from each other,[28] and deserted by the whole body of their allies. Mardonius attacked at once, and prevented the junction of the two allies, so that two distinct and separate engagements went on at the same time. In both the Greeks were victorious. The Spartans repulsed the Persian horse and foot, slew Mardonius, and were the first to assail the Persian camp. The Athenians defeated the *medizing* Greeks, and effected a breach in the defences of the camp, on which the Spartans had failed to make any impression.[29] A terrible carnage followed.[30] The contingent of 40,000 troops under Artabazus alone drew off in good order.[31] The remainder were seized with panic, and were either slaughtered like sheep or fled in complete disarray. Seventy thousand Greeks[32] not only defeated but destroyed the army of 300,000 barbarians, which melted away and disappeared, making no further stand anywhere. The disaster of Marathon was repeated on a larger scale, and without the resource of an embarkation. Henceforth the immense superiority of Greek troops to Persian was well known on both sides; and nothing but the distance from Greece of her vital parts, and the quarrels of the Greek states among themselves, preserved for nearly a century and a half the doomed empire of Persia.

The immediate result of the defeats of Salamis and Platæa was a contraction of the Persian boundary towards the west. Though a few Persian garrisons maintained themselves for some years on the further side of the straits,[33] soothing thereby the

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alone remained firm, must be regarded as forming almost a part of the Spartan force.

[27] Amompharetus. (See Herod. ix. 53-57.)

[28] Ibid. chs. 59, 60.

[29] Ibid. chs. 61 to 70.

[30] Æschyl. *Pers.* ll. 812-814; Herod. ix. 70. It is impossible, however, to believe the statement of this latter writer, that of the 300,000 Asiatics only 43,000 survived the battle. Diodorus, who puts the slain at "something more than 100,000" (xi. 32, § 5), taxes our credulity quite sufficiently.

[31] Herod. ix. 66.

[32] Fifty thousand Spartans, Lacedæmonians, and Helots, 3000 Tegeatæ, and 16,000 Athenians. Total, 69,000.

[33] Byzantium till B.C. 478 (Thucyd. i. 94); Eïon till B.C. 477 (ib. i. 98); Doriscus, apparently till B.C. 450, or even later (Herod. vii. 106).

wounded vanity of the Great King, who liked to think that he had still a hold on Europe;[34] yet there can be no doubt that, after the double flight of Xerxes and Artabazus, Macedonia, Pæonia, and Thrace recovered their independence. Persia lost her European provinces, and began the struggle to retain those of Asia. Terminus receded, and having once receded never advanced again in this quarter. The Greeks took the offensive. Sailing to Asia, they not only liberated from their Persian bondage the islands which lay along the coast, but landing their men on the continent attacked and defeated an army of 60,000 Persians at Mycalé, and destroyed the remnant of the ships that had escaped from Salamis.[1] Could they have made up their minds to maintain a powerful fleet permanently on the coast of Asia, they might at once have deprived Persia of her whole seaboard on the Propontis and the Egean; but neither of the two great powers of Greece was prepared for such a resolve. Sparta disliked distant expeditions; and Athens did not as yet see her way to undertaking the protection of the *continental* Greeks.[2] She had much to do at home, and had not yet discovered those weak points in her adversary's harness, which subsequently enabled her to secure by treaty the freedom of the Greek cities upon the mainland.[3] For the present, therefore, Persia only lost the bulk of her European possessions, and the islands of the Propontis and the Egean.

The circumstances which caused a renewal of Greek aggressions upon Asia towards the close of the reign of Xerxes are not very clearly narrated by the authors who speak of them. It

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[34] Doriscus was to the Persians under Xerxes and Artaxerxes what Calais was to England from the time of Henry VI. to that of Mary,—the sign of past and the supposed means of future conquest.

[1] Herod. ix. 90-106; Thucyd. i. 89.

[2] Mr. Grote maintains (*History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 87, note) that Athens undertook this protection from the date of the confederacy of Delos (B.C. 477), and that the maritime *continental* Greeks, or at least those of the Hellespont, Æolis, and Ionia, were detached from the Persian empire from that year. He meets the statement of Herodotus, that the continental cities of Ionia continued to be taxed in his day according to the taxing of Artaphernes (vi. 42) by supposing that "rating" and not "payment" is intended—a very forced explanation; while he entirely fails to meet the decisive statement of Thucydides (i. 138), that Themistocles was assigned by Artaxerxes the revenues of Myus and Lampsacus, two maritime towns in, B.C. 465.

[3] See below, p. 475.

appears, however, that after twelve years of petty operations, during which Eïon was recovered,[4] and Doriscus frequently attacked, but without effect,[5] the Athenians resolved, in B.C. 466, upon a great expedition to the eastward. Collecting a fleet of 300 vessels,[6] which was placed under the command of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, they sailed to the coast of Caria and Lycia, where they drove the Persian garrisons out of the Greek towns, and augmenting their navy by fresh contingents at every step,[7] proceeded along the shores of Pamphylia as far as the mouth of the river Eurymedon, where they found a Phœnician fleet of 340 vessels,[8] and a Persian army, stationed to protect the territory. Engaging first the fleet they defeated it, and drove it ashore, after which they disembarked and gained a victory over the Persian army.[9] As many as two hundred triremes were taken or destroyed.[10] They then sailed on towards Cyprus, where they met and destroyed a squadron of eighty ships,[11] which was on its way to reinforce the fleet at the Eurymedon. Above a hundred vessels, 20,000 captives, and a vast amount of plunder were the prize of this war;[12] which had, however, no further effect on the relations of the two powers.[13]

In the following year the reign of Xerxes came to an end abruptly. With this monarch seem to have begun those internal disorders of the seraglio, which made the Court during more than a hundred and forty years a perpetual scene of intrigues, assassinations, executions, and conspiracies. Xerxes, who appears

[4] Herod. vii. 107; Thucyd. i. 98; Plut. *Vit. Cim.* c. 7.

[5] Herod. vii. 106.

[6] Plutarch makes the number 200 (*Vit. Cim.* c. 12); but he may be corrected from Diodorus (xi. 60, § 3), whose account is more circumstantial.

[7] Diod. Sic. xi. 60, § 5.

[8] The number is variously stated: at 600 by Phanodemus (ap. Plut. *Vit. Cim.* l. s. c.); at 350 by Ephorus (ibid.); and by Diodorus (xi. 60, § 6) at 340.

[9] Thucyd. i. 100; Plut. *Vit. Cim.* c. 12, 13. Diodorus strangely places the sea-fight at Cyprus.

[10] Thucyd. l. s. c. Plutarch says 200 were taken, and many others destroyed. (*Vit. Cim.* c. 12.)

[11] Plut. *Vit. Cim.* c. 13.

[12] Diod. Sic. xi. 60, § 7; 62, § 1. The number of vessels in the second passage (340) is evidently an exaggeration.

[13] The later Greek writers confuse the battles of the Eurymedon (B.C. 466) and of Cyprus (B.C. 449) in a way that is truly perplexing. Plutarch makes the peace of Callias follow on the Eurymedon battle (*Vit. Cim.* c. 13). Diodorus places half the Eurymedon battle at Cyprus (see above, note [9]), and applies to it an inscription which must certainly have referred to the later victory (xi. 62, § 3. Οἵδε γὰρ ἐν Κύπρῳ Μήδους πολλοὺς ὀλέσαντες, κ.τ.λ.) Thucydides and probability are our best guides.

to have had only one wife, Amestris,[14] the daughter (or granddaughter) of the conspirator, Otanes,[15] permitted himself the free indulgence of illicit passion among the princesses of the Court, the wives of his own near relatives. The most horrible results followed. Amestris vented her jealous spite on those whom she regarded as guilty of stealing from her the affections of her husband; and to prevent her barbarities from producing rebellion, it was necessary to execute the persons whom she had provoked, albeit they were near relations of the monarch.[16] The taint of incontinence spread among the members of the royal family; and a daughter of the king, who was married to one of the most powerful nobles, became notorious for her excesses.[17] Eunuchs rose into power, and fomented the evils which prevailed.[18] The king made himself bitter enemies among those whose position was close to his person. At last, Artabanus, chief of the guard,[19] a courtier of high rank, and Aspamitres, a eunuch, who held the office of chamberlain,[20] conspired against their master, and murdered him in his sleeping apartment, after he had reigned twenty years.[21]

The character of Xerxes falls below that of any preceding monarch. Excepting that he was not wholly devoid of a certain magnanimity, which made him listen patiently to those who opposed his views or gave him unpalatable advice,[22] and which prevented him from exacting vengeance on some occasions,[23] he had scarcely a trait whereon the mind can rest with any satisfaction. Weak and easily led,[24] puerile in his gusts of passion and his complete abandonment of himself to them[25]—

[14] Herod. ix. 109. Ἀμηστρις ἡ Ξέρξεω γυνή. Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 20.

[15] Herodotus makes her the daughter of Otanes (vii. 61), Ctesias of Onophas (Anaphes), the son of Otanes (*Exc. Pers.* § 20).

[16] See the story (told with full details by Herodotus, ix. 108-113), which ends with the death of Masistes, Xerxes' brother, and a number of his sons, Xerxes' nephews.

[17] Amytis, wife of Megabyzus, the grandson of Megabyzus the Conspirator (Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 28).

[18] On the power of the eunuchs under Xerxes, see Herod. viii. 104, 105; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 20, 27, 29.

[19] Diod. Sic. xi. 69, § 1; Plut. *Vit. Themist.* c. 27. According to Diodorus, Artabanus was a *Hyrcanian*. (See above, p. 242, note [4].)

[20] Κατακοιμιστής. Diod. Sic. l. s. c. (Compare above, p. 214 note [20].)

[21] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 29; Diod. Sic. xi. 69, § 2.

[22] Herod. vii. 105, 237; viii. 69.

[23] Ibid. vii. 136.

[24] Ibid. vii. 5-7, 12, 18; ix. 109.

[25] Ibid. vii. 35, 45, 212, 238; viii. 90.

selfish, fickle, boastful, cruel, superstitious, licentious—he exhibits to us the Oriental despot in the most contemptible of all his aspects—that wherein the moral and the intellectual qualities are equally in defect, and the career is one unvarying course of vice and folly. From Xerxes we have to date at once the decline of the Empire in respect of territorial greatness and military strength, and likewise its deterioration in regard to administrative vigour and national spirit. With him commenced the corruption of the Court—the fatal evil, which almost universally weakens and destroys Oriental dynasties. His expedition against Greece exhausted and depopulated the Empire; and though, by abstaining from further military enterprises, he did what lay in his power to recruit its strength, still the losses which his expedition caused were certainly not repaired in his lifetime.

As a builder, Xerxes showed something of the same grandeur of conception which is observable in his great military enterprise and in the works by which it was accompanied.[26] His Propylæa, and the sculptured staircase in front of the Chehl Minar, which is undoubtedly his work,[27] are among the most magnificent erections upon the Persepolitan platform; and are quite sufficient to place him in the foremost rank of Oriental builders. If we were to ascribe the Chehl Minar itself to him, we should have to give him the palm above all other kings of Persia; but on the whole it is most probable that that edifice and its duplicate at Susa were conceived, and in the main, constructed, by Darius.[28]

Xerxes left behind him three sons—Darius, Hystaspes, and Artaxerxes—and two daughters, Amytis and Rhodogune.[1] Hystaspes was satrap of Bactria,[2] and at the time of their

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[26] See above, pp. 447-451.

[27] Both the propylæa and the staircase bear inscriptions of Xerxes (Supra, pp. 281 and 296.)

[28] The inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon expressly ascribes the erection of the Susian palace to Darius (supra, p. 428): and the *exact* resemblance of the chief building there to the Chehl Minar at Persepolis makes it almost certain that they are both of the same date.

[1] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 20. Compare Diod. Sic. xi. 69, § 2, who, however, makes Hystaspes the youngest of the three sons. Justin knows of two sons only, Darius and Artaxerxes (iii. 1).

[2] Diod. Sic. l. s. c.

father's death, only Darius and Artaxerxes were at the Court. Fearing the eldest son most, Artabanus persuaded Artaxerxes that the assassination of Xerxes was the act of his brother, whereupon Artaxerxes caused him to be put to death,[3] and himself ascended the throne (B.C. 465).

Troubles, as usual, accompanied this irregular accession. Artabanus, not content with exercising an influence under Artaxerxes such as has caused some authors to speak of him as king,[4] aimed at removing the young prince [5] and making himself actual monarch. But his designs being betrayed to Artaxerxes by Megabyzus, and at the same time his former crimes coming to light, he was killed, together with his tool Aspamitres,[6] seven months after the murder of Xerxes. The sons of Artabanus sought to avenge his death, but were defeated by Megabyzus in an engagement, wherein they lost their lives.[7]

Meanwhile, in Bactria, Hystaspes,[8] who had a rightful claim to the throne, raised the standard of revolt. Artaxerxes marched against him in person, and engaged him in two battles, the first of which was indecisive, while in the second the Bactrians suffered defeat, chiefly (according to Ctesias) because the wind blew violently in their faces. So signal was the victory, that Bactria at once submitted. Hystaspes' fate is uncertain.

Not long after the reduction of Bactria, Egypt suddenly threw off the Persian yoke (B.C. 460).[9] Inarus, a king of the wild African tribes who bordered the Nile valley on the west, but himself perhaps a descendant of the old monarchs of

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[3] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 29; Diod. Sic. xi. 69, §§ 3-5.

[4] Euseb. *Chron. Can.* ii. p. 338; Syncell. p. 162, C.

[5] According to Diodorus he assaulted Artaxerxes with a drawn sword, and actually wounded him (xi. 69, § 5).

[6] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 30. This writer, small as is his claim to either honesty or critical acumen, becomes henceforth our best authority. He is approaching now to times contemporary with his own, and is freed from the temptation to contradict Herodotus and Thucydides.

[7] Ibid. l. s. c.

[8] Ctesias perversely calls the satrap of Bactria "another Artapanus" (§ 31). But we can scarcely be wrong in connecting the Bactrian revolt with the fact related by Diodorus, that Hystaspes held the Bactrian satrapy. (Diod. Sic. xi. 69, § 2.)

[9] Diodorus connects the revolt of Egypt with the disturbances consequent on the death of Darius (xi. 71, § 3): but it did not break out till five years later.

Egypt,[10] led the insurrection, and, in conjunction with an Egyptian, named Amyrtæus,[11] attacked the Persian troops stationed in the country, who were commanded by Achæmenes, the satrap.[12] A battle was fought near Papremis in the Delta,[13] wherein the Persians were defeated, and Achæmenes fell by the hand of Inarus himself.[14] The Egyptians generally now joined in the revolt; and the remnant of the Persian army was shut up in Memphis. Inarus had asked the aid of Athens; and an Athenian fleet of 200 sail was sent to his assistance. This fleet sailed up the Nile, defeated a Persian squadron,[15] and took part in the capture of Memphis and the siege of its citadel[16] (White-Castle). When the Persian king first learnt what had happened, he endeavoured to rid himself of his Athenian enemies by inducing the Spartans to invade their country;[17] but, failing in this attempt, he had recourse to arms, and, levying a vast host,[18] which he placed under the command of Megabyzus, sent that officer to recover the revolted province. Megabyzus marched upon Memphis, defeated the Egyptians and their allies in a great battle,[19] relieved the citadel of Memphis from its siege, and recovered the rest of the town. The Athenians fled to the tract called Prosôpitis,[20] which was a portion of the Delta, completely surrounded by two branch streams of the Nile.[21] Here they were besieged for eighteen months, till Megabyzus contrived to turn the water from one of the two streams, whereby the Athenian ships were stranded, and the

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[10] Inarus was the son of a *Psamatik* (Thucyd. i. 104).

[11] Ctesias does not name Amyrtæus, but probably intends him by the "Egyptian who prepared the revolt in conjunction with Inarus" (*Ἰνάρου Λιβύου ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἑτέρου Αἰγυπτίου τὴν ἀπόστασιν μελετήσαντος*, § 32).

[12] Herod. vii. 7. Ctesias (l. s. c.) makes Artaxerxes *send* Achæmenes (whom he calls Achæmenides) to put down the revolt; but I gather from Herodotus that he was resident satrap of Egypt when the revolt commenced. Diodorus (xi. 74) follows Ctesias.

[13] Herod. iii. 12, ad fin.

[14] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 32.

[15] Ibid. Compare Thucyd. i. 104. *Τοῦ ποταμοῦ κρατοῦντες.*

[16] Thucyd. l. s. c.; Diod. Sic. xi. 74, § 4.

[17] Thucyd. i. 109; Diod. Sic. xi. 74, § 5.

[18] Ctesias estimates the army of Megabyzus at 500,000 men—300,000 of whom he found in Egypt on his arrival, while 200,000 accompanied him into the country (§ 33). Diodorus makes the force which Megabyzus took with him exceed 300,000 (xi. 75, §1). He also gives him 300 triremes (§ 2).

[19] Herod. iii. 160; Thucyd. i. 109.

[20] Thucyd. l. s. c.

[21] Herod. ii. 41.

Persian troops were able to march across the river bed, and overwhelm the Athenians with their numbers.[22] A few only escaped to Cyrêne.[23] The entire fleet fell into the enemy's hands; and a reinforcement of fifty more ships, arriving soon after the defeat, was attacked unawares after it had entered the river, and lost more than half its number.[24] Inarus was betrayed by some of his own men,[25] and being carried prisoner to Persia, suffered death by crucifixion. Amyrtæus fled to the fens,[26] where for a while he maintained his independence.[27] Egypt, however, was with this exception recovered to the Empire (B.C. 455); and Athens was taught that she could not always invade the dominions of the Great King with impunity.

Six years after this, the Athenians resolved on another effort. A fleet of 200 ships was equipped and placed under the command of the victor of the Eurymedon, Cimon,[28] with orders to proceed into the Eastern Mediterranean, and seek to recover the laurels lost in Egypt. Cimon sailed to Cyprus, where he received a communication from Amyrtæus, which induced him to dispatch sixty ships to Egypt while with the remaining one hundred and forty he commenced the siege of Citium. Here he died, either of disease or from the effects of a wound;[29] and his armament, pressed for provisions, was forced soon afterwards to raise the siege, and address itself to some other enterprise. Sailing past Salamis, it found there a Cilician and Phœnician fleet, consisting of 300 vessels,[30] which it immediately attacked and defeated, notwithstanding the disparity of number. Besides the ships which were sunk, a hundred triremes were taken;[31] and the sailors then landed and gained a victory over a Persian army upon the shore.[32] Artaxerxes, upon this, fearing lest he

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[22] Thucyd. i. 109; Diod. Sic. xi. 77, § 2.

[23] Thucyd. i. 110. [24] Ibid.

[25] Προδοσίᾳ ληφθείς. Thucyd. l. s. c. It is difficult to reconcile with this the statement of Ctesias, that Inarus surrendered upon terms to Megabyzus; but perhaps, had we a full account of the facts, we should find that they embraced both incidents.

[26] Herod. ii. 140; Thucyd. l. s. c.

[27] Thucyd. i. 112.

[28] Ibid. l. s. c.; Diod. Sic. xii. 3, § 1; Plut. *Vit. Cim.* c. 18.

[29] Plut. *Vit. Cim.* c. 19.

[30] Diod. Sic. xii. 3, § 2.

[31] Ibid. § 3. Compare the inscription on the spoils (Diod. Sic. xi. 62, § 3), which must certainly have been those from this battle.

[32] Thucyd. i. 112; Diod. Sic. xii. 3, § 4.

should lose Cyprus altogether, and thinking that, if Athens became mistress of this important island, she would always be fomenting insurrection in Egypt, made overtures for peace to the generals who were now in command. His propositions were favourably received. Peace was made on the following terms:—Athens agreed to relinquish Cyprus, and recall her squadron from Egypt; while the king consented to grant freedom to all the Greek cities on the Asiatic continent, and not to menace them either by land or water. The sea was divided between the two powers. Persian ships of war were not to sail to the west of Phaselis in the Levant, or of the Cyanean islands in the Euxine; and Greek war-ships, we may assume, were not to show themselves east of those limits.[1] On these conditions there was to be peace and amity between the Greeks and the Persians, and neither nation was to undertake any expedition against the territories of the other. Thus terminated the first period of hostility between Greece and Persia, a period of exactly half a century, commencing B.C. 499 and ending B.C. 449, in the seventeenth year of Artaxerxes.

It was probably not many years after the conclusion of this peace that a rebellion broke out in Syria. Megabyzus, the satrap of that important province, offended at the execution of Inarus, in violation of the promise which he had himself made to him, raised a revolt against his sovereign, defeated repeatedly the armies sent to reduce him to obedience, and finally treated with Artaxerxes as to the terms on which he would consent to be reconciled.[2] Thus was set an example, if not of successful insurrection, yet at any rate of the possibility of rebelling with impunity—an example which could not fail to have a mischievous effect on the future relations of the monarch with his satraps. It would have been better for the Empire had Megabyzus suffered the fate of Orœtes,[3] instead of living to a good

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[1] See the arguments of Mr. Grote on the reality of the "Peace of Callias" (*History of Greece*, vol. iv. pp. 85-90), which has been impugned by Thirlwall (*History of Greece*, vol. iii. pp. 37, 38), Dahlmann (*Ueber den Kimonischen Frieden*), Manso (*Sparta*, vol. iii. p. 471), and others.

[2] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 37-39.

[3] See above, p. 415.

old age in high favour with the monarch whose power he had weakened and defied.[4]

Artaxerxes survived the "Peace of Callias" twenty-four years. His relations with the Greeks continued friendly till his demise, though, on the occasion of the revolt of Samos (B.C. 440), Pissuthnes, satrap of Sardis, seems to have trangressed the terms of the treaty, and to have nearly brought about a renewal of hostilities.[5] It was probably in retaliation for the aid given to the revolted Samians, that the Athenians, late in the reign of Artaxerxes, made an expedition against Caunus,[6] which might have had important consequences, if the Caunians had not been firm in their allegiance. A revolt of Lycia and Caria under Zopyrus, the son of Megabyzus, assisted by the Greeks, might have proved even more difficult to subdue than the rebellion of Syria under his father. Persia, however, escaped this danger; and Artaxerxes, no doubt, saw with pleasure a few years later the Greeks turns their arms against each other—Athens, his great enemy, being forced into a contest for existence with the Peloponnesian confederacy under Sparta.

The character of Artaxerxes, though it receives the approval of Plutarch and Diodorus,[7] must be pronounced on the whole poor and contemptible. His ready belief of the charge brought by Artabanus against his brother, Darius, admits perhaps of excuse, owing to his extreme youth;[8] but his surrender of Inarus to Amestris on account of her importunity,[9] his readiness to condone the revolt of Megabyzus, and his subjection throughout almost the whole of his life to the evil influence of Amytis, his sister, and Amestris, his mother—both persons of ill-regulated lives[10]—are indications of weakness and folly quite unpardonable in a monarch. That he was mild in tempera-

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[4] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 41.

[5] Thucyd. i. 115, 116. If the Phœnician fleet had come to the aid of the Samians, a rupture between Athens and Persia must of necessity have taken place. It seems, however, that the fleet never made its appearance.

[6] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 43. Compare Herod. iii. 160.

[7] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 1; Diod. Sic. ix. 71, §§ 1, 2.

[8] Justin says that he was *quite a boy*; "puer admodum" (iii. 1).

[9] Ctes. *Exc.. Pers.* § 36.

[10] Ibid. §§ 28 and 42.

nent, and even kind and good-natured, is probable.[11] But he ad no other quality that deserves the slightest commendation. n the whole course of his long reign he seems never once to ave adventured himself in the field against an enemy. He ade not a single attempt at conquest in any direction. We ave no evidence that he patronised either literature or the rts.[12] His peace with Athens was necessary perhaps, but disraceful to Persia. The disorders of the Court increased under is reign, from the licence (especially) which he allowed the Queen-Mother, who sported with the lives of his subjects.[13] The decay of the Empire received a fatal impulse from the mpunity which he permitted to Megabyzus.

Like his father,[14] Artaxerxes appears to have had but one egitimate wife. This was a certain Damaspia, of whom nothing s known, except that she died on the same day as her husband, nd was the mother of his only legitimate son, Xerxes.[15] Seventeen other sons, who survived him, were the issue of arious concubines, chiefly—it would appear—Babylonians.[16] Xerxes II. succeeded to the throne on the death of his father B.C. 425), but reigned forty-five days only, being murdered fter a festival, in which he had indulged too freely, by his alf-brother, Secydianus or Sogdianus.[17] Secydianus enjoyed he sovereignty for a little more than half a year,[18] when he vas in his turn put to death by another brother, Ochus,[19] who n ascending the throne took the name of Darius, and became nown to the Greeks as Darius Nothus.

Darius Nothus had in his father's lifetime been made satrap f Hyrcania,[20] and had married his aunt, Parysatis, a daughter

[11] See especially his behaviour to Nehemiah, who was his cupbearer (Nehem. i. 2-8). Compare Ezra vii. 11-26.

[12] The only Persian building with which we can at all connect this Artaxerxes (Longimanus) is the palace at Susa, which he is said in an inscription if the passage is rightly rendered) to have "repaired." (Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, p. 372.)

[13] Herod. vii. 114; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 36, 42, and 43.

[14] Supra, p. 470.

[15] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 44.

[16] Ibid. l. s. c.

[17] Ibid. § 45. Secydianus is the form used by Ctesias. Diodorus gives Sogdianus (xii. 71). So also Manetho (ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 21).

[18] Six months and fifteen days. (Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 48, ad fin.)

[19] Ibid. § 49. Ochus was mentioned under the name of Darius Ochus by Manetho. (Clem. Alex. *Cohort. ad Gent.* § 5.)

[20] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 44.

of Xerxes.[21] He had already two children at his accession, a daughter, Amestris, and a son, Arsaces, who succeeded him as Artaxerxes. His reign, which lasted nineteen years, was a constant scene of insurrections and revolts, some of which were of great importance, since they had permanent and very disastrous consequences. The earliest of all was raised by his full-brother, Arsites, who rebelled in conjunction with a son of Megabyzus, and, obtaining the support of a number of Greek mercenaries, gained two victories over the forces dispatched against him by the king. At last, however, the fortune of war changed. Persian gold was used to corrupt the mercenaries; and the rebels, being thus reduced to extremities, were forced to capitulate, yielding themselves on the condition that their lives should be spared. Parysatis induced her husband to disregard the pledges given and execute both Arsites and his fellow-conspirator[22]—thus proclaiming to the world that, unless by the employment of perfidy, the Empire was incapable of dealing with those who rebelled against its authority.

The revolt of Pissuthnes, satrap of Lydia, was the next important outbreak. Its exact date is uncertain; but it seems not to have very long preceded the Athenian disasters in Sicily.[1] Pissuthnes, who had held his satrapy for more than twenty years,[2] was the son of a Hystaspes, and probably a member of the royal family.[3] His wealth—the accumulations of so long a term of office—enabled him to hire the services of a body of Greek mercenaries, who were commanded by an Athenian, called Lycon. On these troops he placed his chief dependence; but they failed him in the hour of need. Tissaphernes, the Persian general sent against him, bribed Lycon and his men, who thereupon quitted Pissuthnes and made common cause with his adversaries. The unfortunate satrap

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[21] Ibid. Compare Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 1.

[22] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* §§ 50 and 51.

[1] Tissaphernes first appears as satrap of Lydia, in B.C. 413 (Thucyd. viii. 5). That Pissuthnes had not very long been removed may be conjectured from the position occupied by his son Amorges (ibid.).

[2] He was satrap before B.C. 440. (Thucyd. i. 115.)

[3] The royal names are rarely, if ever, borne by persons not belonging to the reigning family.

could no longer resist, and therefore surrendered upon terms, and accompanied Tissaphernes to the Court. Darius, accustomed now to disregard the pledged word of his officers, executed him forthwith, and made over his satrapy to Tissaphernes, as a reward for his zeal. Lycon, the Athenian traitor, received likewise a handsome return for his services, the revenues of several towns and districts being assigned him by the Great King.[4]

The rebellion, however, was not wholly crushed by the destruction of its author. Amorges, a bastard son of Pissuthnes, continued to maintain himself in Caria, where he was master of the strong city of Iasus, on the north coast of the Sinus Iasicus, and set the power of Tissaphernes at defiance. Having probably inherited the wealth of his father, he hired a number of Peloponnesian mercenaries, and succeeded in maintaining himself as an independent monarch for some years.[5]

Such was the condition of things in Asia Minor, when intelligence arrived of the fearful disasters which had befallen the Athenians in Sicily—disasters without a parallel since those of Salamis—sudden, unexpected, overwhelming. The news, flying through Asia, awoke everywhere a belief that the power of Athens was broken, and that her hostility need no longer be dreaded. The Persian monarch considered that under the altered circumstances it would be safe to treat the Peace of Callias as a dead letter, and sent down orders to the satraps of Lydia and Bithynia that they were once more to demand and collect the tribute of the Greek cities within their provinces. The satraps began to speculate on the advantages which they might derive from alliance with the enemies of Athens, and looked anxiously to see a Peloponnesian fleet appear off the coast of Asia. Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus vied with each other in the tempting offers which they made to Sparta;[6] and it was not long before a formal treaty was

[4] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 52.

[5] Thucyd. viii. 5, 19, and 28. He was captured by Tissaphernes and the Peloponnesian Greeks in B.C. 412.

[6] See Thucyd. viii. 5, 6.

concluded between that state and Persia, by which the two powers bound themselves to carry on war conjointly against Athens.[7]

Thus the contest between Persia and her rival entered upon a new phase. Henceforth until the liberties of Greece were lost, the Great King could always count on having for his ally one of the principal Grecian powers. His gold was found to possess attractions which the Greeks were quite unable to resist. At one time Sparta, at another Athens, at another Thebes yielded to the subtle influence; Greek generals commanded the Persian armies; Greek captains manœuvred the Persian fleets; the very rank and file of the standing army came to be almost as much Greek as Persian.[8] Acting on the maxim *Divide et impera*, Persia prolonged for eighty years her tottering Empire, by the skilful use which she made of the mutual jealousies and divisions of the Hellenic states.

It scarcely belongs to the history of Persia to trace in detail the fortunes of the contending powers during the latter portion of the Peloponnesian war. We need only observe that the real policy of the Court of Susa, well understood, and, on the whole, tolerably well carried out by the satraps, was to preserve the balance of power between Athens and Sparta, to allow neither to obtain too decided a preponderance, to help each in turn, and encourage each to waste the other's strength, but to draw back whenever the moment came for striking a decisive blow against either side. This policy, skilfully pursued by Tissaphernes (who had a genius for intrigue and did not require an Alcibiades to give him lessons in state-craft),[9] more clumsily by Pharnabazus,[10] whose character was comparatively sincere and straightforward, prevailed until the younger Cyrus made his appearance upon the scene, when a disturbing force came into play which had disastrous effects both on the fortunes of

[7] Thucyd. viii. 18. The subsequent treaties (ibid. chs. 37 and 58) very slightly modified the original agreement.

[8] See especially Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 14.

[9] Compare some good remarks of Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. v. p. 357).

[10] Pharnabazus had begun to trim the scales and incline towards Athens before the appearance of Cyrus. (Xen. *Hellen.* i. 3, §§ 8-13.).

Greece and on those of Persia. The younger Cyrus had personal views of self-aggrandisement which conflicted with the true interests of his nation, and was so bent on paving the way for his own ascent to sovereign power that he did not greatly care whether he injured his country or no.[11] As the accomplishment of his designs depended mainly on his obtaining a powerful land-force, he regarded a Spartan as preferable to an Athenian alliance; and, having once made his choice, he lent his ally such effectual aid that in two years from the time of his coming down to the coast the war was terminated. Persian gold manned and partly built[12] the fleet which conquered at Ægos-Potami; perhaps it contributed in a still more decisive manner to the victory.[13] Cyrus, by placing his stores at the entire command of Lysander,[14] deserved and acquired the cordial good-will of Sparta and the Peloponnesians generally—an advantage of which we shall find him in the sequel making good use.[15]

The gain to Persia from the dominion which she had reacquired over the Greeks of Asia was more than counterbalanced by a loss of territory in another quarter, which seems to have occurred during the reign of Darius Nothus, though in what exact year is doubtful. The revolt of Egypt is placed by Heeren and Clinton in B.C. 414,[16] by Eusebius[17] in B.C. 411, by Manetho[18] in the last year of Darius Nothus, or B.C. 405. The earlier dates depend on the view that the Amyrtæus of Manetho's twenty-eighth dynasty was the leader of the rebellion, and had a reign of six years at this period—a view which is perhaps unsound.[1] Manetho probably represented Nepherites

[11] See Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 106. Mr. Grote, on the contrary, regards Cyrus as free at this time from personal views, and as honestly bent on ruining Athens, because she was the great enemy of Persia. (*History of Greece*, vol. v. p. 472.)

[12] Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1, §§ 10-12.

[13] The suspicion that some of the Athenian generals at Ægos-Potami were bribed by Lysander to betray their trust (Grote, vol. v. p. 546) can neither be proved nor refuted. I myself incline to believe in their guilt.

[14] Xen. *Hell.* i. 5, § 3; ii. 1, § 14.

[15] Infra, p. 488.

[16] Heeren, *Manual of Ancient History*, ii. § 38, p. 106, E. T.; Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. ii. p. 87.

[17] Euseb. *Chron. Can.* ii. p. 342.

[18] Ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 20. p. 106. By assigning to Darius Nothus, as king of Egypt, the full term of 19 years, Manetho fixes the revolt to B.C. 405.

[1] The six years' reign of Amyrtæus,

(*Nefaorot*) as the leader; and it is quite clear that he placed the re-establishment of the old throne of the Pharaohs in the year that Darius Nothus died. As his authority is the best that we can obtain upon this obscure point, we may regard the last days of the Persian monarch as clouded by news of a rebellion, which had been perhaps for some time contemplated,[2] but which did not break out until he was known to be in a moribund condition.

A few years earlier, B.C. 408 or 409, the Medes had made an unsuccessful attempt to recover their independence.[3] The circumstances of this revolt, which is mentioned by no writer but Xenophon, are wholly unknown, but we may perhaps connect it with the rebellion of Terituchmes, a son-in-law of the king. The story of Terituchmes, which belongs to this period, deserves at any rate to be told,[4] as illustrating, in a very remarkable way, the corruption, cruelty, and dissoluteness of the Persian Court at the time to which we have now come. Terituchmes was the son of Idernes, a Persian noble of high rank, probably a descendant of the conspirator Hydarnes.[5] On the death of his father, he succeeded to his satrapy, as to a hereditary fief, and being high in favour with Darius Nothus, he received in marriage that monarch's daughter, Amestris. Having, however, after his marriage become enamoured of his own half-sister, Roxana, and having persuaded her to an incestuous commerce, he grew to detest his wife, and as he could not rid

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which constitutes Manetho's 28th dynasty, lasted probably from B.C. 460 to B.C. 455, or from B.C. 455 to B.C. 450—being thus a reign contemporary with a portion of the 27th dynasty. It is Manetho's wont thus to exhibit contemporary reigns. The Old Chronicle, on the other hand, which is more strictly chronological, omits the reign of Amyrtæus. (See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 342, note [6], 2nd edition.)

[2] Diodorus has a notice of Egyptian troubles in the year B.C. 410 (xiii. 46, § 6). He has also a king Psammetichus in B.C. 400 (xiv. 35, § 3), a descendant of the old Psamatiks, who is unknown to Manetho. It may be conjectured that the rebellion of Egypt was now, as usual, accompanied by disintegration, and that different kings reigned in different parts of the country.

[3] Xen. *Hell.* i. 2, § 19.

[4] The authority for the story is Ctesias (*Exc. Pers.* §§ 52-57), who was at the Persian court within a few years of the occurrences.

[5] Idernes is the form which Ctesias uses instead of the Hydarnes of Herodotus. (See *Exc. Pers.* § 14.) Persian names were apt to be hereditary; and we know that the Great Hydarnes had a son, Hydarnes. (Herod. vii. 83.)

himself of her without making an enemy of the king, he entered into a conspiracy with 300 others, and planned to raise a rebellion. The bond of a common crime, cruel and revolting in its character, was to secure the fidelity of the rebels one to another. Amestris was to be placed in a sack, and each conspirator in turn was to plunge his sword into her body. It is not clear whether this intended murder was executed or no. Hoping to prevent it, Darius commissioned a certain Udiastes, who was in the service of Terituchmes, to save his daughter by any means that might be necessary; and Udiastes, collecting a band, set upon Terituchmes and slew him after a strenuous resistance.[6] After this, his mother, brothers, and sisters were apprehended by the orders of Parysatis, the queen, who caused Roxana to be hewn in pieces, and the other unfortunates to be buried alive. It was with great difficulty that Arsaces, the heir-apparent, afterwards Artaxerxes Mnemon, preserved his own wife, Statira, from the massacre. It happened that she was sister to Terituchmes, and, though wholly innocent of his offence, she would have been involved in the common destruction of her family had not her husband with tears and entreaties begged her life of his parents.[7] The son of Terituchmes maintained himself for a while in his father's government; but Parysatis succeeded in having him taken off by poison.[8]

The character of Darius Nothus is seen tolerably clearly in the account of his reign which has been here given. He was at once weak and wicked. Contrary to his sworn word, he murdered his brothers, Secydianus and Arsites. He broke faith with Pissuthnes. He sanctioned the wholesale execution of Terituchmes' relatives. Under him the eunuchs of the palace rose to such power that one of them actually ventured to aspire to the sovereignty.[9] Parysatis, his wife, one of the most cruel and malignant even of Oriental women, was in general his chosen guide and counsellor.[10] His severities cannot, however, in all

[6] Terituchmes is said to have killed 37 of his assailants with his own hand. (Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 54.)

[7] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 56. Compare Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 2.

[8] Ibid. § 57.

[9] Artaxares. See Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 53.

[10] Ibid. § 49. Ἐχρῆτο δὲ συμβούλῳ μάλιστα τῇ γυναικί.

cases be ascribed to her influence, for he was anxious that she should put the innocent Statira to death, and, when she refused, reproached her with being foolishly lenient.[11] In his administration of the Empire he was unsuccessful; for, if he gained some tracts of Asia Minor, he lost the entire African satrapy. Under him we trace a growing relaxation of the checks by which the great officers of the state were intended to have been held under restraint. Satraps came to be practically uncontrolled in their provinces, and the dangerous custom arose of allowing sons to succeed, almost as a matter of course, to the governments of their fathers.[12] Powers unduly large were lodged in the hands of a single officer,[13] and actions, that should have brought down upon their perpetrators sharp and signal punishment, were timorously or negligently condoned by the supreme authority.[14] Cunning and treachery were made the weapons wherewith Persia contended with her enemies. Manly habits were laid aside,[15] and the nation learnt to trust more and more to the swords of mercenaries.[16]

Shortly before the death of Darius there seems to have been a doubt raised as to the succession.[17] Parysatis, who preferred her second son to her first-born, imagined that her influence was sufficient to induce her husband to nominate Cyrus, instead of Arsaces, to succeed him; and Cyrus is said to have himself expected to be preferred above his brother. He had the claim, if claim it can be called, that he was the first son born to his father after he became king;[18] but his main dependence was doubtless on his mother. Darius, however, proved less facile in his dying moments than he had been during most of his life, and declined to set aside the rights of the eldest son on the

[11] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 56.

[12] Ibid. §§ 53 and 57.

[13] Not only was each satrap now, as a matter of course, made commandant (supra, p. 426), but satrapies were united, and two or three committed to a single governor. (See Xen. *Anab.* i. 9, § 7.)

[14] As the execution, by Cyrus, of his cousins Autobœsaces and Mitræus, simply because they did not observe in his presence the forms due to royalty. (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 1, § 8.)

[15] Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 8. § 12.

[16] Xen. *Anab.* i. 1, § 2; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 50; Thucyd. viii. 25.

[17] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 2.

[18] This claim had been put forward in the case of Xerxes (supra, p. 446), but rather as a pretext than as a real ground of preference.

frivolous pretence suggested to him. His own feelings may have inclined him towards Arsaces, who resembled him far more than Cyrus did in character; and Cyrus, moreover, had recently offended him, and been summoned to court, to answer a very serious charge.[19] Arsaces, therefore, was nominated, and took the name of Artaxerxes[20]—as one of a king who had reigned long, and, on the whole, prosperously.

An incident of ill omen accompanied the commencement of the new reign (B.C. 405). The inauguration of the monarch was a religious ceremony, and took place in a temple at Pasargadæ, the old capital, to which a peculiar sanctity was still regarded as attaching. Artaxerxes had proceeded to this place, and was about to engage in the ceremonies, when he was interrupted by Tissaphernes, who informed him that his life was in danger. Cyrus, he said, proposed to hide himself in the temple, and assassinate him as he changed his dress, a necessary part of the formalities.[1] One of the officiating priests—a Magus, as it would seem[2]—confirmed the charge. Cyrus was immediately arrested, and would have been put to death on the spot, had not his mother interfered, and, embracing him in her arms, made it impossible for the executioner to perform his task. With some difficulty she persuaded Artaxerxes to spare his brother's life and allow him to return to his government, assuring him,[3] and perhaps believing, that the charges made against her favourite were without foundation.

Cyrus returned to Asia Minor with the full determination of attacking his brother at the earliest opportunity.[4] He immediately began the collection of a mercenary force, composed wholly of Greeks, on whose arms he was disposed to place far more reliance than on those of Orientals. As Tissaphernes had returned to the coast with him and was closely watching all his proceedings, it was necessary to exercise great caution, lest

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[19] See above, note [14].

[20] Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 57; Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 2, ad fin.

[1] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 3; Xen. *Anab.* i. 1, § 3.

[2] Plut. l. s. c. Ὃς ἐν παῖσι Κύρου τῆς νομιζομένης ἀγωγῆς ἐπιστάτης γενόμενος, καὶ διδάξας μαγεύειν αὐτόν, κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Vit. Artax.* c. 6. ποῦ νῦν αἱ πίστεις ἐκεῖναι;

[4] Xen. *Anab.* i. 1, § 4.

his intentions should become known before he was ready to put them into execution. He therefore had recourse to three different devices. Having found a cause of quarrel with Tissaphernes in the ambiguous terms of their respective commissions, he pressed it on to an actual war, which enabled him to hire troops openly, as against this enemy;[5] and in this way he collected from 5000 to 6000 Greeks—chiefly Peloponnesians. He further gave secret commissions to Greek officers, whose acquaintance he had made when he was previously in these parts, to collect men for him, whom they were to employ in their own quarrels until he needed their services.[6] From 3000 to 4000 troops were gathered for him by these persons. Finally, when he found himself nearly ready to commence his march, he discovered a new foe in the Pisidians of the Western Taurus, and proceeded to levy a force against them,[7] which amounted to some thousands more. In all, he had in readiness 11,000 heavy-armed and about 2000 light-armed Greeks[8] before his purpose became so clear that Tissaphernes could no longer mistake it, and therefore started off to carry his somewhat tardy intelligence to the capital.[9]

The aims of Cyrus were different from those of ordinary rebel satraps; and we must go back to the times of Darius Hystaspis in order to find a parallel to them. Instead of seeking to free a province from the Persian yoke, or to carve out for himself an independent sovereignty in some remote corner of the Empire, his intention was to dethrone his brother, and place on his own brows the diadem of his great namesake. It was necessary for him therefore to assume the offensive. Only by a bold advance, and by taking his enemy to some extent unprepared, and so at a disadvantage, could he hope to succeed in his audacious project. It is not easy to see that he could have had any considerable party among the Persians,[10] or any ground for expecting to

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[5] Xen. *Anab.* i. 1, §§ 6, 7, 11.

[6] Ibid. i. 1, §§ 9, 10.

[7] Ibid. i. 1, § 11; 2, § 1; &c. Plutarch sums up these various devices in a few words: ἀλλαχόθι ἄλλους ἐπὶ πολλαῖς προφάσεσι ξενολογοῦντας εἶχε. (*Vit. Artax.* c. 4.)

[8] Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 9.

[9] Ibid. § 4; Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 6.

[10] Plutarch (l. s. c.) makes him have a party among the Persians at home, no less than among those of his pro-

be supported by any of the subject nations. His following must have been purely personal;[11] and though it may be true that he was of a character to win more admiration and affection than his brother, yet Artaxerxes himself was far from being unpopular with his subjects, whom he pleased by a familiarity and a good-nature to which they were little accustomed.[12] Cyrus knew that his principal dependence must be on himself, on his Greeks, and on the carelessness and dilatoriness of his adversary,[13] who was destitute of military talent and was even thought to be devoid of personal bravery.[14]

Thus it was important to advance as soon as possible. Cyrus therefore quitted Sardis before all his troops were collected (B.C. 401), and marched through Lydia and Phrygia, by the route formerly followed in the reverse direction by the army of Xerxes,[15] as far as Celænæ, where the remainder of his mercenaries joined him.[16] With his Greek force thus raised to 13,000 men, and with a native army not much short of 100,000,[17] he proceeded on through Phrygia and Lycaonia to the borders of Cilicia, having determined on taking the shortest route to Babylon, through the Cilician and Syrian passes, and then along the course of the Euphrates. At Caÿstrupedion he was met by Epyaxa, consort of Syennesis, the tributary king of Cilicia, who brought him a welcome supply of money,[18] and probably assured him of the friendly disposition of her husband, who was anxious to stand well with both sides. In Lycaonia, Cyrus divided his forces, and sending a small body of troops under Menon to escort Epyaxa across the mountains and enter Cilicia by the more western of the two practicable passes,[19] he proceeded himself with the bulk of his troops to the famous Pylæ Ciliciæ, where he probably knew that Syennesis would only make a feint of resistance. He found the pass occupied; but it was evacuated the next day, on the receipt of intelligence that

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vince. But it may be questioned whether he has any historical grounds for his assertion.

[11] Xen. *Anab.* i. 9, §§ 7-31.

[12] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* chs. 4 and 5.

[13] Ἦν δέ τις καὶ μέλλησις ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦ βασιλέως. (Ibid. c. 4.)

[14] Ibid. c. 6.

[15] Herod. vii. 26, 31.

[16] Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 9.

[17] Ibid. i. 7, § 10.

[18] Ibid. i. 2, § 12.

[19] Ibid. § 20.

Menon had already entered the country and that the fleet of Cyrus—composed partly of his own ships, partly of a squadron furnished to him by Sparta[20]—had appeared off the coast and threatened a landing. Cyrus thus crossed the most difficult and dangerous of all the passes that separated him from the heart of the Empire, without the loss of a man.[21]

Thus far it would appear that Cyrus had to a certain extent masked his plans. The Greek captains must have guessed, if they had not actually learnt his intentions; but to the bulk of the soldiery they had been hitherto absolutely unknown. It was only in Cilicia that the light broke in upon them, and they began to suspect that they were being marched into the interior of Asia, there to engage in a contest with the entire power of the Great King. Something of the horror which is ascribed to Cleomenes, when it was suggested to him a century earlier that he should conduct his Spartans the distance of a three months' journey from the sea,[1] appears to have taken possession of the minds of the mercenaries on their awaking to this conviction. They at once refused to proceed.[2] It was only by the most skilful management on the part of their captains, joined to a judicious liberality on the part of Cyrus, that they were induced to forego their intention of returning home at once, and so breaking up the expedition. A perception of the difficulty of effecting a retreat, together with an increase of pay, extorted a reluctant assent to continue the march, of which the real term and object were even now not distinctly avowed. Cyrus said he proposed to attack the army of Abrocomas, which he believed to be posted on the Euphrates. If he did not find it there, a fresh consultation might be held to consider any further movement.[3]

The march now proceeded rapidly. The Gates of Syria—a narrow pass on the east coast of the Gulf of Issus, shut in, like

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[20] Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1, § 1; *Anab.* i. 2, § 21; 4, § 2.

[21] Menon lost about a hundred men in crossing the Taurus by the western pass—probably the route between Karaman and Kara Hissar; but Cyrus lost none in his passage by the Gates. (See *Anab.* i. 2, §§ 22 and 25.)

[1] Herod. v. 50.

[2] Xen. *Anab.* i. 3, § 1.

[3] Ibid. i. 3, § 20.

Thermopylæ, between the mountains and the sea, and strengthened moreover by fortifications — were left unguarded by Abrocomas;[4] and the army having traversed them without loss, crossed the Amanus range by the pass of Beilán,[5] and in twenty-nine days from Tarsus reached Thapsacus on the Euphrates.[6] The forces of Artaxerxes had nowhere made their appearance—Abrocomas, though he had 300,000 men at his disposal,[7] had weakly or treacherously abandoned all these strong and easily defensible positions; he does not seem even to have wasted the country; but, having burnt the boats at Thapsacus, he was content to fall back upon Phœnicia,[8] and left the way to Babylon and Susa open. At Thapsacus there was little difficulty in persuading the Greeks, who had no longer the sea before their eyes, to continue the march; they only stipulated for a further increase of pay, which was readily promised them by the sanguine prince,[9] who believed himself on the point of obtaining by their aid the inexhaustible treasures of the Empire. The river, which happened to be unusually low for the time of year,[10] was easily forded. Cyrus entered Mesopotamia and continued his march down the left bank of the Euphrates at the quickest rate that it was possible to move a hundred thousand Orientals.[11] In thirty-three days he had accomplished above 600 miles,[12] and had approached within 120 miles of Babylon without seeing any traces of an enemy. His only difficulties were from the nature of the country, which, after the Khabour is passed, becomes barren, excepting close along the river.[13] From want

[4] Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, § 5.

[5] Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand*, pp. 58-61.

[6] Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, §§ 1-11. The 29 days comprised 19 days of march and 10 days of rest. The distance traversed was somewhat more than 360 miles.

[7] Ibid. i. 4, § 5.

[8] This seems to me to follow from the statement of Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 7, § 12), that Abrocomas arrived *from Phœnicia* five days after the battle.

[9] Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, § 13.

[10] This was probably the truth which the Thapsacenes exaggerated into a miraculous subsidence of the water at the approach of Cyrus. (Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, § 18.) July, the month in which Cyrus probably crossed the river, is the month when the subsidence commences, and when the height is consequently most variable.

[11] Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, § 9. Δῆλος ἦν Κῦρος σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδον. Compare above, p. 189, note [15].

[12] Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track*, &c., pp. 74-81.

[13] Ibid. pp. 76-81. Compare Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, §§ 1, 5, and 7.

of fodder there was a great mortality among the baggage-animals; the price of grain rose; and the Greeks had to subsist almost entirely upon meat.[14] At last, when the Babylonian alluvium was reached, with its abundance of fodder and corn, signs of the enemy began to be observed. Artaxerxes, who after some doubts and misgivings had finally determined to give his enemy battle in the plain, was already on his way from Babylon, with an army reckoned at 900,000 men,[15] and had sent forward a body of horse, partly to reconnoitre, partly to destroy the crops, in order to prevent Cyrus and his troops from benefiting by them.[16] Cyrus now advanced slowly and cautiously, at the rate of about fourteen miles a day,[17] expecting each morning to fight a general engagement before evening came. On the third night, believing the battle to be imminent, he distributed the commands and laid down a plan of operations.[18] But morning brought no appearance of the enemy, and the whole day passed tranquilly. In the course of it, he came upon a wide and deep trench cut through the plain for a distance of above forty miles—a recent work, which Artaxerxes had intended as a barrier to stop the progress of his enemy.[19] But the trench was undefended and incomplete, a space of twenty feet being left between its termination and the Euphrates. Cyrus, having passed it, began to be convinced that his brother would not risk a battle in the plain, but would retreat to the mountains and make his stand at Persepolis or Ecbatana. He therefore continued his march negligently. His men piled their arms on the waggons or laid them across the beasts of burthen; while he himself exchanged the horse which he usually rode for a chariot, and proceeded on his way leisurely, having about his person a small escort, which preserved their ranks, while all the rest of the troops were allowed to advance in complete disarray.[20]

Suddenly, as the army was proceeding in this disorderly

[14] Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, 6. Antelopes, wild asses, and bustards abound in this country, and were obtained by hunting. The failing baggage-animals were probably also eaten.

[15] Ibid. i. 7, § 12; Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 7. Ctesias made the number no more than 400,000. (Ibid. c. 13.)

[16] Xen. *Anab.* i. 6, § 1.

[17] Ibid. i. 7, § 1.

[18] Ibid. §§ 1-4.

[19] Ibid. §§ 14-16; Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 7.

[20] Xen. *Anab.* i. 7, §§ 19, 20.

manner through the plain, a single horseman was perceived advancing at full gallop from the opposite quarter, his steed all flecked with foam. As he drew near, he shouted aloud to those whom he met, addressing some in Greek, others in Persian, and warning them that the Great King, with his whole force, was close at hand, and rapidly approaching in order of battle. The news took every one by surprise, and at first all was hurry and confusion. The Greeks, however, who were on the right, rapidly marshalled their line, resting it upon the river; while Cyrus put on his armour, mounted his horse, and arranged the ranks of his Asiatics.[21] Ample time was given for completing all the necessary dispositions; since three hours, at the least,[22] must have elapsed from the announcement of the enemy's approach before he actually appeared. Then a white cloud of dust arose towards the verge of the horizon, below which a part of the plain began soon to darken; presently gleams of light were seen to flash out from the dense mass which was advancing, the serried lines of spears came into view, and the component parts of the huge army grew to be discernible.[23] On the extreme left was a body of horsemen with white cuirasses, commanded by Tissaphernes; next came infantry, carrying the long wicker shield, or *gherrum*;[24] then a solid square of Egyptians, heavily armed, and bearing wooden shields that reached to the feet; then the contingents of many different nations, some on foot, some on horseback, armed with bows and other weapons.[25] The line stretched away to the east further than the Greeks, who were stationed on the right, could see, extending (as it would seem) more than twice the distance which was covered by the army of Cyrus.[1] Artaxerxes was in the centre of his line,[2] on horseback,[3] surrounded by a mounted guard of 6000 Persians.[4] In front of the line, towards the river, were drawn up at wide intervals a

[21] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, §§ 1-4.

[22] The announcement was made ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν, or about ten or eleven o'clock; but it was afternoon (δείλη), or about two o'clock, before the enemy appeared.

[23] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 8.

[24] See above, p. 176.

[25] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 9.

[1] Ibid. i. 8, § 13.

[2] Ibid. § 23.

[3] Ctesias ap. Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 11; Dino ap. eund. c. 10.

[4] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 24. Compare i. 7, § 11.

hundred and fifty scythed chariots, which were designed to carry terror and confusion into the ranks of the Greeks.[5]

On the other side, Cyrus had upon the extreme right a thousand Paphlagonian cavalry with the more lightly armed of the Greeks;[6] next, the Greek heavy-armed, under Clearchus; and then his Asiatics, stretching in a line to about the middle of his adversary's army, his own special command being in the centre; and his left wing being led by the satrap, Ariæus.[7] With Ariæus was posted the great mass of the cavalry; but a band of six hundred, clad in complete armour, with their horses also partially armed,[8] waited on Cyrus himself, and accompanied him wherever he went. As the enemy drew near, and Cyrus saw how much he was outflanked upon the left, he made an attempt to remedy the evil by ordering Clearchus to move with his troops from the extreme right to the extreme left of the line, where he would be opposite to Artaxerxes himself.[9] This, no doubt, would have been a hazardous movement to make in the face of a superior enemy; and Clearchus, feeling this, and regarding the execution of the order as left to his discretion, declined to move away from the river. Cyrus, who trusted much to the Greek general's judgment, did not any further press the change,[10] but prepared to fight the battle as he stood.

The combat began upon the right. When the enemy had approached within six or seven hundred yards, the impatience of the Greeks to engage could not be restrained. They sang the pæan and started forwards at a pace which in a short time became a run.[11] The Persians did not await their charge. The drivers leaped from their chariots, the line of battle behind them wavered, and then turned and fled without striking a blow. One Greek only was wounded by an arrow.[12] As for

[5] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, §10. Cyrus had 20 similar chariots (ib. i. 7, § 10); but their position in the battle is not mentioned.

[6] Ibid. i. 8, § 5.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid. i. 8, §§ 6, 7. Compare above, p. 178.

[9] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 12.

[10] It is clear that Cyrus saw and understood that his order was not being obeyed, and that he suffered Clearchus to have his own way.

[11] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 18. Compare the charge at Marathon. (Herod. vi. 112.)

[12] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 20. Mr. Grote says another was wounded by not getting out of the way of the chariots (*History of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 221); but I understand Xenophon to mean that, though in great peril, the man escaped unharmed (*οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν*).

the scythed chariots, they damaged their own side more than the Greeks; for the frightened horses, in many cases, carried the vehicles into the thick of the fugitives, while the Greeks opened their ranks and gave passage to such as charged in an opposite direction.[13] Moderating their pace so as to preserve their tactical arrangement,[14] but still advancing with great rapidity, the Greeks pressed on the flying enemy, and pursued him a distance of two or three miles,[15] never giving a thought to Cyrus, who, they supposed, would conquer those opposed to him with as much ease as themselves.

But the prince meanwhile was in difficulties. Finding himself outnumbered and outflanked, and fearing that his whole army would be surrounded, and even the victorious Greeks attacked in the rear,[16] he set all upon one desperate cast and charged with his Six Hundred against the six thousand horse who protected his brother. Artagerses, their commander, who met him with a Homeric invective,[17] he slew with his own hand.[18] The six thousand were routed and took to flight; the person of the king was exposed to view; and Cyrus, transported at the sight, rushed forward shouting, "I see the man," and hurling his javelin, struck him straight upon the breast, with such force that the cuirass was pierced and a slight flesh-wound inflicted.[19] The king fell from his horse; but at the same moment Cyrus received a wound beneath the eye from the javelin of a Persian,[20] and in the mêlée which followed he was slain with eight of his followers.[21] The Six Hundred could lend no effectual aid, because they had rashly dispersed in pursuit of the flying enemy.[22]

As the whole contest was a personal one, the victory was now decided. Fighting, however, continued till nightfall. On learning the death of their leader, the Asiatic troops under Ariæus fled—first to their camp, and then, when Artaxerxes

[13] Xen. *Anab.* l. s. c.
[14] Ibid. § 19.
[15] Ibid. i. 10, § 4.
[16] Ibid. i. 8, 24.
[17] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 9.
[18] Ibid. Compare Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 24, ad fin.
[19] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 26; Ctes. ap. Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 11.
[20] Some said a Carian. (Dino, l. s. c.) But Ctesias assigned the wound under the eye to the weapon of a certain Mithridates, a young Persian.
[21] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 27.
[22] Ibid. § 25.

attacked them there, to the last night's station.[23] The Grecian camp was assaulted by Tissaphernes, who at the beginning of the battle had charged through the Greek light-armed, without however, inflicting on them any loss,[24] and had then pressed on, thinking to capture the Grecian baggage.[25] But the guard defended their camp with success, and slew many of the assailants. Tissaphernes and the king drew off after a while and retraced their steps, in order to complete the victory by routing the troops of Clearchus. Clearchus was at the same time returning from his pursuit, having heard that his camp was in danger, and as the two bodies of troops approached, he found his right[26] threatened by the entire host of the enemy, which might have lapped round it and attacked it in front, in flank, and in rear. To escape this peril he was about to wheel his line and make it rest along its whole extent upon the river,[27] when the Persians passed him and resumed the position which they had occupied at the beginning of the battle. They were then about to attack, when once more the Greeks anticipated them and charged. The effect was again ludicrous. The Persians would not abide the onset, but fled faster than before.[28] The Greeks pursued them to a village, close by which was a knoll or mound,[29] whither the fugitives had betaken themselves. Again the Greeks made a movement in advance, and immediately the flight recommenced. The last rays of the setting sun fell on scattered masses of Persian horse and foot flying in all directions over the plain from the little band of Greeks.[30]

The battle of Cunaxa was a double blow to the Persian power. By the death of Cyrus there was lost the sole chance that existed of such a re-invigoration of the Empire as might have

[23] Xen. *Anab.* i. 10, § 1.

[24] Ibid. § 7. [25] Ibid. § 3.

[26] Xenophon says his *left* (*Anab.* i. 10, § 9), because this wing had been the left when the battle began.

[27] Mr. Grote understands Xenophon to mean that Clearchus executed this movement. (*History of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 224.) But the imperfect ἐδοκεῖ, and the whole phrase, ἐν ᾧ δὲ τοῦτο ἐβουλεύοντο, forbid this rendering. Bp. Thirlwall has correctly understood the passage. (*History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 309.)

[28] Xen. *Anab.* i. 10, § 11.

[29] Probably one of the many artificial heaps which dot the Babylonian plains. (See Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track*, &c. p. 97.)

[30] Xen. *Anab.* i. 10, §§ 13-15.

enabled it to start again on a new lease of life, with ability to hold its own, and strength to resume once more the aggressive attitude of former times. The talents of Cyrus have perhaps been overrated, but he was certainly very superior to most Orientals; and there can be no doubt that the Empire would have greatly gained by the substitution of his rule for that of his brother. He was active, energetic, prompt in deed, ready in speech, faithful in the observance of his engagements, brave, liberal—he had more foresight and more self-control[1] than most Asiatics; he knew how to deal with different classes of men; he had a great power of inspiring affection and retaining it;[2] he was free from the folly of national prejudice, and could appreciate as they deserved both the character and the institutions of foreigners.[3] It is likely that he would have proved a better administrator and ruler than any king of Persia since Darius Hystaspis. He would, therefore, undoubtedly have raised his country to some extent. Whether he could really have arrested its decline, and enabled it to "avenge the humiliations of Marathon, Salamis, and the peace of Callias,"[4] is, however, exceedingly doubtful.

For Cyrus, though he had considerable merits, was not without great and grievous defects. As the Tartar is said always to underlie the Russ,[5] so the true Oriental underlay that coating of Grecian manners and modes of thought and act, with which a real admiration of the Hellenic race induced Cyrus to conceal his native barbarism. When he slew his cousins for an act which he chose to construe as disrespect,[6] and when he executed Orontes for contemplated desertion, secretly and silently, so

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[1] Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, §§ 7-9; 6, §§ 6, 7.

[2] Ibid. i. 1, § 5; 8, § 28; 9, § 29; Ctes. *Exc. Pers.* § 58.

[3] Xen. *Anab.* i. 6, § 3.

[4] Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vi. p. 227. Mr. Grote has, I think, overrated the character and ability of Cyrus. He gives it as his opinion, that, "had he dethroned his brother and become king, the Persian empire would have acquired under his hand *such a degree of strength as might probably have enabled him to forestal the work afterwards performed by the Macedonian kings*, and to make the Greeks in Europe as well as those in Asia his dependents" (ibid. p. 226). I cannot see that Cyrus showed any such power of organization as this view implies.

[5] The French proverb is coarse but expressive: "Grattez le Russe, et vous trouverez le Tartare."

[6] Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 1, § 8.

that no one knew his fate,[7] when transported with jealous rage he rushed madly upon his brother,[8] exposing to hazard the success of all his carefully formed plans, and in fact ruining his cause, the acquired habits of the Phil-Hellene gave way, and the native ferocity of the Asiatic came to the surface. We see Cyrus under favourable circumstances, while conciliation, tact, and self-restraint were necessities of his position, without which he could not possibly gain his ends—we do not know what effect success and the possession of supreme power might have had upon his temper and conduct; but from the acts above-mentioned we may at any rate suspect that the result would have been very injurious.

Again, intellectually, Cyrus is only great *for an Asiatic*. He has more method, more foresight, more power of combination, more breadth of mind than the other Asiatics of his day, or than the vast mass of Asiatics of any day. But he is not entitled to the praise of a great administrator or of a great general. His three years' administration of Asia Minor was chiefly marked by a barbarous severity towards criminals,[9] and by a lavish expenditure of the resources of his government, which left him in actual want at the moment when he was about to commence his expedition.[10] His generalship failed signally at the battle of Cunaxa, for the loss of which he is far more to be blamed than Clearchus. As he well knew that Artaxerxes was sure to occupy the centre of his line of battle,[11] he should have placed his Greeks in the middle of his own line, not at one extremity. When he saw how much his adversary outflanked him on the left—a contingency which was so probable that it ought to have occurred to him beforehand—he should have deployed his line in that direction, instead of ordering such a movement as Clearchus, not unwisely, declined

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[7] Xen. *Anab.* i. 5, § 11.

[8] Ibid. i. 8, § 26.

[9] Ibid. i. § 9, 15. It may be observed that Cyrus did not subdue either the Mysians or the Pisidians, whose reduction should have been the first object of a good governor.

[10] Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 11. Compare Plutarch, *Vit. Artax.* c. 4, ad init., whence it appears that some persons regarded the poverty of Cyrus as the cause of his expedition.

[11] Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, § 21. Καὶ γὰρ ἤδει αὐτὸν, ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος.

to execute. He might have trusted the Greeks to fight in line, as they had fought at Marathon;[12] and by expanding their ranks, and moving off his Asiatics to the left, he might have avoided the danger of being outflanked and surrounded. But his capital error was the wildness and *abandon* of his charge with the Six Hundred—a charge which it was probably right to make under the circumstances, but which required a combination of coolness and courage that the Persian prince evidently did not possess when his feelings were excited. Had he kept his Six Hundred well in hand, checked their pursuit, and abstained from thrusting his own person into unnecessary danger, he might have joined the Greeks as they returned from their first victory and participated in their final triumph. At the same time, Clearchus cannot but be blamed for pushing his pursuit too far. If, when the enemy in his front fled, he had at once turned against those who were engaging Cyrus, taking them on their left flank, which must have been completely uncovered, he might have been in time to prevent the fatal results of the rash charge made by his leader.

Thus the death of Cyrus, though a calamity to Persia, was scarcely the great loss which it has been represented. A far worse result of the Cyreian expedition was the revelation which it made of the weakness of Persia, and of the facility with which a Greek force might penetrate to the very midst of the Empire, defeat the largest army that could be brought against it, and remain,[13] or return, as it might think proper. Hitherto Babylon and Susa had been, even to the mind of a Greek statesman,[14] remote localities, which it would be the extreme of rashness to attempt to reach by force of arms, and from which it would be utter folly to suppose that a single man could return alive except by permission of the Great King. Henceforth these towns were looked upon as prizes quite within the legitimate scope of Greek ambition, and their conquest came to

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[12] See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. iii. p. 434.

[13] That the Ten Thousand might have remained, had they chosen so to do, in the very centre of the empire, was felt by the Persians themselves. (Xen. *Anab.* ii. 4. § 22.)

[14] Herod. v. 50.

be viewed as little more than a question of time. The opinion of inaccessibility, which had been Persia's safeguard hitherto, was gone, and in its stead grew up a conviction that the heart of the Empire might be reached with very little difficulty.[15]

It required, however, for the production of this whole change, not merely that the advance to Cunaxa should have been safely made, and the immeasurable superiority of Greek to Asiatic soldiers there exhibited, but also that the Retreat should have been effected, as it was effected, without disaster. Had the Ten Thousand perished under the attacks of the Persian horse, or even under the weapons of the Kurds, or amid the snows of Armenia, the opinion of Persian invulnerability would have been strengthened rather than weakened by the expedition. But the return to Greece of ten thousand men, who had defeated the hosts of the Great King in the centre of his dominions, and fought their way back to the sea without suffering more than the common casualties of war, was an evidence of weakness which could not but become generally known, and of which all could feel the force. Hence the retreat was as important as the battle. If in late autumn and mid winter a small Greek army, without maps[1] or guides, could make its way for a thousand miles through Asia, and encounter no foe over whom it could not easily triumph, it was clear that the fabric of Persian power was rotten, and would collapse on the first serious attack.

Still, it will not be necessary to trace in detail the steps of the retreat. It was the fact of the return, rather than the mode of its accomplishment, which importantly affected the subsequent history of Persia. We need only note that the retreat was successfully conducted in spite, not merely of the military power of the Empire, but of the most barefaced and cruel treachery[2]—a fact which showed clearly the strong desire that there was to hinder the invaders' escape. Persia did not set

[15] See some good remarks of Mr. Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vi. pp. 343, 344.

[1] How entirely ignorant of the map of Asia even the Greek leaders were, is evident from the speech of Clearchus (Xen. *Anab*, ii. 4, § 6. Ποταμὸς δὲ εἰ μέν τις καὶ ἄλλος ἄρα ἡμῖν ἐστὶ διαβατέος, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα).

[2] Xen. *Anab*. ii. 5, § 32.

much store by her honour at this period; but she would scarcely have pledged her word and broken it, without the slightest shadow of excuse, unless she had regarded the object to be accomplished as one of vast importance, and seen no other way which offered any prospect of the desired result. Her failure, despite the success of her treachery, places her military weakness in the strongest possible light. The Greeks, though deprived of their leaders, deceived, surprised, and hemmed in by superior numbers, amid terrific mountains, precipices, and snows, forced their way by sheer dogged perseverance through all obstacles, and reached Trebizond with the loss of not one-fourth of their original number.[3]

There was also another discovery made during the Return, which partly indicated the weakness of the Persian power, and partly accounted for it. The Greeks had believed that the whole vast space enclosed between the Black Sea, Caucasus, Caspian, and Jaxartes on the one hand, and the Arabian Desert, Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean on the other, was bound together into one single centralised monarchy, all the resources of which were wielded by a single arm. They now found that even towards the heart of the Empire, on the confines of Media and Assyria, there existed independent tribes which set the arms of Persia at defiance;[4] while towards the verge of the old dominion whole provinces, once certainly held in subjection, had fallen away from the declining State, and succeeded in establishing their freedom. The nineteenth satrapy of Herodotus[5] existed no more; in lieu of it was a mass of warlike and autonomous tribes — Chalybes, Taochi, Chaldæans, Macronians, Scythians, Colchians, Mosynœcians, Tibarenians[6]—whose services, if he needed them, the King of Persia had to buy,[7] while ordinarily their attitude towards him was one of distrust and hostility. Judging of the unknown from the known, the Greeks

[3] The review at Cerasus showed a total of 8600 heavy-armed (ibid. v. 3, § 3) and near upon 1400 light-armed (ibid. v. 7, § 9), out of the total of 12,900 mustered at Cunaxa (ib. i. 7, § 10).

[4] As the Carduchi or Kurds. (Xen. *Anab.* iv. i. § 8.)

[5] Herod. iii. 94.

[6] Xen. *Anab.* vii. 7, § 25. Compare iv. 6, § 5; 7, §§ 1, 15, 18; 8, § 1; &c.

[7] Ibid. iv. 4, § 18.

might reasonably conclude that in all parts of the Empire similar defections had occurred, and that thus both the dimensions and the resources of the state had suffered serious diminution, and fell far below the conception which they had been accustomed to form of them.

The immediate consequence of the Cyreian expedition was a rupture between Persia and Sparta. Sparta had given aid to Cyrus, and thus provoked the hostility of the Great King. She was not inclined to apologise or to recede. On the contrary, she saw in the circumstances of the expedition strong grounds for anticipating great advantages to herself from a war with so weak an antagonist. Having, therefore, secured the services of the returned Ten Thousand,[8] she undertook the protection of the Asiatic Greeks against Persia, and carried on a war upon the continent against the satraps of Lydia and Phrygia for the space of six years (B.C. 399 to B.C. 394). The disorganization of the Persian Empire became very manifest during this period. So jealous were the two satraps of each other, that either was willing at any time to make a truce with the Spartans on condition that they proceeded to attack the other; and, on one occasion, as much as thirty silver talents was paid by a satrap on the condition that the war should be transferred from his own government to that of his rival.[9] At the same time the native tribes were becoming more and more inclined to rebel. The Mysians and Pisidians had for a long time been practically independent.[10] Now the Bithynians showed a disposition to shake off the Persian yoke,[11] while in Paphlagonia the native monarchs boldly renounced their allegiance.[12] Agesilaüs, who carried on the war in Asia Minor for three years, knew well how to avail himself of all these advantageous circumstances; and it is not unlikely that he would have effected the separation from Persia of the entire peninsula, had he been able to continue the struggle a few years longer. But the

[8] Xen. *Anab.* vii. 6, § 1; 8, § 24; *Hellen.* iii. 1, § 6.

[9] Xen. *Hellen.* iii. 4, § 26.

[10] Xen. *Anab.* i. 1, § 11; 2, § 1; 6, § 7; 9, § 14.

[11] Xen. *Hellen.* iii. 2, § 2.

[12] Ibid. i. 4, § 3. Compare *Anab.* v. 6, § 8; *Ages*, iii. 4; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* i. 27; Corn. Nep. *Vit. Datam.* §. 2.

league between Argos, Thebes, Athens, and Corinth, which jealousy of Sparta caused and Persian gold promoted,[13] proved so formidable, that Agesilaüs had to be summoned home:[14] and after his departure, Conon, in alliance with Pharnabazus, recovered the supremacy of the sea for Athens,[15] and greatly weakened Spartan influence in Asia. Not content with this result, the two friends, in the year B.C. 393, sailed across the Egean, and the portentous spectacle of a Persian fleet in Greek waters was once more seen — this time in alliance with Athens! Descents were made upon the coasts of the Peloponnese,[16] and the island of Cythera was seized and occupied.[17] The long walls of Athens were rebuilt with Persian money, and all the enemies of Sparta were richly subsidised.[18] Sparta was made to feel that if she had been able at one time to make the Great King tremble for his provinces, or even for his throne, the King could at another reach her across the Egean, and approach Sparta as nearly as she had, with the Cyreians, approached Babylon.

The lesson of the year B.C. 393 was not thrown away on the Spartan government. The leading men became convinced that unless they could secure the neutrality of the Persians, Sparta must succumb to the hostility of her Hellenic enemies. Under these circumstances they devised, with much skill, a scheme likely to be acceptable to the Persians, which would weaken their chief rivals in Greece—Athens and Thebes—while it would leave untouched their own power. They proposed a general peace, the conditions of which should be the entire relinquishment of Asia to the Persians, and the complete autonomy of all the Greek States in Europe. The first attempt to procure the acceptance of these terms failed[1] (B.C. 393); but six years later, after Antalcidas had explained them at the Persian Court, Artaxerxes sent down an *ultimatum* to the

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[13] Xen. *Hellen.* iii. 5, § 1.
[14] Ibid. iv. 2, § 2.
[15] By the battle of Cnidus, B.C. 394. (Ibid. iv. 3, §§ 10-12.)
[16] Ibid. iv. 8, § 7.
[17] Ibid. § 8.
[18] Ibid. §§ 8-12.
[1] Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 8, §§ 12-15.

disputants,[2] modifying the terms slightly as regarded Athens,[3] extending them as regarded himself so as to include the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, and requiring their acceptance by all the belligerents, on pain of their incurring his hostility. To this threat all yielded. A Persian king may be excused if he felt it a proud achievement thus to dictate a peace to the Greeks —a peace, moreover, which annulled the treaty of Callias, and gave back absolutely into his hands a province which had ceased to belong to his Empire more than sixty years previously.

It was the more important to Artaxerxes that his relations with the European Greeks should be put upon a peaceful footing, since all the resources of the Empire were wanted for the repression of disturbances which had some years previously broken out in Cyprus. The exact date of the Cyprian revolt under Evagoras, the Greek tyrant of Salamis, is uncertain;[4] but there is evidence that, at least as early as B.C. 391, he was at open war with the power of Persia, and had made an alliance with the Athenians, who both in that year and in B.C. 388 sent him aid.[5] Assisted also by Achôris, independent monarch of Egypt, and Hecatomnus, vassal king of Caria,[6] he was able to take the offensive, to conquer Tyre,[7] and extend his revolt into Cilicia[8] and Idumæa.[9] An expedition undertaken against him by Autophradates, satrap of Lydia,[10] seems to have failed. It was the first object of the Persians, after concluding the "Peace of Antalcidas," to crush Evagoras. They collected 300 vessels, partly from the Greeks of Asia, and brought together an army of 300,000 men.[11] The fleet of Evagoras numbered 200 triremes,[12] and with these he ventured on an attack, but was com-

[2] Mr. Grote notes with reason the insulting form of the document on which the "Peace of Antalcidas" was founded. (*History of Greece*, vol. vii. pp. 2-5.) It was a mandate issued by the court of Susa, to which obedience was required. (See Xen. *Hellen.* v. 1, § 31.)

[3] Athens was allowed to retain Scyros, Lemnos, and Imbrus.

[4] On the difficulties of the chronology see Clinton, *F. H.* vol. ii., Appendix, c. 12; Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. vii. pp. 18-20.

[5] Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 8, § 24; v. 1, § 10.

[6] Diod. Sic. xv. 2, § 2.

[7] Ibid. § 3.

[8] Isocrat. *Orat.* ix. §§ 75, 76.

[9] The "Arabian king" who sent aid to Evagoras (Diod. Sic. xv. 2, § 3, ad fin.) probably belonged to this country.

[10] Theopomp. Fr. 111.

[11] Diod. Sic. xv. 2, § 1. The army was commanded by Orontes, a relation of Artaxerxes, the fleet by Tiribazus.

[12] Ibid. xv. 3, § 4.

pletely defeated by Tiribazus, who shut him up in Salamis, and, after a struggle which continued for at least six years,[13] compelled him to submit to terms (B.C. 380 or 379).[14] More fortunate than former rebels, he obtained not merely a promise of pardon, which would probably have been violated, but a recognition of his title, and permission to remain in his government, with the single obligation of furnishing to the Great King a certain annual tribute.

During the continuance of this war, Artaxerxes was personally engaged in military operations in another part of his dominions. The Cadusians, who inhabited the low and fertile tract between the Elburz range and the Caspian, having revolted against his authority, Artaxerxes invaded their territory at the head of an army which is estimated at 300,000 foot and 10,000 horse.[15] The land was little cultivated, rugged, and covered with constant fogs; the men were brave and warlike, and having admitted him into their country, seem to have waylaid and intercepted his convoys. His army was soon reduced to great straits, and forced to subsist on the cavalry horses and the baggage-animals. A most disastrous result must have followed,[16] had not Tiribazus, who had been recalled from Cyprus on charges preferred against him by the commander of the land force, Orontes,[17] contrived very artfully to induce the rebels to make their submission.[18] Artaxerxes was thus enabled to withdraw from the country without serious disaster, having shown in his short campaign that he possessed the qualities of a soldier,[19] but was entirely deficient in those of a general.

A time of comparative tranquillity seems to have followed the

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[13] Isocrat. *Orat.* ix. § 77.

[14] Diod. Sic. xv. 8, § 3; 9, § 2.

[15] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 24.

[16] According to Cornelius Nepos (*Datam.* § 1), many thousands of the royal troops were slain, and the army was only saved from greater disasters by the military talent of Datames.

[17] Diod. Sic. xv. 8, § 4.

[18] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* l. s. c. The Cadusians were under two kings, who occupied separate camps. Tiribazus persuaded each that the other was engaged in secret negotiations with Artaxerxes, and trying to make a separate peace. Deceived by these representations, both sent embassies.

[19] Plut. l. s. c. Οὔτε γὰρ χρυσὸς, οὔτε κάνδυς, . . . ἐκεῖνον ἀπεκώλυε πονεῖν καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ τυχόντες· ἀλλὰ τήν τε φαρέτραν ἐνημμένος, καὶ τὴν πέλτην φέρων αὐτὸς, ἐβάδιζε πρῶτος ὁδοὺς ὀρεινὰς καὶ προσάντεις, ἀπολιπὼν τὸν ἵππον, κ.τ.λ.

Cadusian campaign. Artaxerxes strengthened his hold upon the Asiatic Greeks by razing some of their towns and placing garrisons in others.[20] His satraps even ventured to commence the absorption of the islands off the coast; and there is evidence that Samos, at any rate, was reduced and added to the Empire.[21] Cilicia, Phœnicia, and Idumæa were doubtless recovered soon after the great defeat of Evagoras. There remained only one province in this quarter which still maintained its revolt, and enjoyed, under native monarchs, the advantages of independence. This was Egypt, which had now continued free for above thirty years, since it shook off the yoke of Darius Nothus. Artaxerxes, anxious to recover this portion of his ancestral dominions, applied in B.C. 375 to Athens for the services of her great general, Iphicrates.[22] His request was granted, and in the next year a vast armament was assembled at Acre[23] under Iphicrates and Pharnabazus, which effected a successful landing in the Delta at the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, stormed the town commanding this branch of the river, and might have taken Memphis, could the energetic advice of the Athenian have stirred to action the sluggish temper of his Persian colleague.[24] But Pharnabazus declined to be hurried, and preferred to proceed leisurely and according to rule. The result was, that the season for hostilities passed and nothing had been done. The Nile rose as the summer drew on and flooded most of the Delta; the expedition could effect nothing, and had to return. Pharnabazus and Iphicrates parted amid mutual recriminations; and the reduction of Egypt was deferred for above a quarter of a century.

In Greece, however, the Great King still retained that position of supreme arbiter with which he had been invested at the "Peace of Antalcidas." In B.C. 372 Antalcidas was sent by Sparta a second time up to Susa, for the purpose of obtaining

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[20] Isocrat. *Orat.* iv., §§ 142, 156, 190.

[21] Ibid. xv. § 118; Corn. Nep. *Timoth.* § 1.

[22] Corn. Nep. *Iphicr.* § 2; Diod. Sic. xv. 29, §§ 3, 4.

[23] Diod. Sic. xv. 41, § 3. This writer estimates the Persian army under Pharnabazus at 200,000, and the Greek mercenaries under Iphicrates at 20,000. Nepos gives the number of the mercenaries as 12,000.

[24] Diod. Sic. xv. 43, §§ 1, 2.

an imperial rescript, prescribing the terms on which the then existing hostilities among the Greeks should cease.[1] In B.C. 367 Pelopidas and Ismenias proceeded with the same object from Thebes to the Persian capital.[2] In the following year a rescript, more in their favour than former ones, was obtained by Athens.[3] Thus every one of the leading powers of Greece applied in turn to the Great King for his royal mandate, so erecting him by common consent into a sort of superior, whose decision was to be final in all cases of Greek quarrel.

But this external acknowledgment of the imperial greatness of Persia did not, and could not, check the internal decay and tendency to disintegration, which was gradually gaining head, and threatening the speedy dissolution of the Empire. The long reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon was now verging towards its close. He was advanced in years, and enfeebled in mind and body, suspicious of his sons and of his nobles, especially of such as showed more than common ability. Under these circumstances, revolts on the part of satraps grew frequent. First Ariobarzanes, satrap of Phrygia, renounced his allegiance (B.C. 366), and defended himself with success against Autophradates, satrap of Lydia, and Mausôlus, native king of Caria under Persia, to whom the task of reducing him had been entrusted.[4] Then Aspis, who held a part of Cappadocia, revolted and maintained himself by the help of the Pisidians, until he was overpowered by Datames.[5] Next Datames himself, satrap of the rest of Cappadocia, understanding that Artaxerxes' mind was poisoned against him, made a treaty with Ariobarzanes, and assumed an independent attitude in his own province.[6] In this position he resisted all the efforts of Autophradates to reduce him to obedience; and Artaxerxes condescended first to make terms with him and then to remove him by treachery.[7] Finally (B.C. 362), there seems to have been something like a general

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[1] Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3, § 12; Diod. Sic. xv. 50.
[2] Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1, § 33 to § 38; Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 22; *Vit. Pelop.* c. 30.
[3] Dem. *De Fals. Leg.* § 150, p. 384; *De Halonn.* § 30, p. 84.
[4] Xen. *Agesil.* ii. 26.
[5] Corn. Nep. *Datam.* § 4.
[6] Ibid. § 5.
[7] Ibid. §§ 7-11; Diod Sic. xv. 91.

revolt of the western provinces, in which the satraps of Mysia, Phrygia, and Lydia, Mausôlus, prince of Caria, and the people of Lycia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Syria, and Phœnicia participated.[8] Tachos, king of Egypt, fomented the disturbances, which were also secretly encouraged by the Spartans.[9] A terrible conflict appeared to be imminent; but it was avoided by the ordinary resources of bribery and treachery. Orontes, satrap of Phrygia, and Rheomithras, one of the revolted generals, yielding to the attractions of Persian gold, deserted and betrayed their confederates.[10] The insurrection was in this way quelled, but it had raised hopes in Egypt, which did not at once subside. Tachos, the native king, having secured the services of Agesilaus as general,[11] and of Chabrias, the Athenian, as admiral of his fleet,[12] boldly advanced into Syria, was well received by the Phœnicians, and commenced the siege of some of the Syrian cities. Persia might have suffered considerable loss in this quarter, had not the internal quarrels of the Egyptians among themselves proved a better protection to her than her own armies. Two pretenders to the throne sprang up as soon as Tachos had quitted the country,[13] and he was compelled to return to Egypt in order to resist them. The force intended to strike a vigorous blow against the power of Artaxerxes was dissipated in civil conflicts; and Persia had once more to congratulate herself on the intestine divisions of her adversaries.

A few years after this, Artaxerxes died, having reigned forty-six years,[14] and lived, if we may trust Plutarch, ninety-four.[15] Like most of the later Persian kings, he was unfortunate in his domestic relations. To his original queen, Statira, he was indeed fondly attached;[16] and she appears to have merited and returned his love;[17] but in all other respects his private life was unhappy. Its chief curse was Parysatis, the queen-mother. This monster

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[8] Diod. Sic. xv. 90, § 3. [9] Ibid. § 2.
[10] Ibid. xv. 91, § 1; 92, § 1.
[11] Ibid. xv. 92, § 2; Xen. *Ages.* ii. § 28. [12] Diod. Sic. xv. 92, § 3.
[13] Xen. *Ages.* ii. § 30, ad fin.; Diod. Sic. xv. 92, §§ 3, 4; Plut. *Vit. Agesil.* c. 37.
[14] Diodorus says 43 (xv. 93, § 1); but the Astronomical Canon is a better authority. (See Clinton, *F. H.* vol. ii. pp. 381, 382.)
[15] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 30, ad fin.
[16] Ibid. c. 2.
[17] Ibid. c. 6.

of cruelty held Artaxerxes in a species of bondage during almost the whole of his long reign, and acted as if she was the real sovereign of the country. She encouraged Cyrus in his treason,[18] and brought to most horrible ends all those who had been prominent in frustrating it.[19] She poisoned Statira out of hatred and jealousy, because she had a certain degree of influence over her husband.[20] She encouraged Artaxerxes to contract an incestuous marriage with his daughter, Atossa,[21] a marriage which proved a fertile source of further calamities. Artaxerxes had three sons by Statira—Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. Of these Darius, as the eldest, was formally declared the heir.[22] But Ochus, ambitious of reigning, intrigued with Atossa,[23] and sought to obtain the succession by her aid. So good seemed to Darius the chances of his brother's success, that he took the rash step of conspiring against the life of his father, as the only way of securing the throne.[24] His conspiracy was detected, and he was seized and executed, Ariaspes thereby becoming the eldest son, and so the natural heir. Ochus then persuaded Ariaspes that he had offended his father, and was about to be put to a cruel and ignominious death, whereupon that prince in despair committed suicide.[25] His elder brothers thus removed, there still remained one rival, whom Ochus feared. This was Arsames, one of his half-brothers, an illegitimate son of Artaxerxes, who stood high in his favour. Assassination was the weapon employed to get rid of this rival. It is said that this last blow was too much for the aged and unhappy king, who died of grief on receiving intelligence of the murder.[26]

Artaxerxes was about the weakest of all the Persian monarchs. He was mild in temperament,[27] affable in demeanour, good-

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[18] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 4.

[19] As the Carian said to have had a part in killing Cyrus (ib. c. 14, ad fin.), Mithridates the Persian, who certainly wounded him (ib. c. 15), Mesabates the eunuch, who cut off his head and his hand (ib. c. 17), and Tissaphernes, who informed Artaxerxes of the intended attack (ib. c. 23).

[20] Ibid. c. 19.

[21] Ibid. c. 23.

[22] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 26; Justin, x. 1.

[23] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* l. s. c.

[24] Ibid. c. 29; Justin, x. 2.

[25] Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 30.

[26] Justin, l. s. c. "Morbo ex dolore contracto decedit." Plut. l. s. c. Ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ δυσθυμίας ἀπεσβέσθη.

[27] Πρᾷος. Plut. l. s. c.

natured,[28] affectionate,[29] and well-meaning. But, possessing no strength of will, he allowed the commission of the most atrocious acts, the most horrible cruelties, by those about him, who were bolder and more resolute than himself. The wife and son, whom he fondly loved, were plotted against before his eyes; and he had neither the skill to prevent nor the courage to avenge their fate. Incapable of resisting intreaty and importunity, he granted boons which he ought to have refused, and condoned offences which it would have been proper to punish. He could not maintain long the most just resentment, but remitted punishments even when they were far milder than the crime deserved.[1] He was fairly successful in the management of his relations with foreign countries, and in the suppression of disturbances within his own dominions; but he was quite incapable of anything like a strenuous and prolonged effort to renovate and re-invigorate the Empire. If he held together the territories which he inherited, and bequeathed them to his successor augmented rather than diminished,[2] it is to be attributed more to his good fortune than to his merits, and to the mistakes of his opponents than to his own prudence or sagacity.

Ochus, who obtained the crown in the manner related above, was the most cruel and sanguinary of all the Persian kings.[3] He is indeed the only monarch of the Achæmenian line who appears to have been bloodthirsty by temperament. His first act on finding himself acknowledged king (B.C. 359) was to destroy, so far as he could, all the princes of the blood royal, in order that he might have no rival to fear. He even, if we may believe Justin,[4] involved in this destruction a number of the princesses, whom any but the most ruthless of despots would have

[28] See the anecdotes told by Plutarch, *Vit. Artax.* c. 4 and 5. Compare c. 25.

[29] Ibid. c. 2, 19, 30.

[1] He banished Parysatis to Babylon for murdering Statira (Plut. *Vit. Artax.* c. 19), but within a short time repented of his severity, recalled her to Susa, and held her in more regard than ever (ibid. c. 23).

[2] See above, p. 504.

[3] Ὠμότητι καὶ μιαιφονίᾳ πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος. Plut. *Vit. Artax.* ad fin. Compare Diod. Sic. xvii. 5, § 3.

[4] Justin, x. 3. "Regiam cognatorum cæde et strage principum replet, nulla non sanguinis, *non sexus*, non ætatis misericordia permotus."

spared. Having taken these measures for his own security, he proceeded to show himself more active and enterprising than any monarch since Longimanus. It was now nearly half a century since one of the important provinces of the Empire—Egypt—had successfully asserted its independence and restored the throne of its native kings. General after general had been employed in vain attempts to reduce the rebels to obedience. Ochus determined to attempt the recovery of the revolted province in person. Though a rebellion had broken out in Asia Minor,[5] which, being supported by Thebes, threatened to become serious,[6] he declined to be diverted from his enterprise. Levying a vast army, he marched into Egypt, and engaged Nectanebo, the king, in a contest for existence. Nectanebo, however, having obtained the services of two Greek generals, Diophantus, an Athenian, and Lamius, a citizen of Sparta,[7] boldly met his enemy in the field, defeated him, and completely repulsed his expedition.[8] Hereupon the contagion of revolt spread. Phœnicia assumed independence under the leadership of Sidon, expelled or massacred the Persian garrisons, which held her cities, and formed an alliance with Egypt.[9] Her example was followed by Cyprus, where the kings of the nine principal towns assumed each a separate sovereignty.[10]

The chronology of this period is somewhat involved; but it seems probable that the attack and failure of Ochus took place about B.C. 351; that the revolts occurred in the next year, B.C. 350; while it was not till B.C. 346, or four years later, that Ochus undertook his second expedition into these regions.[11] He

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[5] The rebellion of Artabazus appears to have followed closely on the accession of Ochus. Heeren places it in B.C. 358 (*Manual*, ii. 46; p. 110, E. T.) Mr. Schmitz (*Biograph. Dict.* ad voc. ARTABAZUS) in B.C. 356.

[6] Artabazus was at first supported by the Athenians under Chares (Diod. Sic. xvi. 22; Dem. *Phillipp.* i. § 28, p. 46). When this support was withdrawn, it was replaced by help from Thebes (Diod. Sic. xvi. 34, § 2). Thus assisted, Artabazus maintained his independence against the attacks of Artaxerxes's satraps, at any rate till B.C. 353. But soon afterwards he was overpowered and forced to fly to Europe. A refuge was given to him by Philip of Macedon (ibid. xvi. 52, § 3).

[7] Ibid. xvi. 48, § 3.

[8] We have no details of this war. Its general results are stated by Diodorus (xvi. 40, § 3; 44. § 1; 48, §§ 1, 2) and glanced at by Isocrates (*Orat.* iv. *Philipp.* § 118).

[9] Diod. Sic. xvi. 41.

[10] Ibid. xvi. 42, §§ 3-5.

[11] I agree generally with Mr. Grote

had, however, in the meanwhile, directed his generals, or feudatories, to attack the rebels, and bring them into subjection. The Cyprian war he had committed to Idrieus,[12] prince of Caria, who employed on the service a body of 8000 Greek mercenaries, commanded by Phocion, the Athenian, and Evagoras, son of the former Evagoras,[13] the Cyprian monarch; while he had committed to Belesys, satrap of Syria, and Mazæus, satrap of Cilicia, the task of keeping the Phœnicians in check.[14] Idrieus succeeded in reducing Cyprus;[15] but the two satraps suffered a signal defeat at the hands of Tennes, the Sidonian king, who was aided by 4000 Greek mercenaries, sent him by Nectanebo, and commanded by Mentor the Rhodian.[16] The Persian forces were driven out of Phœnicia; and Sidon had ample time to strengthen its defences[17] and make preparations for a desperate resistance. The approach, however, of Ochus, at the head of an army of 330,000 men,[18] shook the resolution of the Phœnician monarch, who endeavoured to purchase his own pardon by treacherously delivering up a hundred of the principal citizens of Sidon into the hands of the Persian king, and then admitting him within the defences of the town.[19] Ochus, with the savage cruelty which was his chief characteristic, caused the hundred citizens to be transfixed with javelins,[20] and when 500 more came out as suppliants to entreat his mercy, relentlessly consigned them to the same fate. Nor did the traitor Tennes derive any advantage from his guilty bargain. Ochus, having obtained from him all he needed, instead of rewarding his desertion, punished his rebellion with death.[21] Hereupon the Sidonians, understanding that they had nothing to hope from submission, formed the dreadful resolution of destroying them-

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as to these dates, and as to the mistake committed by Diodorus. (See his *History of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 173, note [3], ed. of 1862.)

[12] Diod. Sic. xvi. 42, § 6.

[13] See above, p. 502.

[14] Diod. Sic. xvi. 42, § 1.

[15] Ibid. xvi. 46.

[16] Ibid. xvi. 42, § 2.

[17] Ibid. xvi. 44, §§ 5, 6. They are said to have surrounded their city with a triple ditch, to have greatly increased the height of its walls, and to have collected a fleet of a hundred ships—triremes and quinqueremes.

[18] Three hundred thousand foot, and 30,000 horse (Diod. xvi. 40, § 6).

[19] Ibid. xvi. 45, §§ 2, 3.

[20] Κατηκόντισε. Diod. l. s. c.

[21] Ibid. § 4.

selves and their town. They had previously, to prevent the desertion of any of their number, burnt their ships.[22] Now they shut themselves up in their houses, and set fire each to his own dwelling. Forty thousand persons lost their lives in the conflagration; and the city was reduced to a heap of ruins, which Ochus sold for a large sum.[1] Thus ended the Phœnician revolt. Among its most important results was the transfer of his services to the Persian king on the part of Mentor the Rhodian, who appears to have been the ablest of the mercenary leaders of whom Greece at this time produced so many.

The reduction of Sidon was followed closely by the invasion of Egypt. Ochus, besides his 330,000 Asiatics, had now a force of 14,000 Greeks[2]—6000 furnished by the Greek cities of Asia Minor; 4000 under Mentor, consisting of the troops which he had brought to the aid of Tennes from Egypt; 3000 sent by Argos; and 1000 from Thebes. He divided his numerous armament into three bodies, and placed at the head of each two generals—one Persian and one Greek.[3] The Greek commanders were Lacrates of Thebes, Mentor of Rhodes, and Nicostratus of Argos, a man of enormous strength, who regarded himself as a second Hercules, and adopted the traditional costume of that hero, a club and a lion's skin.[4] The Persians were Rhœsaces, Aristazanes, and Bagôas, the chief of the eunuchs. Nectanebo was only able to oppose to this vast array an army less than one-third of the size.[5] Twenty thousand, however, out of the 100,000 troops at his disposal were Greeks; he occupied the Nile and its various branches with a numerous navy;[6] the character of the country, intersected by numerous

[22] Οἱ Σιδώνιοι πρὸ μὲν τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἐνέπρησαν ἁπάσας τὰς ναῦς. (Diod. l. s. c.) Mr. Grote has misplaced this event. (*History of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 172.)

[1] Diod. Sic. xvi. 45, § 5. The purchasers expected to repay themselves by the discovery of gold and silver in the ruins from the personal ornaments and utensils of the former inhabitants

[2] Mr. Grote states the number at 10,000 (*History of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 172), omitting to notice that the contingent of Mentor was added to the original ten thousand after the fall of Sidon. (Compare Diod. Sic. xvi. 47, § 4—Μέντωρ ἔχων τοὺς προϋπάρχοντας αὐτῷ μισθοφόρους—with xvi. 44, §§ 2-4.)

[3] Diod. Sic. xvi. 47, § 1.

[4] Ibid. xvi. 44, § 3.

[5] Ibid. xvi. 47, § 6. Sixty thousand Egyptians, 20,000 Libyans, and 20,000 mercenary Greeks.

[6] Εἶχε . . . . πλοίων ποταμίων πρὸς τὰς κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον μάχας καὶ συμπλοκὰς εὐθέτων ἄπιστον πλῆθος. Diod. l. s. c.

canals, and full of strongly fortified towns, was in his favour;[7] and he might have been expected to make a prolonged, if not even a successful, resistance. But he was deficient in generals, and over-confident in his own powers of command:[8] the Greek captains out-manœuvred him; and no sooner did he find one line of his defences forced than his ill-founded confidence was exchanged for an alarm as little reasonable. He hastily fell back upon Memphis,[9] leaving the fortified towns to the defence of their garrisons. These consisted of mixed troops, partly Greek and partly Egyptian; between whom jealousies and suspicions were easily sown by the Persian leaders, who by these means rapidly reduced the secondary cities of Lower Egypt,[10] and were advancing upon Memphis, when Nectanebo in despair quitted the country and fled southwards to Ethiopia.[11] All Egypt submitted to Ochus, who demolished the walls of the cities, plundered the temples,[12] and after amply rewarding his mercenaries, returned to his own capital with an immense booty, and with the glory of having successfully carried through a most difficult and important enterprise.

It has been well observed that "the reconquest of Egypt by Ochus must have been one of the most impressive events of the age," and that it "exalted the Persian Empire in force and credit to a point nearly as high as it had ever occupied before."[13] Ochus not only redeemed by means of it his former failure, but elevated himself in the opinions of men to a pitch of glory, such as no previous Persian king had reached, excepting Cyrus, Cambyses, and the first Darius. Henceforth we hear of no more revolts or rebellions. Mentor and Bagôas, the two generals who had most distinguished themselves in the Egyptian campaign, were advanced by the gratitude of Ochus to posts of the highest importance,[14] in which their vigour and energy

[7] Diod. Sic. xvi. 47, § 7.
[8] Ibid. xvi. 48, § 2.
[9] Ibid. § 7.
[10] Ibid. xvi. 49 and 50.
[11] Ibid. xvi. 51, § 1.
[12] Ibid. § 2. According to Ælian, he not only destroyed the temples, but, like Cambyses, stabbed the existing Apis calf. (*Var. Hist.* iv. 8; vi. 8.) He also carried off the sacred books, which Bagôas afterwards sold to the priests at a high price. (Diod l. s. c.).
[13] Grote, *History of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 173.
[14] Diod. Sic. xvi. 50, §§ 7, 8. According to Diodorus, Mentor and Ba-

found ample room to display themselves. Mentor, who was governor of the entire Asiatic sea-board, exerted himself successfully to reduce to subjection the many chiefs who during the recent troubles had assumed an independent authority,[15] and in the course of a few years brought once more the whole coast into complete submission and dependence. Bagôas, carried with him by Ochus to the capital, became the soul of the internal administration, and maintained tranquillity throughout the rest of the Empire.[16] The last six years of the reign of Ochus form an exceptional period of vigorous and successful government, such as occurs nowhere else in the history of the later Persian monarchy. The credit of bringing about such a state of things may be due especially to the king's officers, Bagôas and Mentor; but a portion of it must reflect upon himself,[17] as the person who selected them, assigned them their respective tasks, and permanently maintained them in office.

It was during this period of vigour and renewed life, when the Persian monarchy seemed to have recovered almost its pristine force and strength, that the attention of its rulers was called to a small cloud on the distant horizon, which some were wise enough to see portended storm and tempest. The growing power of Macedon, against which Demosthenes was at this time in vain warning the careless Athenians, attracted the consideration of Ochus or of his counsellors; and orders went forth from the Court that Persian influence was to be used to check and depress the rising kingdom.[1] A force was consequently despatched to assist the Thracian prince, Cersobleptes, to maintain his inde-

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gôas, who had not been on very good terms during the Egyptian expedition, swore at its close an eternal friendship, and thenceforth mutually supported one another.

[15] Ibid. xvi. 52. Hermeias, the friend of Aristotle, who held the fortress of Atarneus opposite Lesbos, was the chief of these.

[16] Ibid. xvi. 50, § 8.

[17] I can see no grounds for the assertion that Ochus, after the reduction of Egypt, "withdrew to his seraglio, where he passed his days in sensual pleasures" (*Biogr. Dict.* ad voc. Artaxerxes), or even for the statement that "Mentor and Bagôas held him in complete dependence." (Heeren, *Manual*, ii. § 48, p. 110, E. T.) Diodorus represents him as having great confidence in Bagôas, but as continuing to rule savagely and harshly to the last (xvii. 5, § 3).

[1] Diod. Sic. xvi. 75, § 1. Ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑφορώμενος τὴν Φιλίππου δύναμιν, ἔγραψε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ σατράπας, κ.τ.λ.

pendence;[2] and such effectual aid was given to the city of Perinthus,[3] that the numerous and well-appointed army with which Philip had commenced its siege was completely baffled and compelled to give up the attempt (B.C. 340). The battle of Chæroneia had not yet been fought, and Macedonia was still but one of the many states which disputed for supremacy over Greece; but it is evident that she had already awakened the suspicions of Persia, which saw a rival and a possible assailant in the rapidly growing monarchy.

Greater and more systematic efforts might possibly have been made, and the power of Macedon might perhaps have been kept within bounds, had not the inveterate evil of conspiracy and revolution once more shown itself at the Court, and paralysed for a time the action of the Empire on communities beyond its borders. Ochus, while he was a vigorous ruler and administrator, was harsh and sanguinary. His violence and cruelty rendered him hateful to his subjects;[4] and it is not unlikely that they caused even those who stood highest in his favour to feel insecure. Bagôas may have feared that sooner or later he would himself be one of the monarch's victims, and have been induced by a genuine alarm to remove the source of his terrors. In the year B.C. 338, he poisoned Ochus, and placed upon the throne his youngest son, Arses, at the same time assassinating all the brothers of the new monarch.[5] It was evidently his aim to exercise the supreme power himself, as counsellor to a prince who owed his position to him, and who was moreover little more than a boy.[6] But Arses, though subservient for a year or two, began, as he grew older, to show that he had a will of his own, and was even heard to utter threats against his benefactor;[7] whereupon Bagôas, accustomed now to crime, secured

[2] This must be the meaning of the words in the letter of Alexander to Codomannus — *εἰς Θρᾴκην, ἣν ἡμεῖς ἤρχομεν. δύναμιν ἔπεμψεν Ὦχος.* (Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 14.)

[3] Arrian, l. s. c.; Diod. Sic. xvi. 75, 76; Demosth. *Ep. ad Philipp.* p. 153; Pausan. i. 29, § 7.

[4] Diod. Sic. xvii. 5, § 3. *Μισουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν τρόπων, κ.τ.λ.*

[5] Diod. l. s. c. Ælian, *Var. Hist*, vi. 8.

[6] Diodorus calls him *μειράκιον* (xvii. 5, § 4); but as he had several children in the third year of his reign (ibid.), he cannot have been less than 13 or 14 at his accession.

[7] *Φανεροῦ καθεστῶτος ὅτι τιμωρήσεται τὸν αὐθέντην τῶν ἀνομημάτων.* (Diod. l. s. c.)

himself by a fresh series of murders. He caused Arses and his infant children to be assassinated,[8] and selected one of his friends, Codomannus, the son of Arsanes,[9] to fill the vacant throne. About the same time (B.C. 336), Philip of Macedon was assassinated by the incensed Pausanias;[10] and the two new monarchs, Codomannus, who took the name of Darius, and Alexander the Great, assumed their respective sceptres almost simultaneously.[11]

Codomannus, the last of the Persian kings, might with some reason have complained, like Plato,[12] that nature had brought him into the world too late. Personally brave, as he proved himself in the Cadusian war,[13] tall and strikingly handsome,[14] amiable in temper, capable of considerable exertion,[15] and not altogether devoid of military capacity,[16] he would have been a fairly good ruler in ordinary times, and might, had he fallen upon such times, have held an honourable place among the Persian monarchs. But he was unequal to the difficulties of such a position as that in which he found himself. Raised to the throne after the victory of Chæroneia had placed Philip at the head of Greece, and when a portion of the Macedonian forces had already passed into Asia,[17] he was called upon to

[8] Diod. l. s. c. The assassination of Arses by Bagôas is also noticed by Arrian (*Exp. Alex.* ii. 14), Strabo (xv. 3, § 24), and Q. Curtius (*Hist. Alex.* vi. 3, p. 154).

[9] According to Strabo, Darius Codomannus was not of the royal house (*οὐκ ὄντα τοῦ γένους τῶν βασιλέων*, l. s. c.). According to Diodorus (xvii. 5, § 5), he was the grandson of Ostanes, a brother of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Some said that before he became king he was a mere courier. (Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 18).

[10] It is scarcely necessary to vindicate Codomannus from the charge of having stimulated Pausanias by bribes to murder Philip. Mr. Grote has seen the improbability of such a transaction. (*Hist. of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 239.)

[11] Diod. Sic. xvii. 6, § 2. The accession of Codomannus a little preceded that of Alexander (ibid. xvii. 7. § 1), which fell in July. (Clinton, *F. H.* ii. p. 166.)

[12] Plat. *Ep.* v. *Πλάτων ὀψὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι γέγονε.*

[13] Diod. Sic. xvii. 6; Justin, x. 3. The war intended can scarcely be that which occurred more than forty years earlier, under Artaxerxes Mnemon (supra, p. 503). We must consequently suppose that there had been another struggle with the same people under Ochus, of which nothing has been recorded but the gallantry displayed by Codomannus.

[14] Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 21. *Ἀνδρῶν κάλλιστος καὶ μέγιστος.*

[15] Diod. Sic. xvii. 7, §§ 1, 2; 39, § 4, &c.

[16] Arrian (iii. 22), and Mr. Grote following him, have (I think) underrated the military capacity of Codomannus. He scarcely deserves to be called *ἀνὴρ τὰ πολέμια, εἴ τις ἄλλος, μαλθακός τε καὶ οὐ φρενήρης.*

[17] Diod. Sic. xvi. 91, § 2.

grapple at once with a danger of the most formidable kind, and had but little time for preparation. It is true that Philip's death soon after his own accession gave him a short breathing-space: but at the same time it threw him off his guard. The military talents of Alexander were untried, and of course unknown; the perils which he had to encounter were patent. Codomannus may be excused if for some months after Alexander's accession he slackened his preparations for defence,[18] uncertain whether the new monarch would maintain himself, whether he would overpower the combinations which were formed against him in Greece, whether he would inherit his father's genius for war, or adopt his ambitious projects. It would have been wiser no doubt, as the event proved, to have joined heart and soul with Alexander's European enemies, and to have carried the war at once to the other side of the Egean. But no great blame attaches to the Persian monarch for his brief inaction. As soon as the Macedonian prince had shown by his campaigns in Thrace, Illyria, and Bœotia that he was a person to be dreaded, Darius Codomannus renewed the preparations which he had discontinued, and pushed them forward with all the speed that was possible.[19] A fleet was rapidly got ready; the satraps of Asia Minor were reinforced with troops of good quality from the interior of the Empire,[20] and were ordered to raise a strong force of mercenaries;[21] money was sent into Greece to the Lacedæmonians and others in order to induce them to create disturbances in Europe;[22] above all, Memnon the Rhodian, a brother of Mentor, and a commander of approved skill, was sent to the Hellespont, at the head of a body of Greeks in Persian pay, with an authority co-ordinate to that of the satraps.[23]

A certain amount of success at first attended these measures. Memnon was able to act on the offensive in North-Western Asia.

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[18] Diod. Sic. xvii. 7, § 1.

[19] Ibid. § 2.

[20] The army which fought at the Granicus comprised Medes, Hyrcanians, and Bactrians (ib. xvii. 19), as well as Paphlagonians, Cappadocians, and native Persians.

[21] The mercenaries at the Granicus numbered 20,000. (Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 14.)

[22] Arrian, ii. 14.

[23] Diod. Sic. xvii. 7, § 3.

He marched upon Cyzicus and was within a little of surprising it, obtaining from the lands and villas without the walls an immense booty. He forced Parmenio to raise the siege of Pitané; and when Callas, one of the Macedonian leaders, endeavoured to improve the condition of things by meeting the Persian forces in the open field, he suffered a defeat and was compelled to throw himself into Rhœteum.[1]

These advantages, however, were detrimental rather than serviceable to the Persian cause; since they encouraged the Persian satraps to regard the Macedonians as an enemy no more formidable than the various tribes of Greeks with whom they had now carried on war in Asia Minor for considerably more than a century. The intended invasion of Alexander seemed to them a matter of no great moment—to be classed with expeditions like those of Thimbron and Agesilaus,[2] not to need, as it really did, to be placed in a category of its own. Accordingly, they made no efforts to dispute the passage of the Hellespont, or to oppose the landing of the expedition on the Asiatic shore. Alexander was allowed to transport a force of 30,000 foot and 4000 or 5000 horse[3] from the Chersonese to Mysia without the slightest interference on the part of the enemy, notwithstanding that his naval power was weak and that of the Persians very considerable. This is one of those pieces of remissness in the Persian conduct of military matters, whereof we have already had to note signal instances,[4] and which constantly caused the failure of very elaborate and judicious preparations to meet a danger. Great efforts had been made to collect and equip a numerous fleet, and a few weeks later it was all powerful in the Egean.[5] But it was absent exactly at the time when it was

[1] Diod. Sic. xvii. 7, §§ 8-10.

[2] Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1, §§ 4-7; 4, § 5 et seqq.

[3] Arrian makes Alexander bring into Asia "rather more than 30,000 foot and *above* 5000 horse" (*Exp. Alex.* i. 11). Diodorus (xvii. 17) gives the foot as 30,000 exactly, the horse as 4500. Other writers have the following numbers:—

Justin	32,000 foot.	4500 horse.
Callisthenes ..	40,000 „	4500 „
Anaximenes ..	43,000 „	5500 „

Plutarch (ii. p. 327) tells us that the eye-witnesses, Ptolemy and Aristobulus, agreed that the foot was 30,000, but differed as to the horse: which the latter made 4000, while the former made it 5000.

[4] Supra, pp. 489 and 490.

[5] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 18. The Persian fleet, which consisted chiefly of Cyprian and Phœnician vessels, is reckoned by Arrian at 400 ships. The fleet of Alexander consisted of 160.

wanted. Alexander's passage and landing were unopposed, and the Persians thus admitted within the Empire without a struggle the enemy who was fated to destroy it.

When the Persian commanders heard that Alexander was in Asia, they were anxious to give him battle.[6] One alone, the Rhodian Greek, Memnon, proposed and urged a wholly different plan of operations. Memnon advised that a general engagement should be avoided, that the entire country should be laid waste, and even the cities burnt, while the army should retire, cut off stragglers, and seek to bring the enemy into difficulties.[7] At the same time he recommended that the fleet should be brought up, a strong land force embarked on board it, and an effort made to transfer the war into Europe.[8] But Memnon's colleagues, the satraps and commandants of the north-western portion of Asia Minor, could not bring themselves to see that circumstances required a line of action which they regarded as ignominious.[9] It is not necessary to attribute to them personal or selfish motives.[10] They probably thought honestly that they were a match for Alexander with the troops at their disposal, and viewed retreat before an enemy numerically weaker than themselves as a disgrace not to be endured unless its necessity was palpable. Accordingly they determined to give the invader battle. Supposing that Alexander, having crossed into Asia at Abydos, would proceed to attack Dascyleium, the nearest satrapial capital, they took post on the Granicus, and prepared to dispute the further advance of the Macedonian army. They had collected a force of 20,000 cavalry of the best quality that the Empire afforded,[11] and nearly the same number of infantry,[12] who were chiefly, if not solely Greek mercenaries.[13] With these they determined to

[6] Diod. Sic. xvii. 18, §§ 3, 4.

[7] Ibid. l. s. c.; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 12.

[8] Diod. Sic. xvii. 18, § 2.

[9] Ἀνάξια τῆς Περσῶν μεγαλοψυχίας. Diod. Sic. xvii. 18, § 3.

[10] As Mr. Grote does (*History of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 311).

[11] According to Diodorus (xvii. 19, § 4), the cavalry was mainly composed of Medes, Bactrians, Hyrcanians, and Paphlagonians.

[12] See Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 14. Περσῶν δὲ ἱππεῖς μὲν ἦσαν ἐς δισμυρίους, ξένοι δὲ πεζοὶ μισθοφόροι, ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντες δισμυρίων. Diodorus reduces the horse to 10,000, while he raises the infantry to 100,000 (xvii. 19, §§ 4, 5). Justin (xi. 6), estimates the entire Persian force at 600,000!

[13] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 16, sub fin.; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 16.

defend the passage of the small stream above mentioned—one of the many which flow from the northern flank of Ida into the Propontis.

The battle thus offered was eagerly accepted by the Macedonian. If he could not defeat with ease a Persian force not greatly exceeding his own, he had miscalculated the relative goodness of the soldiers on either side, and might as well desist from the expedition. Accordingly, he no sooner came to the bank of the river, and saw the enemy drawn up on the other side, than, rejecting the advice of Parmenio to wait till the next day,[14] he gave orders that the whole army should enter the stream and advance across it. The Granicus was in most places fordable; but there were occasional deeper parts,[15] which had to be avoided; and there was thus some difficulty in reaching the opposite bank in line. That bank itself was generally steep and precipitous,[16] but offered also several gentle slopes where a landing was comparatively easy. The Persians had drawn up their cavalry along the line of the river close to the water's edge, and had placed their infantry in the rear.[17] Alexander consequently attacked with his cavalry. The engagement began upon the right. Amyntas and Ptolemy, who were the first to reach the opposite bank, met with a strenuous resistance and were driven back into the stream by the forces of Memnon and his sons.[18] The battle, however, on this side was restored by Alexander himself, who gradually forced the Persians back after a long hand-to-hand fight, in which he received a slight wound, and slew with his own hand several noble Persians.[19] Elsewhere the resistance was less determined. Parmenio crossed on the left with comparative ease,[20] by his advance relieving Alexander. The Persians found the long spears of the Macedonians and their intermixture of light-armed foot with heavy-

[14] Plut. *Vit. Alex.* l. s. c.; Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 13.

[15] Πολλὰ βαθέα. (Arrian, l. s. c.)

[16] Ὄχθαι ὑπερύψηλοι καὶ κρημνώδεις. (Ibid.)

[17] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 14.

[18] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 15.

[19] Among these were Mithridates, the son-in-law of Darius, and Rhœsaces, one of the generals. (Arr. l. s. c. Compare Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 16.)

[20] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 15, ad fin.

armed cavalry irresistible.[21] The Macedonians seem to have received orders to strike at their adversaries' faces[1]—a style of warfare which was as unpleasant to the Persians as it was to the soldiers of Pompey at Pharsalia. Their line was broken where it was opposed to Alexander and his immediate companions;[2] but the contagion of disorder rapidly spread, and the whole body of the cavalry shortly quitted the field, after having lost a thousand of their number.[3] Only the infantry now remained. Against these the Macedonian phalanx was brought up in front, while the cavalry made repeated charges on either flank with overwhelming effect. Deserted by their horse, vastly outnumbered, and attacked on all sides, the brave mercenaries stood firm, fought with desperation, and were mostly slaughtered where they stood.[4] Two thousand out of the 20,000—probably wounded men—were made prisoners.[5] The rest perished, except a few who lay concealed among the heaps of slain.

The Persians lost by the battle 20,000 of their best footmen, and one or two thousand horse. Among their slain the proportion of men of rank was unusually large. The list included Spithridates, satrap of Lydia, Mithrobarzanes, governor of Cappadocia, Pharnaces, a brother-in-law, and Mithridates, a son-in-law of Darius, Arbupales, a grandson of Artaxerxes Mnemon, Omares, the commander of the mercenaries, Niphates, Petines, and Rhœsaces, generals.[6] The Greek loss is said to have been exceedingly small. Aristobulus made the total number of the slain thirty-four;[7] Arrian gives it as one hundred and fifteen,

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[21] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 15 and 16.

[1] Ibid. i. 16, § 1. Οἱ Πέρσαι παιόμενοί τε πανταχόθεν ἤδη ἐς τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτοί τε καὶ οἱ ἵπποι τοῖς ξυστοῖς. The almost complete armour which protected the heavy cavalry, horse and man alike, left little more than the face of the man and the head of the horse exposed. (See above, pp. 177, 178.)

[2] Arrian, l. s. c. Ἐγκλίνουσι ταύτῃ πρῶτον, ᾗ Ἀλέξανδρος προεκινδύνευεν.

[3] So Arrian (l. s. c.). Diodorus makes the number killed 2000 (xvii. 21, § 6), Plutarch (*Vit. Alex.* c. 16) 2500.

[4] Compare Arrian (i. 16) with Plut. l. s. c. The latter writer particularly notices the obstinacy of the resistance.

[5] So Arrian. Plutarch slays the whole 20,000. Diodorus, on the contrary, limits the slain to 10,000, and gives 20,000 as the number of the prisoners. Here, as elsewhere, Arrian's moderation is strongly in favour of his veracity.

[6] Arrian, i. 15, 16; Diod. Sic. xvii. 21, § 3.

[7] Ap. Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.* c. 16. Mr. Grote regards Aristobulus as speaking

or a little over.[8] It has been suspected that even the latter estimate is below the truth;[9] but the analogy furnished by the other great victories of the Greeks over the Persians tends rather to confirm Arrian's statement.[10]

The battle of the Granicus threw open to Alexander the whole of Asia Minor. There was no force left in the entire country that could venture to resist him, unless protected by walls. Accordingly, the Macedonian operations for the next twelve months, or during nearly the whole space that intervened between the battles of the Granicus and of Issus, consist of little more than a series of marches and sieges. The reader of Persian history will scarcely wish for an account of these operations in detail. Suffice it to say that Alexander rapidly overran Lydia, Ionia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Phrygia, besieged and took Miletus, Halicarnassus, Marmareis, and Sagalassus, and received the submission of Dascyleium, Sardis, Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles, the Lycian Telmisseis, Pinara, Xanthus, Patara, Phaselis, Side, Aspendus, Celænæ, and Gordium.[11] This last city was the capital of Phrygia; and there the conqueror for the first time since his landing gave himself and his army a few months' rest during the latter part of the winter.[12]

With the first breath of spring his forces were again in motion. Hitherto anxious with respect to the state of things on the coast and in Greece, he had remained in the western half of Asia Minor, within call of his friends in Macedonia, at no time distant more than about 200 miles from the sea. Now intelligence reached him, which made him feel at liberty to advance into

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only of the immediate "companions of Alexander" (*Hist. of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 317, note [4]); but the context of the passage in Plutarch shows that the entire number of those slain on Alexander's side in the battle is intended.

[8] *Exp. Alex.* i. 16. The number was made up of 25 "Companion" cavalry, *above* 60 ordinary cavalry, and 30 infantry.

[9] Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 317).

[10] At Marathon the number of those slain on the Greek side was no more than 192, though the centre was broken and pursued, or at any rate forced to give ground. (Herod. vi. 117.) The loss in the real battle of Platæa was but 159 (ibid. ix. 70, ad fin.).

[11] Compare Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 17-29 with Diod. Sic. xvii. 22-28. The siege of Marmareis, omitted by Arrian, is related at length by the Sicilian writer.

[12] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* i. 29.

the interior of Asia. Memnon the Rhodian fell sick and died in the early spring of B.C. 333.[13] It is strange that so much should have depended on a single life; but it certainly seems that there was no one in the Persian service who, on Memnon's death, could replace him—no one fitted for the difficult task of uniting Greeks and Asiatics together, capable of influencing and managing the one while he preserved the confidence of the other. Memnon's death disconcerted all the plans of the Great King, who till it occurred had fully intended to carry the war into his enemy's country.[14] It induced Darius even to give up the notion of maintaining a powerful fleet, and to transfer to the land service the most efficient of his naval forces.[15] At the same time it set Alexander free to march wherever he liked, liberating him from the keen anxiety, which he had previously felt, as to the maintenance of the Macedonian power in Europe.

It now became the object of the Persian king to confront the daring invader of his Western provinces with an army worthy of the Persian name and proportionate to the vastness of the Empire. He had long been collecting troops from many of the most warlike nations, and had got together a force of several hundred thousand men.[16] Forgetting the lessons of his country's previous history, he flattered himself that the host which he had brought together was irresistible, and became anxious to hurry on a general engagement. Starting from Babylon, probably about the time that Alexander left Gordium in Phrygia, he marched up the valley of the Euphrates, and took up a position at Sochi, which was situated in a large open plain, not far from the modern Lake of Antioch.[17] On his arrival there he heard

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[13] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 1; Diod. Sic. xvii. 29, § 4.

[14] Diod. Sic. xvii. 30, § 1.

[15] Arrian, ii. 2; Q. Curt. iii. 3.

[16] Arrian makes the number of Darius' forces at Issus 600,000 (*Exp. Alex.* ii. 8), Diodorus 500,000 (xvii. 31, § 2). Q. Curtius, who alone enters into details, says that the foot was 250,000 and the horse 61,200, making a grand total of 311,200. (*Hist. Alex.* iii. 24.) According to him, the troops were counted in the rough manner employed by Xerxes. (See above, pp. 452, 453.)

[17] The plain of Sochi must (I think) have been that of Umk, north and east of the Lake of Antioch, which is described as "level and marshy" (Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track*, p. 62). Both the passes over Amanus lead to this tract, which is the only extensive plain in the neighbourhood. Mr. Grote in his chart places Sochi much too far to the north.

that Alexander was in Cilicia at no great distance; and the Greeks in his service assured him that it would not be long before the Macedonian monarch would seek him out and accept his offer of battle.[18] But a severe attack of illness detained Alexander at Tarsus,[19] and when he was a little recovered, troubles in Western Cilicia, threatening his communications with Greece, required his presence;[20] so that Darius grew impatient, and, believing that his enemy had no intention of advancing further than Cilicia, resolved to seek him in that country. Quitting the open plain of Sochi, he marched northwards, having the range of Amanus on his left, almost as far as the thirty-seventh parallel, when turning sharply to the west, he crossed the chain, and descended upon Issus, in the inner recess of the gulf which bore the same name.[21] Here he came upon Alexander's hospitals, and found himself to his surprise in the rear of his adversary, who, while Darius was proceeding northwards along the eastern flank of Amanus, had been marching southwards between the western flank of the same range and the sea.[1] Alexander had crossed the Pylæ, or narrowest portion of the pass, and had reached Myriandrus—a little beyond Iskenderun—when news reached him that Darius had occupied Issus in his rear,[2] and had put to death all the sick and wounded Macedonians whom he had found in the town.[3] At first he could not credit the intelligence; but when it was confirmed by scouts, whom he sent out,[4] he prepared instantly to retrace his steps, and to fight his first great battle with the Persian king under circumstances which he felt to be favourable beyond anything that he could have hoped. The tract of flat land between the base of the mountains and the sea on the borders of the Gulf of Issus was nowhere broader than about a mile and a half.[5] The range of Amanus on the east rose up

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[18] Plutarch, *Vit. Alex.* c. 20.
[19] Arrian, ii. 4; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 19.
[20] Arrian. ii. 5. [21] Ibid. ii. 7, § 1.
[1] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 7, § 1; Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iii. 8.
[2] Arrian, ii. 6.
[3] Ibid. ii. 7. Compare Q. Curt. l. s. c. These unfortunates were (it would seem) mutilated before they were put to death (τούτους χαλεπῶς αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν—Arrian).
[4] These scouts were sent by sea in a triaconter. (Arrian, l. s. c.)
[5] Callisthenes ap. Polyb. xii. 17.

with rugged and broken hills, so that on this side the operations of cavalry were impracticable. It would be impossible to form a line of battle containing in the front rank more than about 4000 men,[6] and difficult for either party to bring into action as many as 30,000 of their soldiers. Thus the vast superiority of numbers on the Persian side became in such a position absolutely useless,[7] and even Alexander had more troops than he could well employ. No wonder that the Macedonian should exclaim, that "God had declared himself on the Grecian side by putting it into the heart of Darius to execute such a movement."[8] It may be that Alexander's superior generalship would have made him victorious even on the open plain of Sochi; but in the defile of Issus success was certain, and generalship superfluous.

Darius had started from Issus in pursuit of his adversary, and had reached the banks of the Pinarus, a small stream flowing westward from Amanus into the Mediterranean, when he heard that Alexander had hastened to retrace his steps, and was coming to meet him.[9] Immediately he prepared for battle. Passing a force of horse and foot across the stream in his front, to keep his adversary in check if he advanced too rapidly,[10] he drew up his best troops along the line of the river in a continuous solid mass, the ranks of which must have been at least twenty deep.[11] Thirty thousand Greek mercenaries formed the centre of the line,[12] while on either side of them were an equal number of Asiatic "braves"[13]—picked probably from the mass of the army.[14] Twenty thousand troops of a lighter and inferior class were placed upon the rough hills on the left, the outskirts of the Amanian range, where the nature of the ground allowed them

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[6] Mr. Grote, allowing a pace to a man, reckons the front rank at less than 3500 men. (*History of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 346, note [4].)

[7] Τοῖς δὲ ἀχρεῖον τὸ πλῆθος. (Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 7.)

[8] Ὁ θεὸς ὑπὲρ σφῶν στρατηγεῖ ἄμεινον, ἐπὶ νοῦν Δαρείῳ ἀγαγὼν καθεῖρξαι τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς εὐρυχωρίας ἐς τὰ στενόπορα. (Ibid.)

[9] Ibid. ii. 8.

[10] Arrian makes this force consist of 30,000 horse and 20,000 foot, which must certainly be an exaggeration.

[11] Mr. Grote supposes that they must have been twenty-six deep (*History*, l. s. c.)

[12] Arrian, l. s. c.; Q. Curt. iii. 9.

[13] Κάρδακες (Arrian). Strabo explains the term κάρδα, whence he derives Κάρδακες, as τὸ ἀνδρώδες καὶ πολεμικόν. (Strab. xv. 3, § 18.)

[14] Compare above, p. 464, note [5].

to encircle the Macedonian right,[15] which, to preserve its ranks unbroken, kept the plain. The cavalry, to the number of 30,000, was massed upon the other wing, near the sea.[16]

The battle began by certain movements of Alexander against the flank force which menaced his right. These troops, assailed by the Macedonian light-armed, retreated at once to higher ground, and by their manifest cowardice freed Alexander from all anxiety on their account.[17] Leaving 300 horse to keep the 20,000 in check, he moved on his whole line at a slow pace towards the Pinarus till it came within bowshot of the enemy, when he gave the order to proceed at a run.[18] The line advanced as commanded; but before it could reach the river, the Persian horse on the extreme right, unable to restrain themselves any longer, dashed across the shallow stream, and assailed Alexander's left,[19] where they engaged in a fierce battle with the Thessalian cavalry, in which neither obtained any decided advantage.[20] The infantry, meanwhile, came into conflict along the rest of the line. Alexander himself, with the right and the right-centre, charged the Asiatic troops on Darius's left, who, like their brethren at Cunaxa,[21] instantly broke and fled.[22] Parmenio, with the left-centre, was less successful. The north bank of the Pinarus was in this part steep and defended by stakes[23] in places; the Greek mercenaries were as brave as the Macedonians, and fought valiantly. It was not till the troops which had routed the Persian right began to act against their centre, assailing it upon the flank, while it was at the same time engaged in front, that the mercenaries were overpowered and gave way.[24] Seeing their defeat, the horse likewise fled, and thus the rout became general.

It is not quite clear what part Darius took in the battle, or how far he was answerable for its untoward result. According

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[15] Arrian, ii. 8.
[16] Ibid. ii. 9, ad init.
[17] Ibid. sub fin.
[18] Οἱ κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος . . . . δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνέβαλλον. (Arrian, ii. 10.)
[19] Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iii. 11, § 1.
[20] Arrian, ii. 11; Diod. Sic. xvii. 33, § 6.
[21] Supra, p. 492.
[22] Arrian, ii. 10.
[23] Χάρακι. (Ibid.)
[24] Arrian, ii. 11, § 1; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 20.

to Arrian,[25] he was struck with a sudden panic on beholding the flight of his left wing, and gave orders to his charioteer instantly to quit the field. But Curtius and Diodorus represent him as engaged in a long struggle against Alexander himself, and as only flying when he was in imminent danger of falling into the enemy's hands.[26] Justin goes further, and states that he was actually wounded.[27] The character gained by Darius in his earlier years[28] makes it improbable that he would under any circumstances have exhibited personal cowardice. On the whole it would seem to be most probable that the flight of the Persian monarch occurred, not when the left wing fled, but when the Greek mercenaries among whom he had placed himself began to give way before the irresistible phalanx and the impetuous charges of Alexander. Darius, not unwisely, accepted the defeat of his best troops as the loss of the battle, and hastily retired across Amanus by the pass which had brought him to Issus, whence he hurried on through Sochi[1] to the Euphrates, anxious to place that obstacle between himself and his victorious enemy.[2] His multitudinous host, entangled in the defiles of the mountains, suffered by its own weight and size, the stronger fugitives treading[3] down the weaker, while at the same time it was ruthlessly slaughtered by the pursuing enemy, so long as the waning light allowed. As many as 100,000 —90,000 foot and 10,000 horse—are said to have fallen.[4] The ravines were in places choked with the dead bodies, and Ptolemy the son of Lagus related that in one instance he and Alexander

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[25] *Exp. Alex.* ii. 11. Σὺν τοῖς πρώτοις ἔφευγε.

[26] Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iii. 11, p. 43; Diod. Sic. xvii. 34.

[27] "In eo [prœlio] uterque rex vulneratur." (Justin, xi. 9.)

[28] See above, p. 515; and compare Diod. Sic. xvii. 6, § 1 (Παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις τὸ πρωτεῖον τῆς ἀνδρείας ἀπενέγκατο), and Justin, x. 3 ("Bellum cum Alexandro *magna virtute* gessit").

[1] The identity of Sochi with the "plain of *Umk*," which has been already asserted (see above, p. 522, note [17]), is confirmed by Q. Curt. iv. 1, where a place which seems to be Sochi is called *Unchæ*.

[2] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 13.

[3] Οὐ μεῖον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καταπατούμενοι ἢ πρὸς τῆς διώξεως τῶν πολεμίων ἐβλάπτοντο. (Ibid. ii. 11.)

[4] This is Arrian's estimate. Diodorus (xvii. 36, § 6) and Q. Curtius (iii. 11, ad fin.) raise the loss in infantry to 100,000, thus making the total loss 110,000. This total is also given by Plutarch (*Vit. Alex.* c. 20). Justin, while agreeing as to the number of cavalry that fell, reduces the loss in infantry to 61,000 (xi. 9).

crossed a gulley on a bridge of this kind.[5] Among the slain were Sabaces, satrap of Egypt,[6] Bubaces, a noble of high rank, and Arsames, Rheomithres, and Atizyes, three of the commanders at the Granicus. Forty thousand prisoners were made. The whole of the Persian camp and camp-equipage fell into the enemy's hands, who found in the royal pavilion the mother, wife, and sister of the king, an infant son, two daughters, and a number of female attendants, wives of noblemen.[7] The treasure captured amounted to 3000 silver talents. Among the trophies of victory were the chariot, bow, shield, and robe of the king, which he had abandoned in his hurried flight.[8]

The loss on the side of the Macedonians was trivial. The highest estimate places it at 450 killed, the lowest at 182.[9] Besides, these, 504 were wounded.[10] Thus Alexander had less than 1000 men placed *hors de combat.* He himself received a slight wound in the thigh from a sword,[11] which, used a little more resolutely, might have changed the fortunes of the world.

The defeat of the Persians at Issus seems to have been due simply to the fact that, practically, the two adversaries engaged with almost equal numbers, and that the troops of Alexander were of vastly superior quality to those of Darius. The Asiatic infantry — notwithstanding their proud title of "braves" — proved to be worthless; the Greek mercenaries were personally courageous, but their inferior arms and training rendered them incapable of coping with the Macedonian phalanx.[12] The cavalry was the only arm in which the

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[5] Arrian, l. s. c.

[6] So Arrian. Diodorus gives the name as Tasiaces (xvii. 34, § 5).

[7] Arrian, l. s. c. The remainder of the females, who had accompanied the army from Babylon, including 329 concubines of Darius, had been placed for greater security at Damascus, where they were taken by Parmenio subsequently. (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* ii. 11, sub fin.; Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iii. 13; Parmen. ap. Athen. *Deipn.* xiii. p. 608 A.)

[8] Arrian, l. s. c.

[9] The highest estimate is that of Diodorus, who says that 300 foot were killed and 150 horse (xvii. 36, § 6); the lowest that of Q. Curtius (iii. 11, ad fin.), who agrees as to the horse, but makes the footmen slain no more than 32. Justin makes the total loss 280—130 foot and 150 horse (xi. 9).

[10] Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* l. s. c.

[11] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 13, § 1; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 20. (Some said the wound was given by Darius himself; but this is very improbable.)

[12] Diod. Sic. xvii. 53, § 1.

Persians were not greatly at a disadvantage; and cavalry alone cannot gain, or even save a battle. When Darius put himself into a position where he lost all the advantages derivable from superiority of numbers, he made his own defeat and his adversary's triumph certain.

It remained, therefore, before the Empire could be considered as entirely lost, that this error should be corrected, this false step retrieved. All hope for Persia was not gone, so long as her full force had not been met and defeated in a fair and open field. When Darius fled from Issus, it was not simply to preserve for a few months longer his own wretched life; it was to make an effort to redeem the past[13]—to give his country that last chance of maintaining her independence which she had a right to claim at his hands—to try what the award of battle would be under the circumstances which he had fair grounds for regarding as the most favourable possible to his own side and the most disadvantageous to his adversary. Before the heart of the Empire could be reached from the West, the wide Mesopotamian plain had to be traversed—there, in those vast flats, across which his enemy must come, a position might be chosen where there would be room for the largest numbers that even his enormous Empire could furnish—where cavalry and even chariots would be everywhere free to act—where consequently he might engage the puny force of his antagonist to the greatest advantage, outflank it, envelop it, and perhaps destroy it. Darius would have been inexcusable had he given up the contest without trying this last chance—the chance of a battle in the open field with the full collected force of Persia.

His adversary gave him ample time to prepare for this final struggle. The battle of Issus was fought in November, B.C. 333.[14] It was not till the summer of B.C. 331, twenty months later, that the Macedonian forces were set in motion towards the interior of the Empire.[15] More than a year and a half was consumed in the reduction of Phœnicia,[16] the siege of

[13] Diod. Sic. xvii. 39, §§ 3, 4.

[14] Clinton, *F. H.* vol. ii. p. 168. Compare Arrian, ii. 11, ad fin.

[15] Arrian, iii. 7, § 1.

[16] The siege of Tyre occupied seven months. (Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 24; Dicd.

Gaza,[17] and the occupation of Egypt.[18] Alexander, apparently, was confident of defeating Darius in a pitched battle, whenever and under whatever circumstances they should again meet; and regarded as the only serious dangers which threatened him, a possible interruption of his communications with Greece, and the employment of Persian gold and Persian naval force in the raising of troubles on the European side of the Egean.[19] He was therefore determined, before he plunged into the depths of the Asiatic continent, to isolate Persia from Greece, to destroy her naval power, and to cripple her pecuniary resources. The event showed that his decision was a wise one. By detaching from Persia and bringing under his own sway the important countries of Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Idumæa, and Egypt, he wholly deprived Persia of her navy and transferred to himself the complete supremacy of the sea, he greatly increased his own resources while he diminished those of the enemy, and he shut out Persia altogether from communication with Greece, excepting through his territories. He could therefore commence his march into the interior with a feeling of entire security as to his communications and his rear. No foe was left on the coast capable of causing him a moment's uneasiness. Athens and Sparta might chafe and even intrigue; but without the Persian "archers,"[20] it was impossible that any force should be raised which could in the slightest degree imperil his European dominions.

From Babylon, whither Darius proceeded straight from Issus,[1] he appears to have made two ineffectual attempts at negotiating with his enemy. The first embassy was despatched soon after his arrival, and according to Arrian,[2] was instructed

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Sic. xvii. 46, § 5.) It was taken in July, B.C. 332. (Arrian, ii. 24.) Full details of the siege are given by Arrian (ii. 18-24), Diodorus (xvii. 40-46), and Q. Curtius (iv. 2, 3).

[17] This siege lasted two months (Diod. Sic. xvii. 48, § 7). For an account of it, see Arrian, ii. 26, 27.

[18] Alexander passed the winter of B.C. 332-331 in Egypt, arriving about October, and leaving about February.

[19] Arrian, ii. 17.

[20] When Agesilaus was forced to quit Asia and return to defend his country, he said that the Persian king had driven him away by means of 30,000 "archers" (τόξοται), alluding to the ordinary device upon the daric. (See above, p. 343.)

[1] Diod. Sic. xvii. 39, § 1.

[2] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* ii. 14. Diodorus (l. s. c.) makes Darius on this

merely to make proposals for peace, and to request the restitution of the Queen, the Queen-Mother, Sisygambis, the infant prince, and the two princesses, captured by Alexander. To this Alexander replied, in haughty and contemptuous terms, that if Darius would acknowledge him as Lord of Asia, and deliver himself into his power, he should receive back his relatives: if he intended still to dispute the sovereignty, he ought to come and fight out the contest, and not run away.

The second embassy was sent six or eight months later, while Alexander was engaged in the siege of Tyre.[3] Darius now offered, as a ransom for the members of his family held in captivity by Alexander, the large sum of ten thousand talents (240,000*l.*), and was willing to purchase peace by the cession of all the provinces lying west of the Euphrates, several of which were not yet in Alexander's possession. At the same time he proposed that Alexander should marry his daughter, Statira, in order that the cession of territory might be represented as the bestowal of a dowry.[4] The reply of Alexander was, if possible, ruder and haughtier than before. "What did Darius mean by offering money and territory? All his treasure and all his territory were Alexander's already. As for the proposed marriage, if he (Alexander) liked to marry a daughter of Darius, he should of course do so, whether her father consented or not. If Darius wanted merciful treatment, he had better come and deliver himself up at once."

The terms of this reply rendered further negotiation impossible. Darius had probably not hoped much from his pacific overtures, and was therefore not greatly concerned at their rejection. He knew that the members of his family were honourably and even kindly treated by their captor,[5] and that, so far at any rate, Alexander had proved himself a magnanimous

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first occasion offer to cede to Alexander Asia Minor west of the Halys, and to pay a large sum as ransom for his family. But Arrian's account is probably the true one.

[3] Arrian, ii. 25.

[4] So Curtius (*Hist. Alex.* iv. 5, § 1). The idea is consonant with Eastern notions.

[5] Arrian, ii. 12; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 2; Q. Curt. iii. 12; Diod. Sic. xvii. 38. On the undue praise bestowed upon Alexander for his treatment of these captives, see Mr. Grote's *History of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 376, note [1].

conqueror. He can scarcely have thought that a lasting peace was possible between himself and his young antagonist, who had only just fleshed his maiden sword and was naturally eager to pursue his career of conquest. Indeed, he seems from the moment of his defeat at Issus to have looked forward to another battle as inevitable, and to have been unremitting in his efforts to collect and arm a force which might contend, with a good hope of victory, against the Macedonians. He replaced the panoplies lost at Issus with fresh ones;[6] he armed his forces anew with swords and spears longer than the Persians had been previously accustomed to employ, on account of the great length of the Macedonian weapons:[7] he caused to be constructed 200 scythed chariots;[8] he prepared spiked balls to use against his enemy's cavalry; above all, he laid under contribution for the supply of troops all the provinces, even the most remote, of his extensive Empire, and asked and obtained important aid from allies situated beyond his borders.[9] The forces which he collected for the final struggle comprised—besides Persians, Medes, Babylonians, and Susianians from the centre of the Empire—Syrians from the banks of the Orontes, Armenians from the neighbourhood of Ararat, Cappadocians and Albanians from the regions bordering on the Euxine, Cadusians from the Caspian, Bactrians from the Upper Oxus, Sogdians from the Jaxartes, Arachosians from Cabul, Arians from Herat, Indians from the Punjab, and even Sacæ from the country about Kashgar and Yarkand, on the borders of the Great Desert of Gobi. Twenty-five nations followed the standard of the Great King,[10] and swelled the ranks of his vast army,

[6] Diod. Sic. xvii. 39, § 3; Q. Curt. iv. 9.

[7] Diod. xvii. 53, § 1.

[8] Ibid. Compare Q. Curt. l. s. c.

[9] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8. Εἵποντο καὶ Σάκαι . . . οὐχ ὑπήκοοι . . . ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμμαχίαν τὴν Δαρείου.

[10] So Arrian. These twenty-five nations were the following:—The Persians, the Medes, the Babylonians, the Susianians, the Sitaceni, the Armenians, the Cadusians, the Albanians, the Sacesinæ, the Cappadocians, the Cœle-Syrians, the Syrians of Mesopotamia, the Tapyri, the Hyrcanians, the Parthians, the Arians, the Bactrians, the Sogdians, the Sacæ, the Indians, the Daans, the Arachosians, the tribes along the "Red Sea" coast, the Mardians, and the transplanted Carians. (Arrian, iii. 8 and 11.) To this list Q. Curtius adds the Massagetæ, the Caspians, the Cossæans, the Belitæ, the Gortyæ, the Phrygians, and the Cataonians. (*Vit. Alex.* iv. 11.) Darius had also in his army a number of mercenary Greeks.

which amounted (according to the best authorities) to above a million of men.[11] Every available resource that the Empire possessed was brought into play. Besides the three arms of cavalry, infantry, and chariots, elephants were, for perhaps the first time in the history of military science, marshalled in the battle-field,[12] to which they added an unwonted element of grotesqueness and savagery.

The field of battle was likewise selected with great care, and artificially prepared for the encounter. Darius, it would seem, had at last become convinced that his enemy would seek him out wherever he might happen to be, and that consequently the choice of ground rested wholly with himself. Leaving, therefore, the direct road to Babylon by the line of the Euphrates undefended,[13] he selected a position which possessed all the advantages of the Mesopotamian plain, being open, level, fertile, and well supplied with water, while its vicinity to the eastern and northern provinces made it convenient for a rendezvous. This position was on the left or east bank of the Tigris, in the heart of the ancient Assyria, not more than thirty miles from the site of Nineveh.[14] Here, in the region called by the Greeks Adiabêné, extended between the Tigris and the river Zab or Lycus, a vast plain broken by scarcely any elevations, and wholly bare of both shrubs and trees.[15] The few natural inequalities which presented themselves were levelled by order of Darius,[16] who made the entire plain in his front practicable not only for cavalry but for chariots. At the

[11] Arrian's estimate (iii. 8) is 1,000,000 foot and 40,000 horse; Plutarch's (*Vit. Alex.* c. 31) 1,000,000 altogether; Diodorus's (xvii. 39, § 4) also 1,000,000—800,000 foot and 200,000 horse. Justin halves the numbers of Diodorus (xi. 12, § 5). Curtius has a still lower estimate (*Hist. Alex.* iv. 12). The Latin writers evidently aim at bringing the recorded numbers within what they think the limits of probability.

[12] Arrian. iii. 8, sub fin. The elephants said to have been lent by the Indians to the Derbices, in their war with the great Cyrus (supra, p. 387), resting on the weak authority of Ctesias, can scarcely be regarded as historical.

[13] Alexander might have marched upon Babylon by the route of the Younger Cyrus (supra, pp. 488-490); but in that case his army would have had to endure great hardships.

[14] Diodorus says—Ἐσπευδε περὶ τὴν Νίνον ποιήσασθαι τὴν παράταξιν (xvii. 53, § 4).

[15] See the description of Curtius: "Opportuna explicandis copiis regio erat, equitabilis et vasta planities. Ne stirpes quidem et brevia virgulta operiunt solum." (*Hist. Alex.* iv. 9.)

[16] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8.

same time he planted, in the places where Alexander's cavalry was likely to charge, spiked balls to damage the feet of the horses.[17]

Meanwhile, Alexander had quitted Egypt, and after delaying some months in Syria while his preparations were being completed,[1] had crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus and marched through northern Mesopotamia along the southern flank of the Mons Masius, a district in which provisions, water, and forage were abundant,[2] to the Tigris, which he must have reached in about lat. 36° 30′, thirty or forty miles above the site of Nineveh. No resistance was made to his advance; even the passage of the great rivers was unopposed.[3] Arrived on the east bank of the Tigris, Alexander found himself in Assyria Proper, with the stream upon his right and the mountains of Gordyêné (Kurdistan) at no great distance upon his left.[4] But the plain widened as he advanced, and became, as he drew near the position of his enemy, a vast level, nowhere less than thirty miles in breadth, between the outlying ranges of hills and the great river. Darius, whose head-quarters had been at Arbela,[5] south of the Zab, on learning Alexander's approach, had crossed that stream and taken post on the prepared ground to the north, in the neighbourhood of a small town or village called Gaugamela.[6] Here he drew up his forces in the order which he thought best, placing the scythed chariots in front, with supports of horse—Scythian, Bactrian, Armenian, and Cappadocian—near to them;[7] then, the main line of battle, divided into a centre and two wings, and composed of horse and foot intermixed; and finally a reserve of Babylonians, Sitaceni, and others, massed in heavy column in the rear. His own post was, according to invariable Persian custom,[8] in the centre; and

[17] Q. Curt. *Hist. Alex.* iv. 14, sub fin.

[1] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 6, 7.

[2] Τὴν ἑτέραν ἰόντι εὐπορώτερα τὰ ξύμπαντα τῷ στρατῷ ἦν, καὶ χιλὸς τοῖς ἵπποις, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνειν. (Arr. iii. 7.)

[3] Arrian, l. s. c.; Diod. Sic. xvii. 55; Q. Curtius, iv. 9.

[4] Arrian, iii. 7, sub fin.

[5] Q. Curt. l. s. c.; Diod. Sic. xvii. 53, § 4. Hence the name popularly given to the battle, which should rather have been called the battle of Gaugamela.

[6] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 8; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* c. 31.

[7] Arrian, iii. 11.

[8] See above, pp. 186, 496. Compare Arrian, ii. ad fin.

about him were grouped the best troops—the Household brigade, the Melophori or Persian foot-guards, the Mardian archers, some Albanians and Carians, the entire body of Greek mercenaries, and the Indians with their elephants.[9]

Alexander, on his side, determined to leave nothing to chance. Advancing leisurely, resting his troops at intervals, carefully feeling his way by means of scouts, and gradually learning from the prisoners whom he took, and the deserters who came over to him, all the dispositions and preparations of the enemy,[10] he arrived opposite the position of Darius on the ninth day after his passage of the Tigris.[11] His officers were eager to attack at once;[12] but with great judgment he restrained them, gave his troops a night's rest, and obtained time to reconnoitre completely the whole position of the enemy and the arrangement which he had made of his forces. He then formed his own dispositions. The army with which he was to attack above a million of men consisted of 40,000 foot and 7000 horse.[13] Alexander drew them up in three lines. The first consisted of light-armed troops, horse and foot, of good quality, which were especially intended to act against the enemy's chariots. The next was the main line of battle, and contained the phalanx with the rest of the heavy infantry in the centre, the heavy cavalry upon the two wings. The third line consisted of light troops, chiefly horse, and was instructed to act against such of the Persians as should outflank the Macedonian main line and so threaten their rear.[14] As at Issus, Alexander took the command of the right wing himself, and assigned the left to Parmenio.

As the two armies drew near, Alexander, who found himself greatly outflanked on both wings, and saw in front of him smooth ground carefully prepared for the operations of chariots

[9] Arrian, iii. 11 and 13.

[10] As especially the position of the spiked balls intended to damage his cavalry, which he was thus enabled to avoid on the day of battle. (See Q. Curt. iv. 13, sub fin.)

[11] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 7, sub fin.; 9, ad init.

[12] Parmenio alone recommended delaying till next day. (Arrian, iii. 9.)

[13] Ibid. 12, ad fin.

[14] The account here followed is that of Arrian (iii. 12). Curtius (iv. 13), and Diodorus (xvii. 57) agree in the main.

and cavalry, began a diagonal movement towards the right,[15] which tended at once to place him beyond the levelled ground, and to bring him into contact with his enemy's left wing rather than with his direct front. The movement greatly disconcerted his adversary, who sought to prevent it by extending and advancing his own left, which was soon engaged with Alexander's right in a fierce hand-to-hand conflict. Alexander still pressed his slanting movement, and in resisting it Darius's left became separated from his centre, while at the same time he was forced to give the signal for launching the chariots against the foe sooner than he had intended and under circumstances that were not favourable. The effect of the operation was much the same as at Cunaxa. Received by the Macedonian light-armed, the chariots were mostly disabled before the enemy's main line was reached; the drivers were dragged from the chariot-boards; and the horses were cut to pieces. Such as escaped this fate and charged the Macedonian line, were allowed to pass through the ranks, which opened to receive them, and were then dealt with by grooms and others in the rear of the army.[16]

No sooner had the chariot attack failed, and the space between the two lines of battle become clear, than Alexander, with the quick eye of a true general, saw his opportunity: to resist his flank movement, the Bactrians and Sacæ with the greater part of the left wing had broken off from the main Persian line, and in pressing towards the left had made a gap between their ranks and the centre.[17] Into this gap the Macedonian king, at the head of the "Companion" cavalry and a portion of the phalanx, plunged. Here he found himself in the near neighbourhood of Darius, whereupon he redoubled the vigour of his assault, knowing the great importance of any success gained in this quarter. The Companions rushed on with loud cries,[18] pressing with all their weight, and thrusting their spears into the faces of their antagonists—the phalanx,

[15] Arrian, iii. 13; Q. Curt. iv. 15, § 1.

[16] Arrian, l. s. c.

[17] Id. iii. 14.

[18] Ἦγε δρόμῳ τε καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ. (Arrian, l. s. c.)

bristling with its thick array of lances. bore them down.[19] Alexander found himself sufficiently near Darius to hurl a spear at him, which transfixed his charioteer.[20] The cry arose, that the king had fallen, and the ranks at once grew unsteady. The more timid instantly began to break and fly; the contagion of fear spread; and Darius was in a little while almost denuded of protection on one side.[21] Seeing this and regarding the battle as lost, since his line was broken, his centre and left wing defeated,[1] while only his right wing remained firm, the Persian monarch yielded to his alarm, and hastily quitting the field, made his way to Arbela.[2] The centre and left fled with him. The right, which was under the command of the Syrian satrap, Mazæus, made a firmer stand. On this side the chariots had done some damage,[3] and the horse was more than a match for the Thessalian cavalry.[4] Parmenio found himself in difficulties about the time when the Persian king fled.[5] His messengers detained a part of the phalanx, which was about to engage in the pursuit, and even recalled Alexander, who was hastening upon the track of Darius.[6] The careful prince turned back, but before he could make his way through the crowd of fugitives to the side of his lieutenant, victory had declared in favour of the Macedonians in this part of the field also.[7] Mazæus and his troops, learning that the king was fled,

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[19] Arrian, l. s. c. Οἵ τε ἱππεῖς οἱ ἀμφ' Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος εὐρώστως ἐνέκειντο, ὠθισμοῖς τε χρώμενοι, καὶ τοῖς ξυστοῖς τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν Περσῶν κόπτοντες, ἥ τε φάλαγξ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ πυκνὴ καὶ ταῖς σαρίσσαις περιφρικυῖα ἐμβέβληκεν ἤδη αὐτοῖς, κ. τ. λ.

[20] So Diodorus (xvii. 60, § 2). Curtius (iv. 15) mentions the death of the charioteer, but does not assign the blow to any individual. I cannot think that Arrian's silence throws any serious doubt on the fact thus attested.

[21] Τῆς ἑτέρας πλευρᾶς παραγυμνωθείσης τῶν συναγωνιζομένων. (Diod. Sic. xvii. 60, § 3.)

[1] The discomforture of the left wing was nearly simultaneous with the danger and flight of Darius. (Arrian, iii. 14.)

[2] Ibid. 15; Q. Curt. iv. 16; v. 1.

[3] Id. iv. 15.

[4] Diod. Sic. xvii. 59, § 5; 60, § 6; Q. Curt. iv. 16. Arrian touches very slightly indeed on the difficulties of the left wing.

[5] Arrian, iii. 14.

[6] Ibid. 15; Q. Curt. iv. 16.

[7] Arrian, l. s. c. Diod. Sic. xvii. 60, § 8. Two episodes of the battle have been omitted in the text, but deserve a cursory notice. When the phalanx divided, part staying to assist Parmenio in his difficulties, and part accompanying Alexander in the pursuit, a body of Median and Persian cavalry dashed through the gap thus left in the Macedonian line, and hastening to the

regarded further resistance as useless, and quitted the field. The Persian army hurriedly recrossed the Zab, pursued by the remorseless conquerors, who slew the unresisting fugitives till they were weary of slaughter. Arrian says that 300,000 fell, while a still larger number were taken prisoners.[8] Other writers make the loss considerably less.[9] All, however, agree that the army was completely routed and dispersed, that it made no attempt to rally, and gave no further trouble to the conqueror.

The conduct of Darius in this—the crisis of his fate—cannot be approved; but it admits of palliation, and does not compel us to withdraw from him that respectful compassion which we commonly accord to great misfortunes. After Issus, it was his duty to make at least one more effort against the invader. To this object he addressed himself with earnestness and diligence. The number and quality of the troops collected at Arbela attests at once the zeal and success of his endeavours. His choice and careful preparation of the field of battle are commendable; in his disposition of his forces there is nothing with which to find fault. Every arm of the service had full room to act; all were brought into play; if Alexander conquered, it was because he was a consummate general, while at the same time he commanded the best troops in the world. Arbela was not, like Issus, won by mere fighting. It was the leader's victory, rather than the soldiers'. Alexander's diagonal advance, the confusion which it caused, the break in the Persian line, and its prompt occupation by some of the best cavalry and a portion of the phalanx, are the turning-points of the engage-

rear attacked the camp and baggage. After a partial success, the second Macedonian line turned against them and beat them off. (Arrian, iii. 15. Compare Diod. Sic. xvii. 59, §§ 5-8; Q. Curt. iv. 15.)

The other episode was the following. As Alexander returned to assist Parmenio, he met face to face a considerable body of Persian, Parthian, and Median cavalry which was just quitting the field. A sharp conflict ensued (ἱππομαχία αὕτη καρτερωτάτη τοῦ παντὸς ἔργου ξυνέστη. Arrian, iii. 15). Sixty of the "Companions" were slain. Hephæstion, Cœnus, and Menidas were wounded; and most of the fugitives succeeded in cutting their way through. As Arrian observes, these men fought for their lives, and not merely to gain a victory for another.

[8] Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. 15, sub fin.

[9] Diodorus makes the loss "upwards of 90,000" (xvii. 61, § 3); Curtius puts it at 40,000 (iv. 16).

ment. All the rest followed as a matter of course. Far too much importance has been assigned to Darius's flight,[10] which was the effect rather than the cause of victory. When the centre of an Asiatic army is so deeply penetrated that the person of the monarch is exposed and his near attendants begin to fall, the battle is won. Darius did not—indeed he could not—"set the example of flight."[11] Hemmed in by vast masses of troops, it was not until their falling away from him on his left flank at once exposed him to the enemy and gave him room to escape, that he could extricate himself from the *mêlée*.

No doubt it would have been nobler, finer, more heroic, had the Persian monarch, seeing that all was lost, and that the Empire of the Persians was over, resolved not to outlive the independence of his country. Had he died in the thick of the fight, a halo of glory would have surrounded him. But, because he lacked, in common with many other great kings and commanders, the quality of heroism, we are not justified in affixing to his memory the stigma of personal cowardice. Like Pompey, like Napoleon, he yielded in the crisis of his fate to the instinct of self-preservation. He fled from the field where he had lost his crown, not to organize a new army, not to renew the contest, but to prolong for a few weeks a life which had ceased to have any public value.

It is needless to pursue further the dissolution of the Empire. The fatal blow was struck at Arbela—all the rest was but the long death-agony. At Arbela the crown of Cyrus passed to the Macedonian; the Fifth Monarchy came to an end. The HE-GOAT, with the notable horn between his eyes, had come

[10] Especially by Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. viii. p. 384).

[11] Ibid. p. 383. It is true that Mr. Grote has in his favour Arrian's *words* (πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἐπιστρέψας ἔφευγεν); but I question whether he has rightly apprehended Arrian's meaning. Arrian is not, I think, contrasting Darius's conduct with that of those about him, but merely speaking of the part of the army in which the Persian flight began. Darius *with the centre* fled first; then, just afterwards, the horse upon the left was defeated by Aretas, and put to flight also. This mode of understanding Arrian (which is, I think, what the context requires) brings him into harmony with Curtius and Diodorus, whom Mr. Grote is compelled wholly to discard. (See his note [3], pp. 383, 384.)

from the west to the ram which had two horns, and had run into him with the fury of his power. He had come close to him, and, moved with choler, had smitten the ram and broken his two horns—there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he had cast him down to the ground and stamped upon him—and there was none to deliver the ram out of his hand.[12]

[12] Daniel viii. 5-7.

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